

# Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

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## XANANA IN CUSTODY

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### ANTONIO, THE LOYAL RADICAL FRIEND MUCH MENTIONED AS REPLACING XANANA

*Jawa Pos. 24 Nov. 92.*

*Original language: Indonesian;  
Unabridged.*

*Remark: Despite some tentativity about the matter on the outside, the Indonesian press accounts almost uniformly assume that the leadership of the internal East Timorese resistance has passed into the hands of Antonio Gomes da Costa. The Indonesian press also almost invariably describes the armed resistance as 'Fretilin.' – John.*

(Dili) Antonio Gomes da Costa, who now is much mentioned as having replaced Xanana as the supreme leader of Fretilin, is a long-timer in the group. He was a close friend of Xanana before both of them decided to enter the forest in 1975.

At that moment they were young Fretilin figures about 19 years old with high political ambitions. The difference was that Xanana was known to favor 'progressive' thought, while Antonio was more radical.

Their youthful experiences also differed. While Xanana had a background in a lot of organizations – among others becoming a journalist and establishing a newspaper – Antonio was only a driver for an estate office. At that time, 1972, Antonio actually also was a soldier with the rank of Corporal.

His father was Portuguese, his mother a native East Timorese.

In the course of developments, Xanana and Antonio continued to be close friends until finally they entered the forest together. Antonio was included among the very faithful friends. With his hefty body and terrifying face, people say he was the one most trusted to safeguard Xanana's safety. Perhaps because of that, though not considered a prominent figure, he was appointed by Xanana as one of Fretilin's chiefs of staff.

In this way, according to a source, the 'greatness' of Antonio really only rested in his loyalty to Xanana. Consequently, he is not so popular as other Fretilin figures, such as Ramos Horta in Australia and José da Costa. The latter is Xanana's former assistant for social and political affairs who was caught by East Timor Operations Execution Command (Kolakops) personnel last January 23.

Reacting to the emergence of the new Fretilin leader, Commander of the East Timor Kolakops Information Task Force, Major L. Simbolon said, "Ah, there's no need to blow that up. It's not meaningful. What is certain is that Fretilin members got a severe shock as a result of Xanana's arrest. They were very proud of him."

According to Simbolon, the important problem for our attention now is vigilance against the possible emergence of actions directed at splitting unity in East Timor. "The security disrupters will continue to be alert to this," he said.

Under Kolakops Commander Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, ABRI troops in East Timor will continue to pursue the remaining

Fretilin members who often caused disruptions to the well-being and calm life of East Timorese society.

For that purpose, the 10 ABRI battalions now assigned to East Timor – 9 combat and 1 territorial (sic, the routine official ratio is just the reverse) – will still be retained. For pursuit operations, since the start of last year, Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei had provided the name Operation Thoroughness I.

A source said that the capture of Xanana would cause an upheaval throughout the underground, clandestine networks which had long provided facilities to Fretilin activists. He explained that what had been known so far were groups involved in those networks. Now the hope was to break up the level of officers existing behind them.

The sympathizers mentioned are suspected of not only providing logistical aid to Xanana and his groups, but also security, information, and other facilities. This proved that Xanana had frequently come to Dili to control various disturbances.

According to a Kolakops estimate, there are about 150 Fretilin personnel equipped with 150 weapons. They are divided into groups which split up and move from one place to another. One of these groups might total 10-12 men with 8-9 weapons. Because they live apart from each other, it is not easy for one group to meet another.

"With the capture of Xanana, I am sure their courage will shrink," said Major Simbolon.

## XANANA GUSMÃO TELEVISED UNDER DURESS

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release today, 1 December 1992:*

The Indonesian Government today released a televised statement of Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese resistance leader who was captured by Indonesian forces in Dili on 20 November.

The military intelligence have held Xanana Gusmão in incommunicado detention for the past ten days, the International Red Cross has been denied access and the authorities have refused to inform anyone, including the foreign press, of his present whereabouts. Many members of his family and close friends have been arrested with a view to exerting pressure on him by means of actual or threatened maltreatment.

It is absolutely clear that Xanana was interviewed under extreme duress. From what we have heard from people in Portugal and the Netherlands who have seen the interview on satellite, the interview was heavily and clumsily edited. It is not worthy of serious consideration as the freely-expressed views of a man who has been involved in the resistance to Indonesian aggression and illegal occupation of his country for 17 years. The authorities have shown by staging this propaganda stunt that they recognise the outstanding position Xanana occupies in the hearts and minds of the people of East Timor.

The Suharto regime clearly hopes to use the interview for two purposes, to demoralise the East Timorese people who have for years seen Xanana as the inspiration of their struggle and to convince the international community that East Timorese resistance to Indonesian occupation is now at an end.

Neither of these objectives will be achieved. TAPOL calls on all governments, the United Nations Secretary-General and all people of good will who sympathise with the just struggle of the people of East Timor to condemn this propaganda trick of the Indonesian government and to demand that the International Red Cross, Indonesian and foreign lawyers, and the foreign press be given immediate and unconditional access to Xanana Gusmão.

Jakarta cannot be allowed to manipulate Xanana, now in captivity under the most stressful of conditions, in order to further undermine the people of East Timor and sabotage the negotiations shortly to take place under UN auspices to seek an internationally acceptable solution to the tragedy of East Timor.

*TAPOL's Press Release of 1 December 1992 was used in at least three major Dutch*

*dailies today, thanks apparently to the fact that several wire services quoted from it.*

## BBC ON XANANA'S "STATEMENT"

*So far (1 December) this is the only foreign journalist comment we have obtained about the televised "statement" of Xanana Gusmão.*

*We in London have heard the sound recording of the "statement" but have no transcript yet. What is said to be XG's voice, speaking in Portuguese, sounds blurred and very unclear. A Portuguese colleague listening found it difficult to understand the words. This voice was then "translated" into Indonesian by the voice of Abilio Soares (or so it appears). The Indonesian was quite distinct and not difficult at all to follow, but we have not had time to make a transcript nor can we tell whether this is indeed a translation of the Portuguese-spoken text.*

*I am told the video tape, shown on Portuguese TV already, shows Xanana seated having a meal, probably breakfast, with his "boyhood friend," E Timor governor, Abilio Soares.*

— Carmel.

*I read this as a sign of Indonesian 'weakness.' If they must resort to such crude psywar techniques, it means they have not broken Xanana, fear a trial, and are well aware of the fierce reaction to his arrest abroad and in East Timor.*

*Reports which have now reached us at last from the Indonesian press indicate news of the arrest spread like wildfire among the Timorese in Dili. If the military lid were not on so tightly, there would be almost surely be widespread protests. In addition, the clandestine resistance youth support group Fitun (Star, "never stops shining") also referred to as Fitun OJETIL (the last a Portuguese acronym for Organization of Young East Timorese Students, or close to that) has been formally banned. Its leaders have been forced to recant publicly in obviously insincere acts of contrition. The Army is apparently reluctantly to arrest more than a small proportion of this network – and perhaps still unable to do so. An intriguing comment in the November 28 Tempo fairly broadly hints that a Fitun member was coerced to reveal Xanana's hiding place.*

*Tempo even jests in a sub-headline there is a 'rumor' Xanana has not been captured, perhaps a more subtle hint that what we will hear from Xanana in the near future – as in the story below – will not really reflect Xanana's views. Anyone who has seen*

*prisoner of war 'interviews' will not be impressed – and will not be amused!*

— John

*The BBC correspondent, Adam Brooks filed the following story on 1 Dec. 1992:*

The Indonesian armed forces say that the captured leader of the East Timorese independence movement, Xanana Gusmão, has affirmed that East Timor is now a part of Indonesia. A press release and tapes purporting to be comments made by Mr. Gusmão were released by the Indonesian armed forces in Jakarta on Tuesday.

Xanana Gusmão has for more than a decade been a powerful symbol of the East Timorese independence movement. On Tuesday, the Indonesian armed forces suggested that Mr. Gusmão has turned his back on the movement. Their evidence came in the form of a poor quality tape recording in Portuguese and Indonesian purporting to be a conversation held last Friday between Mr. Gusmão and the governor of East Timor, Mr. Abilio Soares. In it, Mr. Gusmão says that East Timor is a part of Indonesia. He says that he has started to realise the real situation in East Timor and he appealed to other Fretilin (sic) guerrillas still in the forests to give up.

It has been impossible to confirm the veracity of the tape recording. Since his arrest, Mr. Gusmão has been held incommunicado. He is now reported to be under interrogation in Denpasar on the island of Bali. The International Committee of the Red Cross has not been given access to him and it is not known whether he has been allowed to see a lawyer.

In a separate statement, the military commander in East Timor said that nearly twenty close associates of Mr. Gusmão's in the pro-independence movement had been arrested following his capture. Brig. Gen Syafei was quoted in the weekly Tempo as saying that they were the people who had helped hide Mr. Gusmão but he gave no further details about them.

## SUHARTO MISCALCULATING ON XANANA?

*Remark: Some of those arrested may be Fitun figures. It is another indicator of Indonesian weakness and worry that it will not officially admit arrests of members of some of Xanana's family members (and their friends). These denials are seriously damaging Indonesian credibility re Xanana and will likely 'spill over' to its handling of East Timor human rights and self-determination issues. Governments with embassies in Jakarta will have long ago communicated the deceit to their home foreign ministries.*

*Even though Suharto has returned from his trip abroad for some time now, he has not so far acted 'masterfully' as he did after the November 12 massacre. Instead, he appears to have reverted to his worst old habits and ploys, a decision likely to hurt him badly in the eyes of resident embassy personnel and Indonesia-watchers abroad generally.*

*It is very noticeable in recent Indonesian press stories that the role of the new East Timor governor Abilio is merely to 'sound off' – he recently said he, not Xanana, should represent East Timor in talks with Portugal – and be ignored in all important matters by Suharto, ABRI, and even the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Department.*

– John

According to a December 1 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia's military has arrested about 20 of East Timor rebel chief Xanana Gusmão's closest aides since his capture two weeks ago, the territory's military commander said in an interview published on Tuesday.

"They were clandestine, close friends who had helped him in hiding," Brigadier-General Syafei told the weekly magazine Tempo.

Those arrested belonged to the inner circle of Xanana, the leader of the rebel Fretilin movement who was captured on November 20 in the East Timor capital of Dili, Syafei said.

The military earlier denied a charge by the London-based human rights organisation Amnesty International that several members of Xanana's family had been among those arrested. Amnesty has expressed concern for Xanana's safety in captivity.

Xanana – José Alexander Gusmão's *nom de guerre* – is expected to be charged with masterminding protests that Jakarta says led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery in November last year to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

Syafei said Xanana's capture had practically ended the military's combat operations against Fretilin, leaving it free to concentrate on helping civilians develop East Timor.

Syafei said Fretilin had about 100 members. Fretilin sources exiled in Australia, however, say there are between 300 and 1,000 members.

## CARRASCALÃO CASTS DOUBT

Mario Carrascalão, the former governor of East Timor, told a Portuguese journalist João Gabriel Tuesday that the credibility of the "statement" made on tape and television

by the captured East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão "is doubtful."

João Gabriel, who is in Jakarta for the Portuguese Radio TSF and the independent Portuguese TV channel, TV-SIC, met Carrascalão after the alleged Xanana "statement" was shown on Indonesian television.

Gabriel said that his report, which was heard on TSF Radio in Portugal yesterday, was recorded under Indonesian reporting restrictions.

## COMMENT FROM CARMEL BUDIARDJO, TAPOL

Further to the remarks added when the BBC story was filed on reg.easttimor late last night, I can add that the audio tape, of which we have a copy, is different from the video shown on television (which I have not seen) in that the video does not have the voice of anyone translating the "statement" into Indonesian.

This statement by Carrascalão suggests that even he cannot stomach the subterfuge and deceit displayed by the army in forcing Xanana to "speak" as he did. But there may be another factor.

Since the Xanana capture, there has clearly been a battle going on in ABRI circles about how to deal with the problems created by Xanana's release. Murdani made his views known with his statement about Xanana being "a mouse," a "street criminal" etc. This was in fact a rejection of the high profile given by the ABRI leadership to Xanana's capture which Murdani does not condone. The televised "statement" in fact only adds to Xanana's stature, showing how ABRI is determined to destroy his respected status among East Timorese.

Mario Carrascalão is considered to be close to Murdani and bitterly hostile to the current governor. This may add to the understanding of why he came out with such a negative statement on the alleged Xanana "statement."

## STATEMENT OF JOSÉ RAMOS HORTA

### TO EAST TIMORESE AND FRIENDS ALL OVER THE WORLD

Lisbon, 2 December

1. The capture of Xanana Gusmão and his subsequent alleged statement are no doubt a moral and psychological set back for all of us and in particular the people inside East Timor. However we have to turn this sorrow and anger into strength and continue on.

2. The capture and the extraction of these statements from Xanana Gusmão come at a

crucial time when there is strong possibility that the American position would change. This is what I believe has had the Indonesians most worried.

3. I was overwhelmed, shocked and anger by the video footage showing Xanana Gusmão in a complete state of numbness, physical and psychological, in a state of shock and thoroughly defeated. What we saw in the Indonesian military clips is not the Xanana Gusmão we have known in the past 17 years, a man of vision, courage and determination.

4. Xanana Gusmão showed signs of having been subjected to psychological and physical torture and I believe he would have been injected with chemical elements that affected his will power. His left arm was not functioning and must have been paralysed. His face shows signs of torture. His speech is definitely not the one of the same Xanana Gusmão that was shown in the Portuguese television 2 months earlier.

5. Xanana was kept incommunicado without access by the ICRC nor by a lawyer. No foreign correspondent interviewed him. Instead the interview which was shown on TV was conducted by the puppet governor of Indonesia who is a notorious thug.

6. News coming out of East Timor suggest a reign of terror with numerous cases of rape of relatives of Xanana Gusmão and others, torture and killing. Our source from East Timor says that the situation is completely beyond of control, one by one people are being picked up, interrogated, tortured and in some cases killed. Among those killed is one nephew of FRETILIN leader Abilio Araujo who was beaten to death. Some of the female Araujo and Xanana relatives have been raped.

7. The Portuguese authorities have reacted quickly and strongly and I appeal to all to close ranks, sending to the Foreign Minister, Mr. Durão Barroso, expressions of encouragement and support and urging Portugal to stand firm on the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.

8. No matter what Xanana Gusmão might have said or not the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination is sacred. It cannot be invalidated by the words of one single person, particularly under the circumstances we know. Further the roots of the problem remains deep and are intimately linked with the occupation and annexation of East Timor. There cannot be a solution without a proper act of self-determination.

We are going through the most challenging times in our 18 years struggle. We must all stand up to this challenge and continue with ever greater determination and hope the struggle. Time is on our side and the enemy

knows this. I appeal to all my East Timorese compatriots and friends all over the world to stand united and raise up to the challenge of history.

Address of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

Dr. J.M. Durão Barroso  
Palacio das Necessidades  
Largo do Rilvas,  
1300 Lisboa - Portugal  
Fax: 351-1-397 44 60.

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## DIPLOMATS BAFFLED

*BBC World Service, 1 December 1992. By Adam Brooks*

(Jakarta) Indonesian armed forces have denied suggestions from Portugal that the captured leader of the East Timorese independence movement was tortured into making statements acknowledging Indonesian rule in East Timor. The Indonesia armed forces spokesman said that Mr. Xanana Gusmão had in no way been ill-treated since his arrest nearly two weeks ago. Adam Brooks writes from Jakarta that diplomats and observers remain baffled by Mr. Gusmão's sudden public acceptance that East Timor is part of Indonesia.

The pictures ran on Indonesian television on Tuesday. They showed Xanana Gusmão looking relaxed and alert, accepting Indonesian rule over East Timor and urging Fretilin guerrillas to give up their fight. But Mr. Gusmão was for years the charismatic leader of the East Timorese independence movement. Diplomats in Jakarta were taken aback at what appeared to be his abrupt about-face and Portugal's President, Mr. Mario Soares, said on Portuguese television that Mr. Gusmão must have been tortured, threatened and pressurized for him to have said such things. Certainly nobody knows what has happened to Mr. Gusmão since his arrest nearly two weeks ago. The ICRC has not yet been given access to him. But an Indonesian armed forces spokesman strongly denied that Mr. Gusmão had been in any way ill-treated. The spokesman said that the Portuguese President had no basis for his statement and that the Red Cross would be given access to Mr. Gusmão either this week or next. The Indonesian government wants to portray the East Timor conflict as over so Mr. Gusmão's statements have considerable propaganda value but whether or not they genuinely represent Mr. Gusmão's stance is a question unlikely to be answered until independent observers have had access to him.

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## XANANA: EAST TIMOR BELONGS TO INDONESIA (BERNAS)

*Source: Bernas. 2 December 92. Signed 'TV/sjw' at end of story. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged.*

*Remark: Reading some extensive quotations from the TVRI interview for the first time (as distinct from depending on wire services), it appears Xanana's primary means of signalling that he was under duress was the total repudiation of all his previously known core views. The event must have taken an incredible amount of rehearsal, not to mention acting skill by all parties, since earlier footage of Xanana with his guerrilla colleagues show an animated personality who spoke at great length with a simple eloquence. The Bernas story, unremittingly and uncharacteristically uncritical, is accompanied by a take from TVRI's "Dunia dalam Berita" ("World News") show which screened the 'interview.' Xanana and East Timor Governor Abilio Soares are seated at a table with coffee and cakes. While a small box near the center of the table partially obscures it, a piece of unfolded paper seems to face Xanana. Bernas' caption remarks that Xanana "looked fresh and a little fat." "While replying to the governor's questions, Xanana, relaxed, enjoyed the snacks and cup of coffee served in front of him." However, the photograph clearly shows a very full coffee cup.*

"I regret it." That short sentence fell from the mouth of the chief Fretilin security disrupter José Alexandre Gusmão, better known as Xanana Gusmão, 46, in an interview with East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares.

The interview screen by TVRI last night once more proved that Xanana is nothing. He is no great figure proper for a myth. If his followers have mythologized him, that myth truly collapsed when he was captured by security personnel.

Xanana did not only express regret. He apologized to all East Timorese residents, particularly those who suffered due to the November 12 Incident.

He who had wandered for 17 years in the forests of East Timor had finally come to his senses and admitted that what he had done was not right. It was wrong. There was proof. He made an appeal and asked all Fretilin sympathizers in East Timor to surrender immediately at the closest guard posts.

Not only that. The former War Commander of the security disrupters asked Fretilin people to join in developing Indonesia, join in developing East Timor,

and join in adjusting the problems of life faced by the East Timorese people up till now.

Xanana also asked all Fretilin sympathizers abroad to forget immediately their struggle which had now lasted over 17 years. He hoped they would join in thinking about and helping with the problems faced by the East Timorese people up till now and join in assisting in the best way in the development of East Timor.

Xanana, who was being interviewed by Governor Abilio, his classmate in lower secondary school tens of years ago, spoke in Portuguese with no aversion to admitting the contemporary facts – that integration and development has very much raised the standard of living of the East Timorese people.

Wearing a white shirt, he even admitted that East Timor was part of and belonged to Indonesia and Indonesia belonged to East Timor. "East Timor and its people belong to Indonesia," he confirmed.

In that calm way he replied to all Abilio's questions. He seemed fresh and a little fat. While speaking he repeatedly enjoyed the snacks and cup of coffee.

On this occasion Xanana also said that he now felt safer than when he was amidst the East Timorese public. He admitted he could not describe how his activities had made things difficult for so many people. He was also very disappointed with Fretilin people abroad who were now still using the name of the party in their every action, while in fact they were only seeking personal profit.

As an example, he accused Ramos Horta, saying that he always sought personal profit in the name of the party.

Xanana's name began to be much mentioned after he replaced the killed Nicolao Lobato as Fretilin leader. With a journalism education obtained in Australia and his military training, he entered the forest in December 1975 to oppose integration.

Before entering the forest, he lived tranquilly with his wife Emilia who is now in Australia with their two children, Nito and Zenilda Gusmão. His adventure ended after his capture by security personnel on November 20 in Lahane, Dili. "Xanana is nothing." That was the comment of ABRI Information Center Head Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro a little while ago.

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## TWO XANANAS SEEN ON BRITISH CHANNEL FOUR

*Channel 4 News at Seven, 2 December 1992, report by TAPOL.*

Channel 4's News at Seven which gave such prominence to footage of the massacre last year, did a six-minute item today about

the Xanana "interview." Besides showing for about one minute Xanana speaking in a very strained way (far from relaxed as some agencies claim) to Osorio Soares, it also showed footage from a film of Xanana in the bush, made in May 1991 which was made available by the Japan Free East Timor! Coalition. This made it possible to compare what Xanana looks like when speaking as a free man and when speaking in captivity under the watchful eye of the army's watchdog, Soares.

We shall post a transcript of the item as soon as possible, Meanwhile here is the statement of José Ramos-Horta made during the film. He was interviewed in Lisbon.

"The pictures we have just seen of Mr. Gusmão are, if anything, a denunciation of the torture he went through. It shows for instance his left arm, probably paralysed, after enormous torture inflicted upon him. If anything, this film is an indictment of the Indonesian authorities. They perpetrated, they committed all sorts of atrocities on a political prisoner, a prisoner of war which should be protected under the Geneva Convention. And the film, if anything, should move the European Community and Great Britain as president of the EC, to impose mandatory sanctions on Indonesia."

Other interviewed by Channel 4 were Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in Jeddah, and Geoffrey Robinson of Amnesty International in London. Well done Channel 4!

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## REUTER: XANANA REMARKS IN CUSTODY

*Remark: As in many prisoner of war and hostage interviews, these remarks seem so disjunctive with Xanana's known long-held views they cannot be taken at face value (even if correctly translated) and may even be designed to 'send a message' not to take them seriously. If Xanana is brought to public trial, as with previous defendants in political cases in Indonesia, he will then feel free to disavow them, a turn of events which will backfire badly on official Indonesian credibility. That the trial pattern is so well-known to Xanana's captors gives continuing rise to anxiety for his safety prior to any such trial. – John*

According to a December 2 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, captured East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão appeared on state television on Tuesday night and urged his fellow guerrillas to give up their struggle and accept Indonesian rule.

Xanana appeared on television in conversation with East Timor governor José

Abilio Soares, who interpreted his comments from Portuguese into Indonesian.

Wearing a white shirt and with a map of Indonesia in the background, Xanana looked relaxed during a 10-minute meeting with the governor, with whom he went to the same school in Dili.

"He calls for all members (of Fretilin) to surrender ... and, together with those people who have already become Indonesian citizens, to participate in development," Soares quoted Xanana as saying.

"He urges Fretilin sympathisers, especially those abroad ... to forget the struggle that was lured with Portuguese lies for about 17 years and think how to help solve the East Timorese problem."

"He is disappointed with Fretilin leaders abroad, including Ramos Horta who has been using the party's name for his own benefit," Soares said.

The exiled Ramos Horta is the leading Timorese spokesman abroad for independence and some sources say he has been at odds with Xanana.

"...(Xanana) feels safe with us but he cannot say he is happy because his activities caused a lot of trouble to East Timorese," Soares said.

He quoted Xanana as apologising to the East Timorese for their suffering in an army massacre in November last year. Indonesian officials say Xanana masterminded protests that led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

The army says 50 people died in the incident and 66 were missing, but witnesses put the toll at up to 180 dead.

"After having contacts with several people and witnessing himself, he has come to realise ... that East Timor belongs to Indonesia and Indonesia belongs to East Timor," Soares said.

A number of organisations including Amnesty International have expressed concern for Xanana's welfare since his capture.

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## AFP ON XANANA ON TVRI

According to a December 1 AFP story datelined Jakarta, a translation of remarks by captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, who appeared on television here Tuesday, quotes him as saying he now accepts that East Timor belongs to Indonesia.

A Portuguese speaker told AFP the translation, according to which Gusmão told his rebel colleagues to surrender, was accurate.

The state network TVRI showed the casually dressed Gusmão speaking in Portuguese to East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio at an undisclosed location.

Osorio, translating into Indonesian, quoted Gusmão as saying "East Timor nowadays is part of Indonesia, and Indonesia is part of East Timor."

Gusmão appeared to be relaxed and speaking voluntarily, but requests to see him by outsiders, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, have met no response from Indonesian authorities.

It is believed he has also not been allowed to meet with a lawyer.

In the TVRI interview, Gusmão smiled when he said he was in good health, but added that he could obviously not say he was happy, according to the translated remarks.

A statement released by the Indonesian Armed Forces earlier Tuesday said the "open dialogue" between Gusmão and Osorio was held Friday. A military spokesman, Brigadier General Nurhadi Purwosaputro, said Tuesday it had taken place in Bali, headquarters of the Udayana military command that oversees East Timor.

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## DIPLOMATS DOUBT XANANA RECANTATION

*Remark: Note that the tape was avowedly made on Friday and not aired till several days later. This suggests possible controversy within official Indonesian ranks over airing it and virtually assures heavy censorship of it. – John*

According to a December 2 AFP story datelined Jakarta, East Timor independence leader José Xanana Gusmão's disputed public acceptance of Jakarta's sovereignty over the former Portuguese colony may have turned the page on 17 years of struggle but leaves a trail of questions unanswered.

Indonesian television showed late Tuesday a tape of Gusmão speaking in Portuguese in which he said "East Timor nowadays is part of Indonesia and Indonesia is part of East Timor."

Gusmão, a leader of the pro-independence group Fretilin who was arrested in the East Timor capital Dili on November 20, appeared calm and speaking voluntarily in a room at an undisclosed location.

Diplomats and analysts called it a propaganda coup for Indonesia, but wondered if the 45-year-old former fugitive had been acting under psychological pressure.

Fretilin said Wednesday in Darwin, Australia that Gusmão had spoken under duress, pointing out that members of his family had been arrested with him.

"They forced Xanana to say it," said Fretilin's Australian representative Alfredo Ferreira.

Jakarta-appointed East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares was by Gusmão's

side in the tape and translated for him from Portuguese into the official language, Bahasa Indonesia.

Osorio quoted Gusmão as calling on fellow Fretilin members to come out of their hiding places and "join their colleagues in building East Timor together for a better future." Osorio's translation was adept, according to Portuguese speakers.

Gusmão was also quoted as criticizing the Fretilin leadership in exile, especially top leader José Ramos Horta, and denounced Lisbon's inaction on the colony it abandoned in 1975. Jakarta invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it in 1976.

Armed forces spokesman General Nurhadi Purwosaputro said the "open dialogue" between Gusmão and Osorio had been held Friday on the island of Bali, where Gusmão was taken after his arrest.

Jakarta and Portugal are to return in December to the negotiating table for talks on East Timor under U.N. auspices.

The talks were interrupted when Indonesian troops fired on a crowd on November 12 last year in Dili, leaving at least 50 people dead and 66 missing by Jakarta's own admission.

Witnesses say many more were killed in the pro-independence crowd, which was carrying flags with the picture of "Commander Xanana."

"The question everyone is asking is, why after all these years of struggle in the jungle, did Gusmão change his mind in a few days," said a diplomat.

An Indonesian source in Dili said "Gusmão was in a pitiful moral state when he was captured." No visitors, including members of the International Committee of the Red Cross, have been able to see him.

"The thesis that he was under excessive psychological pressure is possible, given the hardship of the conditions in which he lived and if one takes into account that members of his family – including two of his sisters and their husbands as well as people hiding him – were arrested," said a diplomat.

An analyst here suggested that dissension within Fretilin between hard-liners and moderates, Gusmão being among the latter, could have in part explained his attitude.

Gusmão may also have been offered a reduced sentence and freedom for his relatives, analysts here said.

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## OFFICIALS, RIGHTS GROUPS CONDEMN TIMORESE REBEL BROADCAST

UPI, 2 Dec. 92

JAKARTA, Indonesia (UPI) – The government has broadcast a television interview with captured East Timorese rebel leader

Xanana Gusmão in which he apparently called on his followers to give up their armed struggle.

But human rights groups and officials in Portugal, of which East Timor is a former colony, claimed the statement broadcast Tuesday night was made under duress and called on the United Nations to intervene to prevent "a violation of the most basic human rights."

In his televised message, Xanana also urged overseas supporters of the Timor resistance Fretilin movement to join him in "understanding the province's current situation, and to avoid being trapped by Portuguese promises."

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

Indonesia annexed the province soon afterward and declared the region its 27th province in 1976 in defiance of U.N. resolutions claiming the right of East Timorese to choose their own future.

In the broadcast, Xanana was shown chatting with East Timor Gov. Abilio José Soares, speaking in Portuguese as the governor translated into Indonesian to the viewers.

Xanana, 45, said he regretted last year's anti-government protest that ended with Indonesian troops opening fire on demonstrators in Dili. The government admitted that at least 50 people were killed in the incident, and 66 remained unaccounted for.

Witnesses put the death toll close to 200. The massacre resulted in widescale international condemnation of Indonesia.

Xanana, who was arrested Nov. 20 by Indonesian troops after eluding capture for 16 years, smiled repeatedly during the interview. A cup of coffee, meals and a red-and-white Indonesian flag appeared on a table between the two men, while Xanana asserted he felt safe in the detention house.

"East Timor belongs to Indonesia," Xanana said as quoted by Abilio as saying.

Responding to the interview, the London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, Tapol, said in a statement, "It is absolutely clear that Xanana was interviewed under extreme duress," and the broadcast interview was "heavily and clumsily edited."

"It is not worthy of serious consideration as the freely-expressed views of a man who has fought the illegal occupation of his country for 17 years," Tapol said.

"The authorities have shown by using this propaganda stunt that they recognize the outstanding position Xanana occupies in the hearts and minds of the people of East Timor," it said.

Commenting in Lisbon, where the interview was also broadcast, Portuguese President Mario Soares said, "This kind of thing can only happen under a totalitarian regime. It is obvious that Xanana must have been coerced or tortured for him to make those kind of statements."

The Portuguese Foreign Ministry said in a statement, "In the face of the incongruity of Xanana Gusmão's recent statement concerning his position over all these years of resistance against the occupation of East Timor, we regard with great concern the situation he is in.

"Everything points to Xanana having been subjected to threats and beatings against himself, his family and his fellow fighters.

"The Portuguese government urges the United Nations, the international community and especially the International Red Cross to act to bring to an end this situation which represents a violation of the most basic human rights."

Ramos Horta of the Maubere National Resistance Council in Lisbon said, "These statements were forced out of him. He has been submitted to all kinds of psychological torture. We cannot believe in what Commander Gusmão said in the interview."

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and has pressed Jakarta to grant an act of self-determination. Portugal has led international appeals for Xanana to be humanely treated while in Indonesian custody.

Talks between Lisbon and Jakarta aimed at breaking the stalemate over East Timor are to resume at the U.N. in New York on December 17. The talks will bring together Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and Portuguese Foreign Minister José Durão Barroso in a meeting brokered by secretary general Boutros Ghali.

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## U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT 'KNOWS NOTHING'

*Excerpt from U.S. State Department  
December 1 briefing courtesy of Federal  
News Service and Reuter:*

### FNS:

*Q I'm sorry – do you have anything new on the conditions of Mr. Gusmão, guerrilla leader in East Timor detained by Indonesia, who – the latest I've had is that he appeared on videotape asking for East Timor to be integrated in Indonesia, and disclaiming the –*

MR. BOUCHER: I hadn't seen that, and I don't have anything new on him.

*Q Nothing – the State Department, they asked the Indonesian government for the*

*committee of the International Red Cross to have access to him.*

MR. BOUCHER: That's right.

*Q: Have you had any reply on that?*

MR. BOUCHER: I'll have to check on that and see.

**Reuter:**

*Q: I'm sorry - do you have anything new on the condition of Mr. Gusmão, guerilla leader in East Timor, detained by Indonesia, who, the latest I've had, is that he appeared on videotape, asking for East Timor to be integrated in Indonesia, and—*

BOUCHER: I hadn't seen that and I don't have anything new on him.

*Q: Nothing new? The State Department had asked Indonesian government for the Committee of the International Red Cross to have access to him.*

BOUCHER: That's right. Yeah.

*Q: Have you had any reply on that?*

BOUCHER: I'll have to check on that and see.

*Q: Thank you.*

## **ALATAS: XANANA WILL NOT AFFECT PORTUGAL TALKS**

*The Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday, December 2, 1992, p.15*

JAKARTA, Tuesday: Indonesia's military has arrested about 20 close aides of the East Timor rebel chief Xanana Gusmão since his capture two weeks ago, the territory military commander said in an interview published today.

"They were clandestine, close friends who had helped him in hiding," Brigadier-General Syafei told the weekly magazine Tempo. Those arrested belonged to the inner circle of Xanana, the leader of the rebel Fretilin movement who was captured on November 20 in the East Timor capital of Dili, General Syafei said. He gave no names or any other information about those arrested.

Tempo quoted General Syafei as saying he had a list of the remaining members of Fretilin whom he said were numbered "in the hundreds." He said Xanana's capture had practically ended the military's combat operations against Fretilin.

Earlier, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, said he did not believe Xanana's capture would affect talks with Portugal later this month about the territory. Mr. Alatas also said Indonesia would not change its basic position, rejecting self-determination and a referendum for the former

Portuguese colony, which Indonesia annexed in 1976 after intervening in a civil war there. Mr. Alatas told reporters that, in his opinion, the capture would have no direct impact on the talks with Portugal scheduled for December 17 in New York. "I am neither optimistic nor pessimistic," he said. "I have to hear first whatever new ideas they would propose in the dialogue."

The talks will be held under the auspices of the United Nation's Secretary-General. The UN still recognises Portugal as the administering authority in East Timor. Mr. Alatas also rejected the possibility of sending Xanana to Portugal.

Fretilin has been fighting Indonesia troops since 1975, when they invaded East Timor after the Portuguese left.

## **TRANSCRIPT OF CHANNEL 4 (UK) REPORT ON CAPTURE OF XANANA GUSMÃO**

*Channel Four Television's News At Seven. Eight-minute report televised in Britain on 2 December 1992 at 19:25 on respected and popular hour-long news programme.*

*TAPOL comments on the visual presentation are in [...]*

Jon Snow, C4 Newscaster: "The leader of the resistance movement in East Timor, Xanana Gusmão, called on his comrades in the rebel movement to surrender. Mr. Gusmão was captured by the Indonesian authorities two weeks ago. After seeing the film, Portugal's president, Mario Soares, said Mr. Gusmão 'was certainly tortured and threatened.'"

*[Pan to map of Indonesia highlighting position of East Timor and Dili.]*

JS: "The Indonesians invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975. But their rule was never recognised by the United Nations. And just over a year ago in the capital Dili, Indonesian troops opened fire on a pro-independence demonstration at a cemetery, killing over a hundred people. Kent Barker in London reports on Mr. Gusmão's apparent recantation."

Kent Barker, C4 reporter: "The arrest of Xanana Gusmão came just days after this silent vigil in the Santa Cruz cemetery last month. The people here in the East Timor capital Dili had gathered to mark the anniversary of the massacre that killed more than 100. The black cross symbolises a grave for those whose bodies were never found. Reports spoke of Indonesian soldiers loading corpses onto lorries to dispose of them secretly."

*[Barker's report is accompanied by footage of the anniversary demonstration held at Santa Cruz cemetery on 12*

*November this year. At the centre is a 10-foot tall black cross surrounded by a huge mound of predominantly pink flowers. There are four small fires burning on the perimeter of the mound fueled by candles. Around 200 people, in rows 6/7 people deep, encircle the fires, silently throwing more pink blossoms and petals onto the mound. Young girls with plastic bags full of small bouquets throw bunches on. These bunches may have come from the many people who were unable, for whatever reason, to attend the ceremony but who asked these girls to place the flowers on their behalf. There are many young children solemnly watching on. No-one speaks but they do not look nervous; rather they look defiant and certain. No-one wears black. Some people pray while others just stare. More people are arriving during the course of the filming. There are no Indonesian troops visible.*

*While TAPOL knew there had been a black cross erected in the cemetery, it had previously thought that only 20 or so Timorese had attended. This information came from the only report about 12 November 1992 in East Timor, filed for Reuters by Moses Manoharan (Indonesian correspondent), where he states that only a "handful" of defiant East Timorese mourned their dead. Since the story was datelined Dili, we can only assume he had to suppress the truth. The film (which came from RTP, Portugal TV) shows upwards of 200 hundred "defiant East Timorese."*

Kent Barker: "The film of the massacre, broadcast around the world, shows troops beating bystanders and the crowd fleeing in terror from their bullets."

*[Footage from "Cold Blood: The massacre of East Timor is shown: scenes of troops beating and people running into cemetery while bodies pile up at the cemetery gates.*

*Footage changes to the Indonesia's broadcast interview of Xanana with Abilio Soares (new Governor of East Timor). The scene is set in a nondescript office with a large wall map of Indonesia behind Xanana, who is wearing a freshly ironed brilliantly white shirt. Soares sits to Xanana's left, with a plate of palm leaf snacks and a large cup and saucer in front of him on the table and a small Indonesian flag. The view of Xanana is blocked by a strategically placed box of tissues which prevents us seeing what is on the table before him. Only visible from his chest up, the Indonesian cameraman moves in very close to Xanana, obviously to prove that they have not been beating him up. Indeed Xanana's face is free of marks but his beard and hair have been cut very roughly, and Xanana looks drawn, pale and very subdued. He never moves his arms or his head; only his eyes and his lips. This is*

*in stark contrast to the later footage (see below)]*

Kent Barker: "For two weeks since his arrest, Gusmão has been held incommunicado. Then unexpectedly last night this interview with him appeared on Indonesian and Portuguese television. The resistance leader, who had conducted a sustainable campaign against Indonesians for the last 17 years, was now recanting. He admitted heading the demonstration that led to the Santa Cruz massacre and declared full responsibility for the armed struggle saying he accepted any punishment he'd incurred. But he went further."

Kent Barker: "Xanana Gusmão speaking on the staged interview." "I appeal to those still in the bush to come forward. They should surrender to the military authorities at their nearest point so we can find the best way of building Timor into the Indonesian nation."

*[As he said these last words, Xanana's eyes were cast down. Throughout the earlier footage, he spoke with his eyes steadily fixed on Soares. He spoke quietly, without emotion.]*

KB: "Supporters of Gusmão refused to believe he had given the interview voluntarily."

José Ramos-Horta, Representative for the East Timorese Resistance: "The pictures we have just seen of Mr. Xanana Gusmão are, if anything, a denunciation of the torture he went through. It shows for instance his left arm, probably paralysed, after enormous torture inflicted upon him. If anything, this film is an indictment of the Indonesian authorities. They perpetrated, they committed all sorts of atrocities on a political prisoner, a prisoner of war which should be protected under the Geneva Conventions. And the film, if anything, should move the European Community and Great Britain as president of the EC, to impose mandatory sanctions on Indonesia."

*[Horta's statement is followed by black and white footage of the house in Dili where Xanana was staying at the time of his capture.]*

KB: "Gusmão had been hiding in this Dili house for several days before his arrest. His sister and brother-in-law were seized at the same time and are still in custody, adding to fears that he gave the interview under duress, especially given Indonesia's past record."

Geoffrey Robinson, Amnesty International: "The human rights violations that have taken place in East Timor really cover the board. Since 1975, when East Timor was invaded, about 200,000 people or a third of the population have been killed, or starved. But since then, we've continued to have reports of disappearances. Torture

is endemic, the detention of people for their political beliefs or activities continues right up until this day."

KB: "But the Indonesian foreign minister, speaking to Channel 4 news in Jeddah today, denied any suggestion of coercion."

Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister: "I can give you very specific assurances that he has not been mistreated and he is not going to be mistreated, that we are quite aware that this will be wholly (pause), that it will be wrong from our standpoint, from our laws, but it would also be wholly counter-productive thing to do. Why should we do it?"

KB: "If Xanana Gusmão was speaking voluntarily, it would have meant a quite remarkable transformation in his views since he talked just a year ago whilst in hiding."

*[Footage from May 1991 of Xanana in the bush with other members of the resistance. Looks strikingly different from Indonesian interview. In this footage he is animated and lively, his face full of expression and sporting a thick bushy beard. A far cry from the subdued man televised by the Indonesians.]*

Xanana Gusmão, speaking on the May 1991 footage: "From the military point of view, we are facing a lot of difficulties. But we will carry on trying to keep the flame of resistance alive. From the political view, we will continue to struggle in this too."

KB: "It is not yet clear what the effect of the arrest of Gusmão and his staged confession will have on his supporters. There are still many FRETILIN forces hiding in East Timor as well as considerable civilian support. But it does put the issue back on the international agenda. Today the Portuguese government reiterated that East Timor is an occupied territory with Indonesia violating UN resolutions. The question is - will others, including Great Britain, be prepared to take specific action to help."

*[The final remarks of Kent Barker are accompanied by shots of guerrillas walking in the bush, seated eating a meal and then holding up the FALANTIL flag, giving the item a very strong ending.]*

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## GUSMÃO FORCED TO RECANT, SAYS SON.

*BBC monitoring. 2 December 1992*

The son of East Timorese rebel leader, Xanana Gusmão, told Portuguese radio RDP this morning that his father had been forced to recant.

Last night Portuguese television broadcast what it said was a video recording sent by the Indonesian armed forces showing Gusmão repudiating his past.

The radio said it spoke to Nito Gusmão in Australia this morning by telephone. "For me, the declarations did not come from his heart, he was forced by the occupying forces," Nito said.

Portuguese Foreign Minister, Durão Barroso, has called on the UN and the International Red Cross to intervene urgently in Xanana Gusmão's case, the radio said.

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## TAPOL MEMORANDUM ON XANANA GUSMÃO'S NIGHTMARE

*Sources protected. 3 December 1992*

Some days after Xanana Gusmão's arrest, TAPOL received informed that he was refusing food. I thought that meant he was on hunger strike and we were about to mount solidarity hunger strikes, but before going ahead we checked the report, only to discover that the Fretilin representative in Darwin who passed on that information had not intended to convey that meaning, only that Xanana was being 'choosy' about what he ate. Not being able to interpret that, I posted an item withdrawing the hunger-strike posting.

Since then, TAPOL has been contacted by persons who we have reason to believe know what they are talking about regarding the circumstances of his detention in Bali. We are now told that Xanana has not wanted to eat food, apparently because he does not trust his warders. He has refused to drink water, asking for beer instead. When given a can of beer that had already been opened, he insisted that he should open the can himself. It is not unlikely that he has been unable to sustain his objections about the food and drink he gets.

First thoughts were that he feared he might be poisoned. What if he has had reason to fear that he is being drugged? Does that explain his odd demeanour on TV?

His captors are in total control of his entire circumstances. He does not even have the advantage of sharing captivity with fellow-countrymen. It is not difficult to imag-

ine how his captors are able to manipulate everything he does, 24 hours a day.

This total isolation is a grotesque form of maltreatment and must end. The ICRC must be given access. But we should not forget that ICRC access may not mean that any of us will be any the wiser about what they discover. The rules of operation require them to report only to their hosts; only if Indonesia were to go public and fabricate ICRC findings would the ICRC itself go public to correct the record.

Legal access is more likely to be independent of such restrictions. But that too is being strictly forbidden.

The role of the UN Secretary-General is critical. We do know for certain that Boutros-Ghali has made private representations to President Suharto urging him to release Xanana. This has not been made public at UN headquarters so as not to embarrass Jakarta. But this is not likely to sway Suharto and his gang of thugs.

Boutros-Ghali is unlikely to win Xanana's release alone, however hard he tries, unless strongly backed by countries with clout in Jakarta. Clearly this must include the US, Japan and EC countries.

The fearful thing about Xanana is not, in my view, that he will be killed. Ali Alatas let the cat out of the bag when he told Channel 4 that to mistreat Xanana would be 'counter-productive.' He knows what a furor evident physical torture would arouse, let alone bumping him off, or even stage-managing 'a death while trying to escape,' as the Indonesians have done with many West Papuans. No, Xanana's fate is to be kept alive, possibly drugged, for use in a crude game to sabotage the UN-sponsored talks which, as Jakarta well knows, are moving towards a point where the Timorese are likely to be involved.

If East Timor's chief negotiator has now 'recanted' and on top of that, accused his chief overseas representative, Ramos-Horta, of pursuing self-interests, how can Boutros Ghali proceed to sound out those who are known to insist on the right to self-determination? This is a far smarter trick than Morocco's King Hassan has pulled on the UN over Western Sahara.

Saving Xanana from this nightmare is of vital importance in order to safeguard the UN-sponsored talks. I believe that the two things are inextricably bound. Our problem now is, how to proceed?

– Carmel Budiardjo

## BRUNO KAHN: XANANA'S STATEMENT FABRICATED BY MILITARY

*Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor, Dec. 3*

I haven't seen a transcript of the interview yet, but would like to point out some features that can provide an almost logical proof (forgive the mathematician!) that this statement was fabricated by the military - if such a proof is necessary at all.

The most complete excerpts I see of his statements are in a posted December 2 Reuter story datelined Jakarta. They come from Osorio Soares' translation, that is found "accurate" or "adept" by Portuguese speakers, according to a Dec. 1 AFP story datelined Jakarta (resp. a Dec. 2 AFP story similarly datelined).

Let us assume Soares' translation is indeed accurate. I find two striking features:

1) Xanana calls "for all members to surrender and (...) to participate in development." Development is a key word in Indonesian rhetoric. It would be quite surprising that it comes naturally to someone who spent 17 years in the bush.

2) Even more striking, the constant reference to "Fretilin" rather than CNRM. No one better than Xanana, who created CNRM, knows that it is now the important structure rather than an East Timorese party. The claim that Horta used Fretilin's name in his own benefit is still more bizarre to anyone who knows the situation a little (Horta is the special representative of CNRM, not Fretilin, and this appointment by Xanana originates in Horta's attempt to put up an international secretariat, an initiative which put him at odds with the external delegation of Fretilin at the time). A well-done propaganda would have used the term CNRM rather than Fretilin throughout.

Unfortunately, from what I see from agencies and newspaper stories, the media have yet do learn the distinction between Fretilin, Falantil, CNRM and Nationalist Convergence...

## ROBERT DOMM SAYS XANANA WAS DRUGGED

According to a December 3 AFP story datelined Melbourne, captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão appeared drugged in the video in which he renounced rebel causes, according to the only foreigner to have met him during his 17 years on the run in East Timor.

Robert Domm, a trade union advocate, said the guerrilla leader he met in a mountain hideout two years ago was completely

different to the man who appeared in the Indonesian video.

Government-controlled Indonesian television this week depicted Gusmão, leader of the Fretilin resistance group, saying East Timor was now part of Indonesia and calling on his Fretilin colleagues to surrender.

Gusmão's son, Nito Gusmão, 21, who lives here, said he was convinced his father was not only drugged but tortured and that he would never have said East Timor was part of Indonesia unless he had been.

Nito said his grandfather, an uncle and two cousins had been arrested following his father's capture and a second uncle, Gilman Exposto, 35, had disappeared.

Domm, who lives in Sydney, said the man filmed by the Indonesians was "Xanana in body, but not in spirit."

"It wasn't the same man I met two years ago," said Domm, who recorded a secret interview with Gusmão in September 1990.

"His mannerisms were different. He appeared timid, confused and distracted. When I met him he was quite the opposite ... self-confident, assertive, a person who spoke with authority."

Domm said he believed Gusmão had been drugged because of the nature of what he said, his deference to the Indonesian official beside him, and his obvious difficulty in replacing a coffee cup on a saucer.

"It seems to me to be sinister that a person could change in such a way and reminded me of the Gulf War and the way the Allied pilots captured by the Iraqis denounced their own governments."

By forcing Gusmão to renounce East Timor's independence movement, the Indonesian government was probably hoping to create the impression overseas that self-determination was no longer an issue, Domm said.

## POW'S CAN BE FORCED TO SAY ANYTHING

*A trenchant analysis by a reader who must remain anonymous.*

– John

Since the broadcasting of his television 'interview' supposedly recanting resistance to Indonesian occupation of East Timor my reaction has been of mounting unreality and disbelief at the polite skepticism of most - doubtlessly comfortably middle class - commentators.

If I were Gusmão now I would be in fear of my own life ("shot while trying to escape"), physical disfigurement (look at any interrogation manual), or psychological maltreatment (such as threatened or real danger to relatives and associates).

The Indonesian authorities have control of all information available to him, of his surroundings, and can do almost anything with him they want. American prisoners during the Korean, Vietnamese, and Gulf conflicts often made statements under duress which were recanted when free.

In the case of my own family my paternal uncle, a pre-war Polish military communications instructor, initially on his own initiative, organised radio communications between the Polish underground home army and London after the fall of Warsaw, later becoming leader of its communication section. He was eventually captured but managed to sustain his alias under interrogation and during a subsequent tour of concentration camps including Sachsenhausen near Berlin.

As a fluent German speaker he convinced them that he was a German electrician and performed this function in the camps until the end of the war. He told me later that he was quite impressed with German intelligence - they had a list of the Polish command structure, knew his place in it and his *nom de guerre*, put a price on his head, and surmised that they had captured an important member of the underground. But they never realised that their prisoner was in fact 'Kobra.'

This is obviously not the case with Xanana. As an important political figure, Mandela is perhaps the closest analogy. I remember that when I flew into Baucau from Darwin in 1973, the airport buildings resembled the kraals of Mozambique or Angola.

I think it important to exert maximum political pressure on the Indonesian government to include Xanana in the Portuguese - Indonesian negotiations, and Xanana Gusmão's statements, if true, may have been designed to do this.

As a psychologist, I could not help observing his body language while in conversation with the current governor of Timor, Soares. He was stooped, spoke slowly in a monotonic unhappy voice, and while drinking tea with his right hand, kept the left one under the table. This could be the result of an injury, or a nonverbal signal not to take him seriously, akin perhaps to the idiosyncrasies apparent in Vietnam war photographs of 'happy' POW's in North Vietnam.

## TRY: WE DID NOT PRESSURE HIM

*Remark: The most touted candidate for Indonesia's vice presidency continues in the same vein of bluster, blunder and duplicity he exhibited after the November 12 massacre. President Suharto seems not yet to have pronounced on the case since his arrival home. His comments while abroad were relayed through State Secretary Mardiono and limited to congratulations to ABRI for capturing him alive. No foreign reporter has yet cited any comment on the capture from Army Commander Gen. Edi Sudradjat either. The long hold on ICRC access - now at about 2 weeks - not only raises suspicions about Xanana's treatment in custody, but also fuels speculation that there remains intra-regime conflict on how to deal with the case domestically and internationally.*

*So far Indonesia has done virtually nothing effective to stop the wave of international criticism. If it is waiting for an 'opening' like the Lusitania Expresso episode, so far no one has served it up. It is also remarkable that so soon after passing the word to its own domestic press not to blow up the Xanana story, the regime would then stage on national television such a high-profile 'newsworthy' interview. The transparency of the effort - Indonesians are accustomed to events like show trials and can sniff them as mile away - makes it much harder now rather than easier to mobilize domestic Indonesian opinion against the East Timor cause and creates rather than dissipates local sympathy for Xanana.*

- John

According to a December 3 AFP story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia's army chief denied Thursday that captured East Timorese rebel leader José "Xanana" Gusmão was pressured into saying he now recognised East Timor as belonging to Indonesia.

Army Commander-in-Chief General Try Sutrisno said claims to the contrary were an "insult" to Indonesia. "It is not true. We did not pressure him. What is the use of pressuring him," the Jakarta Post quoted him as saying.

On Tuesday the state television network TVRI showed Gusmão and East Timor Governor Abilio Osorio Soares talking together. During the broadcast Gusmão said East Timor was now part of Indonesia and called on his rebel Fretilin colleagues to surrender.

Portugal, as well as Fretilin's Australian representative, Alfredo Ferreira, dismissed the statement saying Gusmão was speaking

under duress, without legal representation and was not in a position to defend himself.

Try said Gusmão's statement "reflected the view of a man who was concerned with the conditions in East Timor." Gusmão could see for himself what was happening in East Timor and how the province was developing rapidly, Try added.

Try said the authorities would continue to question Gusmão who is being held at an undisclosed place on the island of Bali. His case would be dealt with according to Indonesian law. Bali is also headquarters of the Udayana military command in charge of East Timor.

The International Committee of the Red Cross has asked to be allowed to see Gusmão but has not so far received a reply from the Indonesian government.

## AI F1366/92 EAST TIMOR ARRESTS: XANANA TORTURED

*Remark: According to a report in the 23 November issue of the independent Yogyakarta daily Bernas which has just reached us, President Suharto himself ordered that Xanana be "intensively interrogated." In the case of political detainees, this phraseology is generally interpreted as a license to torture.*

- John

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: ASA 21/23/92. Distr.: UA/SC  
4 December 1992

Further information on UA 366/92 (ASA 21/17/92, 23 November 1992) - and follow-ups ASA 21/19/92 of 24 November 1992, ASA 21/20/92 of 26 November and ASA 21/21/92 of 30 November.

### Legal Concern: Fear of Torture and new concern: Death in custody

Indonesia/East Timor: Xanana Gusmão, 45  
Rufina Conceição Araujo (female), 74  
Augusto Pereira, 43 ) husband and  
Alianca de Araujo (female), 40) wife  
Ligia de Araujo (female), 22  
Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, 21  
Regina Conceição Araujo Serrano,  
(female), 18

Francisco Almeida Araujo, 17  
Armandina Gusmão dos Santos  
Gilman A. Exposto dos Santos  
Olandina Caeiro Alves (female)  
Oscar Lima  
Americo

and new names

Joachim Gusmão Reis, 23  
Sandra Gusmão Reis, 21  
Victor

Macario  
and at least three others

Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese resistance leader arrested by Indonesian military forces on 20 November 1992, and at least twenty of his close associates and relatives arrested since then, remain in incommunicado custody in clear violation of international and Indonesian law. At least one of those detained, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, is reported to have been tortured to death in custody, and there are fears that others, including Xanana Gusmão, have also been tortured or ill-treated while under interrogation. According to persistent reports, at least two of the women held in Dili have been raped in custody. Indonesian authorities continue to deny access to the prisoners by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), independent lawyers or any other impartial body.

Xanana Gusmão, who has been moved repeatedly in the two weeks since his arrest, is now thought to be held in the Regional Police Headquarters for Nusa Tenggara (POLDA NUSRA) in Denpasar, Bali. According to unnamed sources within the police headquarters, he has been beaten and tortured with electrical shocks and subjected to severe psychological pressure while under interrogation. He is said to be in a poor emotional state, speaking in broken sentences and experiencing serious lapses of concentration.

In a video recording, made on 27 November at military headquarters in Bali (KODAM Udayana/IX), and released on 1 December, Xanana Gusmão appears to apologize for organizing the peaceful demonstration of 12 November 1991 during which Indonesian forces killed more than 100 civilians; and calls for an end to armed resistance to Indonesian rule in East Timor. In view of strong indications that the statement was made under duress, and possibly following torture, the video serves to heighten Amnesty International's concern for Xanana Gusmão's safety.

Indonesian military authorities acknowledged on 1 December that they had arrested 20 of Xanana Gusmão's close associates since 20 November. One of them, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, is reported to have died in custody as a result of torture. Another East Timorese man, still unidentified, is said to have been hospitalized after being severely tortured in detention. According to reports, his limbs were broken and his finger and toe-nails pulled out by his captors. There have also been persistent reports that at least two of the women held in Dili - possibly Ligia de Araujo, aged 22, and Regina Conceição Araujo Serrano, aged

18 - were raped by Indonesian soldiers, in front of their relatives, on 29 November.

The reports of torture and rape cannot be immediately confirmed because all the detainees remain in incommunicado custody. However, Amnesty International believes that in view of the long-standing pattern of torture and ill-treatment of political detainees in East Timor, these reports must be treated with the utmost seriousness. The only effective guarantee of the future safety of Xanana Gusmão, and of all those currently held incommunicado, would be to grant immediate and unconditional access to them by the ICRC, lawyers of their own choosing, or other qualified, independent experts.

On 3 December Indonesian military authorities gave assurances that the ICRC would be granted access to Xanana "within a week." Such assurances are insufficient because the promise of future access can do nothing to remedy violations already inflicted. Under Indonesian and international law prisoners may not be held incommunicado, and have a right to independent legal counsel of their own choice. In Amnesty International's experience the risk of the torture and ill-treatment of political detainees is greatest during the initial period of interrogation.

#### FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

- Please send telegrams/faxes/express and airmail letters in English or your own language:
  - expressing grave concern that Xanana Gusmão and some 20 of his close associates and relatives remain in incommunicado detention, and that some have been subjected to torture and ill-treatment;
  - calling on the authorities to permit ICRC representatives, relatives and independent lawyers immediate access to all the detainees;
  - in the light of reports that one detainee, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, may have died as a result of torture, and that two women may have been raped by Indonesian soldiers in front of their relatives, calling on the government to act immediately to protect the safety of all political detainees in East Timor;
  - seeking clarification of the precise charges to be brought against Xanana Gusmão, and the other political detainees, and urging the government to immediately release all those detained for their peaceful political views, or for association with Xanana's family.

#### APPEALS TO:

Brig Gen. Theo Syafei  
PANGKOLAKOPS  
Markas Besar Kolakops/Korem 164  
Dili, East Timor, Indonesia

Telegrams Brig Gen. Syafei, Dili, East Timor, Indonesia

Maj. Gen. (Pol) Hindarto  
KAPOLDA NUSRA  
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Maj. Gen. Hindarto,  
KAPOLDA NUSRA, Denpasar, Bali,  
Indonesia

Maj. Gen. Suwardi  
Markas Besar, KODAM IX/Udayana  
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Maj. Gen. Suwardi, KODAM  
IX, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

General Try Sutrisno  
Commander of the Armed Forces  
Markas Besar ABRI  
Cilangkap, East Jakarta, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Gen. Try Sutrisno, Markas  
Besar ABRI, Jakarta, Indonesia  
Faxes: + 62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces  
HQ); + 62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ); + 62 21  
35 6404

#### PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:

Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH)  
Jl. Diponegoro 74  
Jakarta 10320  
Indonesia  
and to the diplomatic representative in  
your country.

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### WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL: A LEADING ASIAN COLONIALIST

December 5, 1992

*Remark: You can be sure this strong editorial by the Post will raise anxieties about the incoming Clinton administration's human rights policy toward Indonesia among Indonesian policymakers. Already most press commentaries have singled out human rights as a likely arena of conflict. And here it is, appearing even prior to the transition, in a solidly Democratic newspaper read daily in virtually every government office in Washington, even though Clinton himself has never made any public statement regarding East Timor. There are indications, however, he has long-held personal views on the issue.*

— John

Indonesia seems determined to keep competing for the title of Asia's leading colonial power. It does this by its stance in East Timor, a longtime Portuguese colony that became briefly independent of Portugal until Indonesia (of Dutch colonial lineage) swallowed it up in 1975.

A year ago the Indonesian army won world attention for its unprovoked massacre of dozens of peaceful independence demonstrators. President Suharto partially recouped by making the army take a measure of responsibility - though not a full measure. This year the government is back with another arrogant and clumsy show of power. Having caught the East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, the army showed him on television giving a performance so bizarre - he called on fellow guerrillas to abandon the independence struggle - as to raise the cry that he had been tortured. The human rights groups report new roundups, tortures and disappearances.

East Timor is the back of the moon to most Americans. Its quick absorption by staunchly anti-communist Indonesia - during the Vietnam War, when Washington appreciated Indonesia's support - barely registered on the American political scene, although some of that may change in a human-rights-oriented Clinton administration. Of the European powers, only Portugal, which feels a residual guilt for not having seen its colony to independence, tries to keep East Timor on the international agenda. The United Nations recognizes Portugal as the administrative power in East Timor, and the secretary general has invited Indonesia and Portugal to talks in New York on Dec. 17.

Indonesia needs to find its way to let East Timor choose its future. The U.N. talks offer a format. Indonesia also needs to meet the minimal standard of allowing the International Red Cross to visit Mr. Gusmão and its many other political prisoners. A wise Indonesian government would deal with Mr. Gusmão in a political process. Short of that, it would ensure him due process. How can it be in Indonesia's interest to remain a colonial power?

#### **WASHINGTON POST LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**

##### **'Asian Colonialist'? Indonesia Replies**

*Monday, December 21, 1992*

The *Post* editorial that branded Indonesia a "Leading Asian colonialist" [Dec. 5] was unfair. Having suffered for 3½ centuries under the yoke of colonialism and having gained independence through years of bloody wars, Indonesia is acutely aware of the evil of colonialism and has no desire to impose it on anyone else. When another brand of colonialism, that is communism, tried to gain power in 1965 through the force of arms, the Indonesian people rose to the occasion and thwarted it.

Allow me to give a historical perspective of the problem of East Timor. When

Portugal, after 400 years of colonial rule in East Timor, precipitously withdrew, there were five political parties. The left-leaning FRETILIN imposed its will on the others through terror and intimidation and took a unilateral action by declaring itself the sole authority in the territory. The Portuguese made a hasty retreat and left the people of East Timor at the mercy of the FRETILIN. With the weapons it received from the departing Portuguese, FRETILIN, went on a rampage that cost nearly 3,000 innocent lives. More than 42,000 refugees crossed the border into Indonesia's West Timor.

Consequently, the other four political parties proclaimed on Nov. 30, 1975 the independence of East Timor through integration with the Republic of Indonesia. They called upon the government of Indonesia to take the necessary steps to protect the lives of the East Timorese who had declared themselves to be Indonesian citizens. Acting upon this, the Indonesian parliament in Jakarta sent a fact-finding mission to East Timor and, after receiving a positive report, approved a bill of integration on July 15, 1976. The statute of integration was signed into law and formally promulgated by the president of the republic of Indonesia on July 17, 1976.

The editorial alluded to the tragic incident of Nov. 12 1991, in which dozens of lives were lost, and belittled the government's subsequent actions. Many objective observers called them swift and decisive; President Suharto immediately formed a blue-ribbon national commission of inquiry headed by a justice of the supreme court. Acting on the report of this commission, the president relieved two senior military commanders, although they were not directly responsible for the tragedy. Several other high-ranking and mid-level officers as well as noncommissioned officers were court-martialed and sentenced. Many countries, including the United States, that were originally critical of the tragic incident later praised President Suharto's handling of the matter.

As to José Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmão, he is not a political prisoner. He was a leader of a terrorist organization and is being accorded due process and treated humanely. Contrary to the editorial, the Indonesian government has given the International Committee of the Red Cross access to the detainee. Two Red Cross officials, Pierre Pont and Francisco Otero, visited Mr. Gusmão and spent 50 minutes privately with him on Dec. 7 at the National Police Headquarters in Jakarta.

M. HANNIEF DJOHAN

*Minister Counselor for Press and Information; Embassy of Indonesia, Washington.*

#### **Indonesia Through a Smoke Screen**

*Monday, December 28, 1992*

Notwithstanding the protestations by M. Hannief Djohan of the Indonesian Embassy [letters, Dec. 21], The *Post* editorial branding Indonesia as a "leading Asian colonialist" was perfectly fair. It made the case on the basis of the brutal takeover of East Timor on Pearl Harbor Day 1975.

Mr. Djohan refers to the 3,000 dead in the civil disturbances preceding the Indonesian invasion. That number, even if true, pales by comparison with the tens - possibly hundreds - of thousands who died in the invasion and ensuing war-related famine.

Mr. Djohan suggests that "contrary to the editorial, the Indonesian government has given the International Committee of the Red Cross access to the detainee." Yet his own letter notes that the "access" occurred on Dec. 7 - the 17th anniversary of the invasion - and two days after the *Post* editorial. Playing with the facts like this is typical of the kind of smoke screen the Indonesians have tried to put up on the issue. Moreover, it does not appear that even yet has resistance leader Xanana Gusmão been able to consult with an independent lawyer. There are, of course, serious questions raised about whether he has been tortured and subjected to mind-altering drugs.

As far as the 1991 massacre is concerned, the Indonesian response has indeed been paltry. Some nine low-level military personnel and one police officer were tried, convicted and sentenced for periods ranging from eight to 18 months. Trials of some 15 to 20 Timorese - none of whom appears to have engaged in violent acts - have resulted in such sentences as 10 and 15 years and, in one case, even life imprisonment. The only difference is that the Indonesians represent an occupying force and the Timorese were responding to the basic illegitimacy of the Indonesian presence.

ROGER S. CLARK, Camden, NJ.

*The writer is a professor of law at Rutgers University, Camden campus.*

## ICRC VISITS XANANA

*Remark: Two different wires report on the same event, the first relying on an Antara story. – John*

According to a December 7 Kyodo story datelined Jakarta, East Timorese independent rebel leader Xanana Gusmão is now in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta two weeks after his arrest on suspicion of masterminding a massacre in East Timor's city of Dili November 12 last year, Antara news agency reported Monday.

Antara did not say when Xanana, who is known as a symbol of East Timorese independence resistance to Indonesian rule, was taken to Jakarta.

The official news agency quoted two officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) as saying they met Xanana Monday in his jail at police headquarters in Jakarta.

Pierre Pont, one of the ICRC officials, told Antara they were happy to be able to meet with Xanana but refused to disclose what was discussed with the rebel leader.

He said the meeting came a few days after talks between Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and ICRC officials.

Pont said the ICRC hopes to have one or two more meetings with Xanana.

Indonesian military authorities arrested Xanana in Dili November 20. Authorities had sought the arrest of Xanana since Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

Armed forces officials earlier said they moved the rebel leader to Denpasar, the capital of Bali, about 1,000 kilometers east of Jakarta.

According to a December 7 AFP story datelined Jakarta, two Red Cross delegates visited detained East Timorese rebel leader José "Xanana" Gusmão here Monday, the humanitarian organisation said, but it was unable to shed much light on his condition.

"Yes, I can confirm it that we had a meeting this morning here, in Jakarta," said the chief International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegate to Indonesia, Pierre Herman Pont, when asked whether the ICRC had met with Gusmão.

The leader of East Timor's Fretilin pro-independence movement was captured November 20 in the main East Timorese town of Dili.

Pont and another ICRC delegate were the first independent parties to have met with Gusmão, 45, since his arrest.

Pont said the visit was made at police headquarters under the usual ICRC terms for visits to prisoners – with no witnesses,

at the place of detention and with the ICRC having the right to make a follow-up visit.

But he told reporters he could not reveal anything specific on Gusmão's condition or his surroundings.

"You can assume that this person is alive, that he is not missing, that he has not disappeared," Pont said, adding that the promise of a follow-up visit accorded the detainee a degree of protection.

The ICRC delegate also said he had given the Indonesian authorities a first account of the visit, with remarks and suggestions, but that a complete report would only be handed over to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

The ICRC visit to Gusmão and other suspected East Timorese rebels arrested shortly before, during and in the wake of Gusmão's capture was discussed on Friday in Geneva between Alatas and ICRC president Cornelio Somaruga, Pont added.

"After the visit to Xanana (Gusmão), the government of Indonesia will provide ICRC a program, an agenda to enable the ICRC to follow up the visit which took place today in Jakarta and to follow up with visits to the prisoners in East Timor," Pont said, adding that no dates had been set yet.

Gusmão was last seen in a nationally broadcast dialogue in Portuguese with Jakarta-appointed East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares, during which the resistance leader renounced the cause of East Timorese independence and called on his fellow rebels to surrender.

The ICRC had demanded a visit with Gusmão the day of his capture.

Pont said he believed Gusmão had been taken to the island of Bali shortly after his capture and then moved to at least two different places of detention in Jakarta.

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## BISHOP BELO REPUDIATES SYAFEI'S LIES (FULL INTERVIEW TEXT)

*Source: Publico, a leading Portuguese daily. 4 December 1992. Translated from the Portuguese*

### "I DON'T KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO MAKE XANANA CHANGE SO FAST"

*An interview of Bishop Belo by Publico 4 December 1992*

[Intro] The Bishop of Dili, Ximenes Belo, believes that if a prisoner makes a statement such as that made by Xanana Gusmão, this means that he has been subjected to torture.

Bishop Belo consented to a request from Publico to be interviewed by phone yesterday,

the first interview he has given since Xanana Gusmão was arrested.

Cautious as always, he said, "we here are living in a different world." Even so, he reiterated his belief in the need for a referendum, he repudiated what the Indonesian military said, and said that the arrest of any individual, even if he is the leader, does not mean the surrender of the entire people.

*Publico: Has there been a lot of discussion about the arrest of Xanana Gusmão?*

Belo: Not much. People were expecting this to happen, because there was very little space left for him to move. With each passing day, it became more likely.

*Publico: Did you know that he often left the bush and visited Dili?*

Belo: Yes, I know that he came here last year at the time of the visit of the Expresso journalist, Mario Robalo. Since then, I haven't heard about any visits.

*Publico: About the latest statement of Xanana Gusmão: Do you think that he was telling the truth, or lying, or was it because he had been tortured?*

Belo: It happened so fast. If he was not telling the truth, he was not speaking like a genuine leader. I don't know what could have happened to make him change so fast.

*Publico: Do you believe that Xanana has switched to being in favour of Indonesia?*

Belo: I don't know for certain what happened but for the past seventeen years, if any prisoner spoke in the way that Xanana has spoken, it happened as a result of torture.

*Publico: It has been reported by Reuters that General Syafei has offered amnesty to those guerrillas who agree to surrender and give up their arms in seven churches and that you will issue a Christmas Pastoral Letter calling on them to do this. Can you confirm this?*

Belo: No, I can't confirm that. It's quite false. This was cooked up by the military so that people would believe it. There is nothing whatever about any church being specified for this. I have not yet taken any decision on whether to issue a Christmas Pastoral Letter. It's all lies. We pastors have not taken any decisions on the matter. These are all lies. It's all military propaganda.

[To appreciate the significance of this denial, we reproduce here the report as carried in 'Jawa Pos' of 3 December:

"In line with the persuasive approach, the supreme head of the Catholic Church, Bishop Belo, has prepared an appeal, in the form of a Pastoral Letter. "This letter will be issued in two weeks time, in the form of a Christmas Message," Belo told Jawa Pos at his residence yesterday. "Amnesty is the best way for those still in the forests to come down," he said. The following churches are being made ready for guerrilla remnants to surrender: the parish churches of Bobonaro, Maubisse, Soibada, Manatuto, Uatolari, Viqueque, Becora, the parish church of Baucau, and the parish church of Aileu."]

*Publico: So you wont be making any appeal to the guerrillas?*

Belo: What should I appeal to the guerrillas about? This is a question of conscience for each individual, isn't it? To call on people to surrender and then kill them all. How could the church take responsibility for that? Each person is responsible for their own survival.

*Publico: So you don't want to do that?*

Belo: I could only do that after hearing the conditions and the guarantees and after consulting with the Vatican. I can't do more or less than that.

*Publico: What guarantees would you insist on?*

Belo: That anyone who surrenders will not be tortured, will not be killed, will not disappear, as happened in 1979 and 1980 when many Fretilin leaders disappeared.

*Publico: Do you believe that the Indonesian army is capable of complying with the guarantees that they give?*

Belo: First of all, I have to be given the guarantees, then I will see.

*Publico: Do you think that with the arrest of Xanana Gusmão and the latest statement he has made, the resistance will die?*

Belo: I can't say such a thing because Xanana is not the entire people. Xanana is only one inhabitant of East Timor.

*Publico: Do you think that the East Timorese people will continue to resist Indonesia?*

Belo: You are speaking in Portugal, where you are living in a democratic climate. We are living in a different world. When one speaks about the people you must be very careful (the rest unintelligible to Publico).

*Publico: It has been said that the International Red Cross will be allowed to visit Xanana next week. Would you like*

*to accompany the Red Cross when it makes this visit?*

Belo: I am very busy here in Dili. Xanana is now in Bali, so how can I do that?

*Publico: Wouldn't you like to visit him to know how he is at present?*

Belo: I must cope with my duties here, and only after that will I consider such a thing. With Christmas drawing near, I can't think about that.

*Publico: How does it feel at the moment to be living in Dili?*

Belo: Personally, I feel fine, free before God and before the people.

*Publico: Have you abandoned your proposal for a referendum, which you made to the Secretary-General of the United Nations?*

Belo: For me, that is the best solution. Whatever anyone says, for me that's the best solution.

*Publico: Have you made your opinion known to the Vatican?*

Belo: Yes, Sir.

*Publico: When was the last time that you sent any communication about this question?*

Belo: Several months ago.

*Publico: Have you had any thoughts about what you will say in your Christmas Message?*

Belo: The Christmas Message is almost always the same: receive Christ, behave yourself, be conciliatory, the East Timorese people should be united and should forgive each other, That's what my message is.

*Publico: Up to the present, your messages have not had much effect....*

Belo: Not yet....

*Publico: Do you think that it is possible to bring about reconciliation between everyone?*

Belo: I have my doubts. The bad thing for Timorese is the division between them, in the past, in the present, and I think also in the future.

*Publico: Aren't you thinking of visiting Portugal shortly?*

Belo: To go there now would be a waste of time. It isn't necessary.

*Publico: Don't you want to be in Fatima on the next 13 May?*

Belo: On a previous occasion in 1990, several bishops did not want to see me there. My Fatima is here in Timor.

## BELO WANTS U.N. RESOLUTIONS APPLIED

*Remarks: Belo makes basically the same points in his interview with an Indonesian newspaper as with Lisbon's Publico, albeit with slightly different wording. His stand against current military operations and for a UN-based solution are a profoundly important marker of cool-headed thinking from the church in a time of such upheaval and mayhem.*

*Also, note confusion on wire service reporting of "surrenders" on the one hand and killings on the other. Add to this the disarray about who has demanded the death sentence for Xanana, surrendering guerrillas or long-time pro-Indonesian elements as reported by Reuters and other agencies. Either the wire services can't get their stories right or this is a deliberate ploy of ABRI's propaganda machine. I'd go along with the ploy thesis. One wonders why journalists in Jakarta are not more careful in seeking the threads of truth out of all the confusion.*

*Everything that comes through reinforces the point made in TAPOL's Press Release yesterday that the army is rounding up large numbers of people, then claiming that they are "members of the resistance" who have surrendered and expressed loyalty.*

— Carmel

*I tend to agree with Carmel's observations about the standard of wire-service product coming out of Jakarta. For a long time I have felt that it was far too uncritical, that is lacking analysis, of raw material that obviously is the output of a propaganda machine. The fact that much of the wire-service material goes to feed the media through out the world means that those who need to know what is going on cannot rely on newspapers, in particular, and have to go to conferences like this for information.*

— Brian Brunton

According to UPI on 7 December, Bishop Belo told the Indonesian daily, Suara Pembaruan, that he was still awaiting a written assurance from military commander, Brig. Gen Theo Syafei, that remaining guerrillas would not be killed or tortured on their surrender to government authorities.

Regarding his Pastoral Message, he said it would be about reconciliation, amnesty and peace. He expressed his willingness to help the Indonesian government for (an) international settlement of the question of East Timor.

"I will help, especially on the respect of human rights in order (that) the integration of East Timor into Indonesia (is) internationally accepted through diplomatic solu-

tions, not through military means, and integration applied in line with UN resolutions.”

He also said it is time the military operations command in East Timor be dissolved “since Fretilin no longer exists.”

UPI also reported that, according to Antara news agency, 200 followers of Fretilin pledged loyalty to the Indonesian government, and said five guerrillas were killed in armed clashes in Manufahi jungle. These were thought to be guards for Fretilin leader Mau Huno. Two weapons were seized. [This is where 36 guerrillas are said earlier to have surrendered, released after questioning and required to report 3 times a week.]

Further according to UPI, one hundred supporters of the captured rebel leader, Xanana Gusmão, had urged the government to sentence him to death for leading armed rebellion.

Further, according to UPI, reports said that more than 500 other members of the resistance would also denounce the separatist group in the near future. This report, again according to UPI, appears to contradict a recent statement by the military commander that only 100 armed guerrillas remained in the region.

## MILITARY: XANANA WILL GET CIVIL TRIAL

*Remarks: Many wire reporters seem to be self-censoring their stories filed from Indonesia, leading to suspicions some may have received official warnings. Some stories, such as this one, convey doubt in much the same way as reportage in the Indonesian press, through such means as juxtaposing contradictory statements, or quoting another open source but declining to affirm the quote, or pointing out what was not said by an official.*

*The date for Xanana's trial has now apparently been pushed back to 3 months, whereas the most cited figure previously was 2 months. Either rules out his release and participation in the December 17 'tri-partite' talks under the auspices of UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali.*

*There appears to be a related debate on what charges should be brought against Xanana. Focusing charges on his master-minding the November 12, 1991 demonstration in Dili would represent an effort to deflect the self-determination issue.*

*ABRI Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno announced previously that the trial will be held in Dili, a matter which is not within his purview to decide. But it does indicate again the official anxieties surrounding the decision of the moment to go through the*

*usual subversion or other political crime trial routine which ends with the accused serving long periods in prison (and always the risk of a death sentence). Presumably Try thinks a Dili trial rather than a Jakarta one would diminish the publicity by controls placed on access by media and all other trial observers.*

*While it would take an extraordinary intervention by Boutros-Ghali to get Xanana released to a personal representative of the Secretary General, escorted by foreign diplomatic personnel on to a flight from Jakarta to New York, and provided the good offices of the US in accommodating him temporarily in New York for any UN-sponsored talks, the Indonesian government's dilemma is precisely to opt for this scenario – now or even after a trial – or else see Xanana turned into a Nelson Mandela figure.*

*The only hint that Suharto would contemplate impaling himself on the first horn – release – of the dilemma was an early fleeting remark by Sudomo that inquiries were being made into Xanana's citizenship. If he claimed Portuguese citizenship or statelessness, this could be used as a pretext for 'deporting' him at some point from Indonesia (even though claims of Portuguese citizenship by defendants in demonstration cases got them nowhere).*

*Suharto risks the wrath of some command-oriented officers in the Army if he does not go ahead with the second horn – trial – of the dilemma, but he would recover the damage to his credibility as NAM spokesman and polish his fading 'acceptability' to the new Clinton administration and many other governments (including G7) if he began a negotiation process involving Xanana as a major player on the East Timorese side.*

*Suharto, and Alatas especially, by now have received so many strong private warnings about Xanana from senior officials of foreign governments that it may seem more palatable than before to reach toward their shoes and remove the principal irritating pebble in Indonesia's foreign policy. This would likely remove for all parties concerned the possible de-stabilizing threat of a new, long forsworn policy of broad hostility toward an authoritarian Indonesia (even if nothing changes in the short term except the status of East Timor). Foreign governments would prefer to treat Indonesia as a 'partner' or, in some cases, 'ally.'*

*The danger to Suharto from the Army if he embarked on a new East Timor policy may have been over-estimated. Murdani's 'project' would end, but he could simply not be re-appointed to any significant position*

*after the MPR selects Suharto again as President. A Vice President highly favored by the Army is a formidable card Suharto holds in his hand. It is not likely Try has the wits or courage to go against a new East Timor policy. Most 'good soldiers' would behave as such. Some 'sospol' and 'intel' Army elements favor very significant regime change – indeed, most of the officer corps has leaned this way for well over a decade now – and very few officers anywhere in the Army favor a violent or any unconstitutional transition of power. These goals would be substantially nearer achievement especially should Suharto become incapacitated during his next term – as many expect will occur.*

*In short, Suharto, prodded – and buttressed – by escalating international pressure, now has sufficient power not simply to free Xanana and other Timorese detainees, but also to free East Timor. The scenario might well be uniquely Indonesian, with a pliant DPR at the center and a pliant DPRD in East Timor passing or ratifying a bill or Presidential decision to 'expel' East Timor from Indonesia or permitting it (and it alone) to 'secede.'*

– John

According to a December 8 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Jakarta, Indonesia will put captured East Timorese rebel chief Xanana Gusmão on trial in a civil court in about three months, a senior military officer said on Tuesday.

Air Force Vice-Marshal Teddy Rusdi, top aide to army commander General Try Sutrisno, did not say what the charges would be. He said the government believed Xanana was behind protests which Jakarta says led to an army massacre in East Timor in November 1991.

Witnesses say up to 180 people were killed in the firing at a cemetery in the capital Dili, while the government puts the toll at 50 dead and 66 missing.

“We know he was behind it,” Rusdi told Reuters, adding that the trial, by a panel of judges, would be final proof that Jakarta was being unfairly blamed by human rights groups for the violence.

The trial is expected to focus international attention on not just Xanana, who led the Fretilin guerrillas fighting Indonesian rule for 16 years, but also the territory's status.

Jakarta annexed East Timor in 1976, a year after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers. The United Nations does not recognise the move.

The government on Monday finally allowed the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit Xanana in Jakarta, three weeks after he was arrested in East Timor.

“We have nothing to hide,” Rusdi said, adding that the media would be allowed to

meet him only after he had been further interrogated.

Xanana appeared on Indonesian television after his capture to urge his fellow rebels to surrender, an appeal that the military says was accepted by about 200 followers at the weekend.

It is not clear if those who surrendered were members of Fretilin. The military has recently estimated the guerrillas' dwindling numbers at between 150 and 200.

The weekend surrender appeared to be in response to an Indonesian government offer of clemency.

East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, has also been reported by Indonesians newspapers as having offered seven churches where the guerrillas can surrender.

The territory's population is predominantly Catholic.

Its military commander, Brigadier General Theo Syafei, has warned of tough action against those who reject the clemency offer.

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## XANANA JAILED IN JAKARTA

*Japan Economic Newswire*

(JAKARTA, Dec. 7 Kyodo) East Timorese independent rebel leader Xanana Gusmão is now in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta two weeks after his arrest on suspicion of masterminding a massacre in East Timor's city of Dili November 12 last year, Antara news agency reported Monday.

Antara did not say when Xanana, who is known as a symbol of East Timorese independence resistance to Indonesian rule, was taken to Jakarta.

The official news agency quoted two officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) as saying they met Xanana Monday in his jail at police headquarters in Jakarta.

Pierre Pont, one of the ICRC officials, told Antara they were happy to be able to meet with Xanana but refused to disclose what was discussed with the rebel leader.

He said the meeting came a few days after talks between Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and ICRC officials.

Pont said the ICRC hopes to have one or two more meetings with Xanana.

Indonesian military authorities arrested Xanana in Dili November 20. Authorities had sought the arrest of Xanana since Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

Armed forces officials earlier said they moved the rebel leader to Denpasar, the capital of Bali, about 1,000 kilometers east of Jakarta.

The Lisbon government has allowed Portuguese colonies, including East Timor, independence since the April 1974 Portuguese revolution. Portugal has urged Indonesia to admit independence of East Timor.

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## XANANA VIDEO IN JAKARTA SHOWN IN AUSTRALIA

SBS-TV News tonight (Dec. 8) showed video footage, taken by the Indonesian army, of Xanana being visited in the cells at Police Headquarters in Jakarta by two officials of the International Red Cross. He seems to be in good health, if somewhat dazed. He doesn't move his left arm at all, but there were only a short couple of shots of him. He was smoking a cigarette.

His alleged cell appears to be about 2m x 3m in size, with a thin mattress and pillow on the floor. A mat or carpet covers the rest of the floor. There are 2 new-looking suitcases and a new-looking soft bag lying on the floor.

The report also showed army footage of six men and one woman, with dark skin and curly hair, who are allegedly surrendered members of Fretilin. They were wearing neat, clean (new?) clothes and appeared calm. Also shown was a brief shot of an army official, starting to spread at the middle.

The voice-over explains that Xanana has been moved from Bali to Jakarta Police Headquarters and that the time of his transfer is unclear. There have allegedly been more than 340 rebel surrenders since Gusmão's capture two weeks ago, 200 of them last weekend.

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## AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ALERT: DECEMBER 10

### AI FI366/92 EAST TIMOR Arrests

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)AI  
Index: ASA 21/24/92  
Distr.: UA/SC  
10 December 1992

Further information on UA 366/92 (ASA 21/17/92, 23 November 1992) - and follow-ups: ASA 21/19/92 of 24 November 1992, ASA 21/20/92 of 26 November 1992, ASA 21/21/92 of 30 November 1992 and ASA 21/23/92 of 4 December 1992 - Legal concern/fear of torture/fear of "disappearance"

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: Xanana Gusmão, 45

Rufina Conceição Araujo (female), 74  
Augusto Pereira, 43  
Alianca de Araujo (female), 40  
Ligia de Araujo (female), 22  
Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, 21

Regina Conceição Araujo Serrano, (female), 18

Francisco Almeida Araujo, 17  
Armandina Gusmão dos Santos  
Gilman A. Exposto dos Santos  
Olandina Caeiro Alves (female)  
Oscar Lima

Americo  
Joachim Gusmão Reis, 23  
Sandra Gusmão Reis, 21  
Victor  
Macario  
and at least three others

The Indonesian Government permitted representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit Xanana Gusmão at an unspecified location in Jakarta on 7 December 1992. He had been held incommunicado for 17 days before the visit, and there were fears for his safety. At least 39 others, and possibly many more, detained in East Timor since early November, have yet to be visited by the ICRC. They are being held in incommunicado custody and some are reported to have been subjected to severe forms of torture.

ICRC officials confirmed on 8 December that they had visited Xanana Gusmão in Jakarta. A report of the visit will be submitted to the Government of Indonesia but, in accordance with ICRC policy, it will not be published. The authorities have reportedly promised further ICRC visits to Xanana Gusmão but the timing of the visits has yet to be negotiated.

Amnesty International welcomes the ICRC visit, but notes with serious concern that it occurred 17 days after Xanana Gusmão's arrest, during which time he may have been subjected to physical and mental torture and ill-treatment. Amnesty International believes that it is essential for ICRC representatives, independent lawyers and relatives to be granted frequent, regular access to Xanana Gusmão, if his safety is to be effectively guaranteed while he is in custody.

Those still held incommunicado in East Timor include at least 19 close associates or relatives of Xanana Gusmão, arrested after his capture on 20 November; and at least 20 others, arrested prior to and during the anniversary of the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre (see UA 367/92, ASA 21/18/92, of 23 November 1992 and follow ups). All are at risk of torture and ill-treatment and there is urgent concern for their safety. The ICRC is seeking to be permitted to visit the Dili detainees in the near future, but it is not known when the visits will take place.

One of the detainees, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, is reported to have died

under torture and two of the women have reportedly been raped by Indonesian soldiers (see ASA 21/23/92 of 4 December 1992). Others are feared to have "disappeared." Amnesty International calls upon the Indonesian authorities to act immediately to clarify the fate and whereabouts of these detainees and to allow ICRC officials, independent lawyers and relatives immediate access to their place of detention.

**FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:**

- Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/express and airmail letters in English or your own language:
  - welcoming the fact that the ICRC has been permitted to visit Xanana Gusmão in detention, but noting with concern that the visit occurred after 17 days of incommunicado detention;
  - urging the government to allow the ICRC, independent lawyers, doctors and relatives frequent, regular access to Xanana Gusmão in detention;
  - seeking clarification of the precise whereabouts of Xanana Gusmão;
  - expressing urgent concern for the safety of the 39 others arrested since early November, and of all political detainees in East Timor; calling on the government to permit ICRC representatives, independent lawyers, doctors and relatives immediate access to their place of detention;
  - calling on the government to release all those detained solely for peaceful political views, or for association with Xanana Gusmão's family.

**APPEALS TO:**

Brig Gen. Theo Syafei  
[Salutation: Dear Brig Gen. Syafei]  
PANGKOLAKOPS  
Markas Besar KOLAKOPS/KOREM 164  
Dili, East Timor, Indonesia  
Telegrams Brig Gen. Syafei, Dili, East Timor

Maj. Gen. Suwardi  
[Salutation: Dear Maj. Gen. Suwardi]  
Markas Besar, KODAM IX/Udayana  
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Maj. Gen. Suwardi, Kodam IX,  
Denpasar, Bali,

General Try Sutrisno  
[Salutation: Dear General Sutrisno]  
Commander of the Armed Forces  
Markas Besar ABRI  
Cilangkap, East Jakarta  
Indonesia  
Telegrams: Gen. Try Sutrisno, Markas  
Besar ABRI, Jakarta, Indonesia  
Faxes: +62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ);  
+62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ); +62 21 35  
6404

**PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:**

Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH),  
Jl. Diponegoro 74, Jakarta 10320, Indonesia

**CHURCH SOURCES SPEAK OUT ON XANANA'S DETENTION AND TORTURE**

*Excerpt from press release by Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 11 December 92. Omitted material has previously been posted. – John*

The following information was obtained from church sources inside East Timor on 8 December:

"The tortures are going on every day. There has never been anything like it. Numerous people have been beaten, and some put to death, all of this continues. There is complete confirmation of everything Amnesty International has been saying since the capture of Xanana Gusmão, only things are far, far worse than that. Numerous people have been arrested and a significant number have been forced to betray others after being tortured. The reality is far, far worse than observers see from the surface. You can tell the whole world that there is no doubt about the torture and atrocities the Indonesians are committing at present. The torture even extends to the private parts of boys and girls, men and women.... The Indonesians continue to call people in for interrogation and torture. In quite a number of cases the torture is so terrible that people defect to the Indonesian side. Many people who are released look like zombies.... The lines to the prisons are tremendous, one after another people are sent in. The beatings and tortures are out of this world."

"Despite all this, the spirit of the young people, their desire for freedom, is more firm than before. When people are not broken by the torture, they are firm in their perspectives. For now, people are only free to pray and think."

Talks under UN auspices are due to take place between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments on 17 December. Portugal has demanded repeatedly that Timorese leaders should be included. There is no more appropriate candidate than Xanana himself, leader and inspiration to the East Timorese struggle for independence over the last seventeen years.

For more information, contact Catherine Scott 071 354 0883 or Steve Alston 071 733 7900

**BELO: "LET'S ALL DISARM, AND TALK"**

*Jawa Pos, 10 December 1992. Unabridged.*

*Remark: This interview, conducted by Nany Wijaya, who has written a series of articles on Xanana Gusmão, shows Bishop Belo in a short-tempered and impatient mood towards his interlocutor. The interview was published under the heading: "Let bygones bygones" [Lupakan yang sudah-sudah].*

*Nany Wijaya has been allowed free range to prepare this and other reports in East Timor concerning the capture of Xanana Gusmão. Jawa Pos, close to military intelligence, is clearly enjoying privileged access to all sources and was presumably pursuing army objectives in conducting this interview.*

– Carmel

*Remark: The 'triumvirate' of governor/military/Church envisaged in the UGM 'Mubyarto report' on East Timor was actually modestly put into effect when Brig. Gen. Warouw was Kolakops commander and Mario Carrascalao the governor. Now while discussions among the three 'pillars' in East Timor – the resistance was conveniently neglected even by the UGM research team – continue to be given lip service, the concepts of power-sharing and cooperation implied are clearly dead as a doornail under the post November 12 massacre Syafei-Soares arrangements. Soares himself is only an ornament in this 'new order' in East Timor under which the Army has relegated more power to itself than anytime in the past 10 years. It isn't clear that Soares himself realizes he has been made just 'a voice in the chorus;' he seems to regard himself as 'a member of the team.' It is no wonder that Bishop Belo should have been as curt as he has been in recent interviews with the Indonesian press corps he loathes so much. – John*

*JP: What is your comment about the arrest of Xanana?*

Belo: I have no comment! It's a military affair, a political affair. I also don't want to comment on whether it will be beneficial or not. That's a matter for the gentlemen of the military. [Belo uses the expression, 'bapak-bapak militer,' biting deferential.] The only thing I hope, we all hope, is that with this, we will be able to turn over a new leaf in our history, for life in East Timor, also for me.

*JP: What's your personal opinion?*

Belo: Under our religion, we are taught to let bygones by bygones and forgive our

brethren. This means that if a leader is caught, his followers should be forgiven, including those who have given help or were involved in other ways. So, let's be finished with it! We should forgive them so that they can return to a quiet life and get on with their lives as before. Forgiveness for them is the most important thing for starting a new chapter. If Xanana, the thief, has been caught but we go on pestering those who helped him, there will be no end to it.

*JP: What if Xanana's followers want to come down from the forest?*

Belo: What is the Church's attitude if they want to come down? It depends greatly on whether they will be forgiven or not. Even if they are the enemy, they have their own feelings which must be respected.

*JP: What about Xanana's statement on television?*

Belo: I didn't watch it.

*JP: In that statement, Xanana admitted all his errors. He also called on his followers still in the bush to surrender fast, either direct to the authorities or through the church. What do you think? Would you like to read the report published in the newspaper. I have the paper here.*

Belo: No, thank you!

*JP: What, in your opinion, is the significance for East Timor of Xanana's arrest?*

Belo: I hope this will be the beginning of a new chapter for the people of East Timor.

*JP: After travelling through the regions of East Timor, I have the impression that not all members of the public agree with the idea of forgiveness. Some even want the opposite. They want everyone to be punished.*

Belo: What more do they want? If everyone must be punished, I think this will upset everyone. Furthermore, things would not end there because, even though the army's target had been fulfilled, the social and psychological problems here would not be over.

*JP: According to reports, there are still GPK [i.e. guerrillas] who don't want to surrender. Do you have any suggestions to help the military to bring them down?*

Belo: Let's have a dialogue. What do they want, what do we want? They shouldn't be forced to come down. They will come down of their own accord. It's a question of time. I think they are trying to make certain of things themselves. If they surrender, will

they really be forgiven? I would like to appeal to them: Let's repent and be ready to receive our Saviour.

*JP: Back to the question of dialogue, what do you mean concretely?*

A: OK, I'll be concrete. Let's all lay down our arms and have dialogue with empty hands, using our brains and our hearts. Treating each other as equals. Not with the attitude, "you're wrong and I'm right" or vice versa.

*JP: But it's not possible to have a dialogue if one of the sides is still in the bush.*

Belo: In this world, everything is possible. If we want something to happen, it will be possible. If we want it, as I have often said, the step is that everyone must first lay down their arms. Get rid of all kinds of preconceptions, sit down together as equals, in one place, to hold a dialogue.

*JP: Would the church play the role of mediator, perhaps?*

Belo: OK, that can be so. But with guarantees. In addition, the church should be trusted. We would play that role in the common interest, not in the interest of one side, because the church is not allowed to engage in politics. In such matters, a bishop must be very cautious. If not, we could be dragged into political affairs.

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## ALATAS' GLIB ASSURANCES

*The problem with this story is that Foreign Minister Alatas does not have the authority to implement even these vague assurances.*

— John

According to a December 12 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas promised on Saturday that captured East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão would be given an open and fair trial.

Alatas told Reuters the government had still not decided on the charges to be levelled against Xanana, who was seized in the East Timorese capital of Dili last month.

"The trial will be an open one," Alatas said, adding that Xanana would be tried in accordance with international and national laws.

"There will be no cause for unfounded fears or prejudice," Alatas said, referring to the concern of international human rights groups for Xanana's safety.

Alatas said no trial date had been set.

Asked what kind of punishment Xanana would receive, Alatas said it would depend

on the charges, which will be filed under the criminal code.

Hardliners want Xanana to be punished for masterminding protests they say led troops to fire into a crowd gathered in Dili last year to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

The government says 50 people died and 66 went missing in the firing but witnesses put the death toll at up to 180.

Alatas said Xanana's capture and his subsequent statements had prompted many East Timorese separatists to surrender.

"It shows he has come to realise the situation," Alatas said, referring to an interview broadcast by Portugal's TSF radio on Friday and another on Indonesian television last week.

In Friday's censored prison interview to Portuguese reporter João Gabriel, Xanana said he accepted East Timor's integration into Indonesia.

Indonesia annexed the territory in 1976, a year after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers. The annexation is not recognised by the United Nations.

"I must agree with integration with Indonesia," Gusmão said.

Asked if he was a traitor, Xanana said "No I am not. I am a realist."

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## XANANA IS UNREPENTANT (SIC-TSF INTERVIEW)

*Translation of article published in the Portuguese daily O Publico on 12 December 1992, written by Adelino Gomes, on the recent interview of Xanana Gusmão by João Gabriel, reporter for SIC-TSF (Portuguese independent TV channel and radio station)*

It happened at the end of the interview. Interviewer and interviewee were standing together, with censors and military a meter or so away. Xanana gripped the reporter's hand and held it firmly in his own for 30, 40 seconds. "I was answering your questionnaire at the time of my arrest," he said. Then came two more sentences, which the SIC-TSF reporter prefers to withhold until he is back in Portugal. However, João Gabriel did disclose to *O Publico* that Xanana's two last sentences of the interview "disagree entirely with the version that he is repentant, placing him in the position he has been in for the past 17 years, fighting for Timor's independence."

The reporter, who managed to get into Dili last summer using his other passport (non-Portuguese), did not think he would be given permission to meet Xanana. Indonesia's "yes" arrived Thursday night, two weeks after the request had been made, when the reporter arrived in Jakarta.

Some hours later (3 am Lisbon time), a much moved journalist meets face to face with an “extremely tense” prisoner. João Gabriel introduces himself. “I gave him a hug from Portugal; I assumed that role,” João Gabriel tells *O Publico*. Xanana responds with a strong handshake. “I apologise for my role here - trying to ‘extract’ information from a man in such an extremely complicated and critical situation. He smiled and said: ‘There’s no problem.’”

Three dozen people, among them many military - some of whom are high-ranking, are present during the interview. It takes place in the amphitheatre used for teaching at the police barracks in Jakarta, where Xanana is being held prisoner. The interview is recorded by an army film crew and observed attentively by five Indonesian censors, one of whom is a woman. “The entire interview refutes the idea of repentance suggested by the video recording of Xanana’s interview with Abilio Osorio (Governor of East Timor),” (see *O Publico* of 2 December), says the interviewer. As the most explicit example of this he indicates Xanana’s reply to a question about his acceptance of East Timor’s integration in Indonesia. “I am replying in a way in which, if I were free, I would not,” said the leader. But this part was neither heard nor seen by the Portuguese because it was one of several sentences which censorship deleted (8 minutes of the nearly 20-minute interview) (see below).

“I think that Xanana was extremely skillful throughout the interview, attempting not to repeat what he had said in the interview with the Governor while at the same time avoiding later reprisals,” João Gabriel insists. “Frequently he said: ‘I am outside ... I have nothing to do with that.’” Also, he regulated very well his pauses and some long silences, giving to understand that he did not feel what he was about to say.”

Half an hour after entering the amphitheatre-prison, the Portuguese envoy was to experience the most mysterious part of this face-to-face encounter when, for some brief-long moments, Xanana held on to his hand. “When I get back to Portugal I will reveal, to whoever wants to listen, the two sentences he said,” he promises.

Eleven hours were to follow, waiting for the censors’ verdict. The reporter spent this time in the house of the cameraman who had captured on film the doubly historical interview - on account of the significance and repercussions it would have both inside and outside Timor, and because of the landmark it represented in the life of independent radio and TV in Portugal.

“The cuts refer to the principle elements of Xanana’s thinking,” João Gabriel would think. When his work was given the green

light, it is lunch time in Lisbon. His biggest surprise would be on account of the reply to the last question: the “it is strange” with which Xanana underlines the “reporter’s astonishment at his “act of contrition.”” Being used by the Indonesians? João Gabriel does not hesitate for a second: If, by authorising the interview, the Government’s idea was to close the lid on the case and come up with a trump card for the negotiations on the 17th (between Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the United Nations in New York), the shot has backfired: he managed to very intelligently outmaneuver the military.” He says the Indonesian authorities were not dissatisfied but thinks that they did not realise just what they allowed to pass in the interview.”

There is no point in them telling him that Xanana says he admits the facts, that he no longer defends the same positions as before, and that it is difficult to place a “no” where a “yes” was heard.

“He said, he said at the end, something very clear,” he repeats.

#### **THE COMPLETE, AUTHORISED, INTERVIEW**

*João Gabriel - Have you been well treated by the authorities since your arrest?*

Xanana Gusmão - I have always been well treated.

*Q. Isn’t there anything you can mention?*

A. Nothing to mention.. (silence). In fact I found it excessive in comparison with my other companions.

*Q. Have you been treated too well compared to your companions? What you said in the interview with Abilio Osorio, did you say of your own free will?*

A. Yes.

*Q. Are you, therefore, rejecting a past, almost half of your life, the principles which you defended all these 17 years?*

A. I am not a conformist, but ... (hesitation) I think that ... (hesitation), I think that ... (hesitation) I should agree with the facts.

*Q. Do you agree that, at this stage, integration is best for Timor?*

A. Yes, individually ... (hesitation). I think so, because I have nothing to do with more (silence) ... with other contexts.

*Q. With regards Portugal, do you think it was and continues to be the guilty party in relation to the situation in Timor?*

A. I excuse myself from answering that because it is a question that concerns Portugal itself ... (hesitation) At this time I ... (hesitation) do not hold the same position ...

as when ... as some time ago. I have nothing to do with that. I think that Portugal ... should also reconsider its own position. (silence).

*Q. Do you support integration?*

A. Well, it depends on Portugal ... I have nothing to do with Portugal.

*Q. Xanana, these statements, the last ones that you have made, will they eventually lessen your sentence? Has anyone spoken of that?*

A. I am not interested ... (hesitation) in knowing about a reduced sentence, since I accept responsibility for all of that, I accept that ... (hesitation) I accept that I suffer the consequences of all this rather than my companions, and I have spoken with the authorities about this once. I am prepared to receive ... (hesitation) in the others’ place, as the one responsible for the situation provoked in East Timor.

*Q. Has the resistance in Timor finished?*

A. I cannot say, can I? I cannot say.

*Q. But about the appeal you made for the members of the Falantil to surrender, do you think that the Indonesian authorities are sincere about the amnesty that has been promised?*

A. I cannot make any statement on that subject ... (hesitation) I made the appeal, now all depends on them. They were not fighting for me, they were not fighting for me.

*Q. When you were captured, it is said that a list of priests was found in your house, and that they would have collaborated with the resistance. Do you confirm this?*

A. Yes, I confirm it.

*Q. Did the Timorese Church always help the resistance?*

A. I confirm it.

*Q. Msgr. Ximenes?*

A. In one way or another.

*Q. Xanana, why were you captured? Was there betrayal, or was there some imprudence on your part?*

A. I excuse myself from answering that.

*Q. Used you go often to Dili?*

A. Yes.

*Q. One of the problems in your respect which has been posed (and which has been spoken about lately) is that of your nationality: now, are you Portuguese, Indonesian, or Timorese?*

A. According to the statements I made ... (hesitation) that I signed as an Indonesian citizen ... (I take upon myself) all ... all the consequences for my acts.

*Q. If the Vatican could, eventually, intervene and manage to get you out of Indonesia, would you accept?*

A. No.

*Q. You want to stay?*

A. Yes.

*Q. Throughout the resistance in Timor, did you ever receive money from Portugal?*

A. From solidarity groups ... yes, I received money.

*Q. Is it Xanana who, at this stage, has a legitimate right to speak for the Timorese?*

A. I cannot state and I am (now) outside that reality.

*Q. There was recently a fundraising campaign in Portugal. It is your wife who is in possession of that money. What would you like her to do with it?*

A. No ... (silence) I repeat that I am not, not (hesitation)... I am entirely out of that question now.

*Q. Xanana, when one day you get out again, are free again, what would you like to do?*

A. I also said this to the Indonesian authorities that (hesitation) ... I have no ambition... other than to help that people to ... to build itself up.

*Q. To help the Timorese people, through integration with Indonesia?*

A. Yes, I think so.

*Q. You led the resistance, and one of the questions on which accusations against you could eventually be based is whether you killed anyone directly, during those 17 years...*

A. Whether I killed anyone directly? To myself (hesitation) ... I do not pose that question ... I do not pose that question ... What I pose is my responsibility over all the acts ... which took place in East Timor throughout these years ... Of course, whether I killed or not is something secondary ... All the acts, under Indonesian law, are subversive ... So I take responsibility for all that happened.

*Q. Would you like to be extradited to Portugal?*

A. No.

*Q. Do you want to stay here?*

A. In Timor, if it were possible.

*Q. Do you have any particular message, at this stage, for anyone?*

A. It is not the right time for messages. No, it is not the time for messages for anyone.

*Q. Are you being well treated?*

A. Yes ... without reservations.

*Q. The resistance (namely Fretilin) is accused of killing innocent people.*

A. I believe that belongs to a past, about which Fretilin itself has already (hesitation) ... already stated to the effect that it recognised this error.

*Q. Do you admit that there have been some excesses?*

A. In the early days ... of the invasion.

*Q. I again ask you, do you have any message for anyone in particular, for Portugal, for example?*

A. No, I have not. (silence)

*Q. Do you think that the negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia still make sense?*

A. That is up to them (to Portugal and to Indonesia), not up to me.

*Q. Wouldn't you like to send a message to the Portuguese minister who will be meeting the Indonesian minister, Ali Alatas, on the 17th?*

A. I have nothing to say. (silence)

*Q. Xanana, by taking up this position - which I do not believe you do of your own free will - are you not afraid that, one day, you will be branded in history as a traitor?*

A. One man alone does not make history. (silence).

*Q. But isn't that strange, coming from the mouth of the man who ...*

A. I am aware of that.

*Q. ...of the man who, until just a few months ago, was part ... and now ...*

A. I am aware of that. (silence)

*Q. And you say that of your own free will?*

A. I am aware of that. (silence) If you don't believe it (silence) you can believe it.

#### CENSORSHIP CUTS

The five Indonesian censors who accompanied the SIC-TSF envoy to the police training school, where Xanana Gusmão is being held prisoner, kept the cassettes of the interview for 11 hours, while they cut out 8 minutes of the approximately 20 minute interview. "Entire questions and answers," told reporter João Gabriel to O Publico last

night, during a telephone call arranged by Jakarta. The main cuts were:

Two sentences were cut from Xanana's reply on whether he defends integration with Indonesia: "I am replying in a way in which, if I were free, I would not" and "I think I ought to agree." With regards to the spokesman of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), José Ramos-Horta: Everything was cut as Xanana only said "I am out now. I don't want to say anything." - without repeating the criticism of the first video.

Concerning Ma'Huno, the new armed resistance leader: "If he wishes, he has the conditions in which to carry on the fight."

Regarding the forthcoming New York talks: A long reply was completely erased, in which Xanana spoke of "an international and global solution for Timor."

#### COMMENTS FROM AGIO PEREIRA

This "interview" was arranged by Dany Sim, formally from Darwin, now based in Jakarta. Dany Sim's agency also "interviewed" Mau Hodu in Dili at the time of the first anniversary of "The Massacre of Santa Cruz" when Hodu was made to declare that "there are only 100 men in the bush and poorly armed." He is now working with an Indonesian journalist called Hendro Subroto, formally of TVRI, the man responsible for a film which was promoted in Darwin in January this year to discredit the Yorkshire-TV documentary of the massacre of Santa Cruz.

This film was used in Australia to promote Indonesian propaganda. The film called "Cold Blood" was so ridiculous to the point where, even the most well-known supporters of Suharto's regime like the Chief Minister of the NT-Australia, Marshall Perron, called it "a piece of propaganda." So, we are talking here of known Indonesian military propagandist involved in this so-called interview.

1. This is the second time the Indonesian authorities tried to portray Xanana as a pro-Indonesian leader on foreign and Indonesian TV. The first time was when Xanana was allegedly "interviewed" by the puppet governor of Tim-Tim, Abilio Osorio Soares. At that time, the propaganda did not succeed not only because it is not easy to convince the international community that a man of Xanana's calibre would change his political philosophy overnight (let alone while he is incarcerated), but also because the response of the pro-East Timor movement was very effective in neutralising any impact such a cheap propaganda could have produced.

2. However, unlike the first appearance of Xanana on TV (filmed on the 27th of

November and released only three days later after fully censored by the army) where one could clearly see signs of physical torture, this time, Xanana seemed more alert. After the interview, the journalist conveyed to a colleague in Sydney that "Xanana was obviously under duress." To put this further into context, a reporter of ABC-Australian Broadcasting Corporation said on the national ABC radio news this morning (12.12.92, 10:00 am news) that in the interview (which was not shown on the satellite piece for ABC and SBS TV) there were about 30 (thirty) army officers present in the room. And, the news continued, under those circumstances, Xanana was asked if the priests and the Bishop (Belo) were involved in the resistance. Xanana said "yes."

3. The scenario of this "interview" was obviously highly planned to highlight the pro-Indonesian component. The "garuda" in golden colour appeared in background as if it is desperate for some blood to survive! Xanana was dressed like a senior public servant, in a balalaika showing that the Indonesian generals obviously are worried about how to deal with Xanana.

4. It is clear that all questions were thoroughly censored by the military. Questions like "you message to Fretilin supporters in Australia" highlight the fact that the aim of the Indonesian military is to break the support which Xanana enjoys from the supporters of Fretilin abroad and in East Timor. The Indonesian military is desperately trying to use Xanana to demoralise and demobilise the rank and files of the East Timorese National Resistance and Fretilin. This is consistent also in the first video appearance on the 30th/11/92 with the puppet governor of TimTim when Xanana was told to answer the same questions including Mr. José Ramos-Horta's motives.

5. It is obvious that the Indonesian generals are aware that the forthcoming negotiations to be held at the UN under the auspices of the SG, Dr. Boutros-Ghali, will be a difficult one to handle. Hence, they are trying all they can to use Xanana as a last resort.

6. But, because it is not only illegal under the international law to capture Xanana but also to take him outside his own country against his will; and, because the UN still does not recognise the Indonesian occupation of East Timor as legal, whatever the Indonesian military does with Xanana whilst in prison and held incommunicado, will highlight further the illegal occupation of East Timor and the total disregard for international law and human Rights by the Indonesian military regime.

It is up to us who are lucky enough to live in freedom to campaign as vigorous as

possible to give to Xanana the same freedom we enjoy outside so that he, too, can continue to express his views in a free and humane environment.

Agio Pereira  
Free-Xanana Committee -  
The East Timorese Community  
in NSW, Australia

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## GUSMÃO STILL BACKS FIGHT: JOURNALIST

*Melbourne Age, 14 Dec 1992.*

*By Jill Joliffe. Unabridged*

*Jill confirms the analysis of the prison interview posted by CDFM. Unfortunately, her story also contains the first strong indication that Rogerio Lobato and Abilio Araujo may have at least de facto teamed up in yet another inter-necine quarrel to undercut the José Ramos Horta-Xanana Gusmão leadership. This comes at a very inauspicious time – shortly before the 'tripartite' talks are scheduled to open at the U.N.*

– John

(Lisbon, Dec. 13) The East Timorese resistance leader Mr. "Xanana" Gusmão has passed a message to a Portuguese journalist saying he still supports armed struggle against Indonesia, despite public declarations to the contrary.

The television reporter Mr. João Gabriel interviewed Mr. Gusmão in a police barracks in Jakarta on Thursday for Portugal's new private channel SIC. The interview was conducted in an auditorium in front of around 30 military officers and a censorship panel of five people, which later cut 10 of the 20 minutes of videotape recorded.

The impression given by what remained of the interview is of a conscious attempt by Mr. Gusmão to indicate that he is not speaking freely, through various clues and ambiguous wording of replies.

Mr. Gabriel has said that after the interview Mr. Gusmão grasped his hand when the two men were briefly out of earshot of the Indonesian officials and that during this time "he murmured a phrase guaranteeing that he had not given up the principles which inspired him during 17 years of struggle."

Mr. Gabriel described the material cut by the censor in which Mr. Gusmão managed to pass other messages.

Mr. Gabriel said Mr. Gusmão's long reply to a question about how the Timor problem could be solved was also cut, in which he spoke of "an international, lasting solution for Timor."

Most of the interview followed the lines of an earlier one with the governor of East Timor, in which he claimed that he had changed his ideas about independence, had been guilty of misleading other East Timorese, and urged guerilla fighters to surrender.

Two overseas representatives of Fretilin in Lisbon have denounced Mr. Gusmão. Mr. Rogerio Lobato, who left East Timor in December 1975, before Indonesian paratroopers in Dili, said the guerilla leader had failed East Timor.

Mr. Abilio Araujo said: "Mau Hodu (another captive resistance leader) and Xanana are past history. Now the resistance can reorganize in a disciplined way and wage a fierce struggle against adventurism."

Next Thursday the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers are due to meet the New York office of the UN Secretary General, Dr. Boutros Ghali, for a new round of talks about East Timor's future.

Dr. Boutros Ghali earlier said he wanted to enlarge the talks to include East Timorese representatives, and Mr. Gusmão's possible presence was discussed at a meeting several months ago. Observers believe his imprisonment will rank high on the agenda, and the success or failure of the talks is likely to revolve around this question.

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## DEMONISING XANANA GUSMÃO

*Jawa Pos, late December.*

*Remark: This is one of a series of articles published by Jawa Pos, the paper whose role is first and foremost to serve the interests of army intelligence in East Timor by disseminating their propaganda. The decision to translate this obscene article was taken only because we felt that anyone wishing to know the nature of Indonesian propaganda surrounding East Timor at present should be able to read it. The job of doing the translation was nauseating.*

*Of all the foul-penned items produced by Jawa Pos correspondent, Nany Wijoyo, this really is the worst. The theme of this article has been taken up in other Indonesian newspapers, taking their cue from Jawa Pos. Xanana is now being portrayed to the great Indonesian public as a rapist, stripped of his former (alleged) super-natural powers.*

*It is outrageous that journalists and the rags for which they write allow themselves to be used for this kind of filth, knowing full well that Xanana can never have the chance to defend himself against these falsehoods.*

*We cannot say how widely a report like this is circulating in East Timor. If it is, the East*

*Timorese, especially the women, will recognise in this obscene story the behaviour they have become so familiar with from the 'gallant' soldiers who have occupied their country since 1975.*

*The lengths to which the army will go to demonise Xanana is a measure of how much they fear his reputation as a freedom-fighter. – Carmel, Tapol*

### **BETWEEN LUCI AND HER RIVALS**

Behind his popularity as the boss of the GPK Fretilin, Xanana conceals a host of negative characteristics. This was revealed when he was arrested on November 20. This dark side became increasingly evident as more and more of his supporters were arrested.

It was these negative characteristics which caused many people to completely change their attitude towards Xanana. One of the things was when Xanana 'married' - or, more correctly, began living in sin [kumpul kebo, literally 'living together like cattle'] with - Luci Ximenes. Xanana's act was unacceptable both to his family and to his followers. The point is that when he took over the leadership of Fretilin, Xanana established a rule that as long as they were in the bush, members of Falantil were not allowed to have their wives with them.

They were not allowed to flirt or to have a relationship with a woman because, according to Xanana, such things could damage the state of mind of his fighters. "Anybody who breaks this rule must be punished. The severest punishment is to be shot dead," said Xanana at that time.

None of his members would dare to break the rule, because Xanana not only reprimanded them but was quite prepared to shoot them or to order his staff to torture any of his followers who broke this rule.

So, it is not difficult to imagine how aggrieved they felt to discover that Xanana himself broke this rule. Tragically Xanana not only flirted with women but also seduced this very attractive girl - Luci Ximenes.

At first people thought that he loved Luci very much. If he did not, he certainly would not dare to break a rule which he himself had made. But in fact, this was not so.

When she was kidnapped [not clear by whom], Xanana did not seem to be jealous or angry. In fact, he just looked for another woman to replace Luci. Even though she had been betrayed, Luci nevertheless returned to the embrace of Xanana. This is quite understandable because Xanana is indeed a very charming and romantic man; using poetic words he was always able to captivate the women whom he wanted.

From all the dozens of women with whom Xanana had affairs, Luci occupied a special position. The fact is that from this unlawful relationship, Luci gave birth to a boy and Xanana, according to his closest associates, showed a special affection for this fair-skinned boy.

With other women, apart from his first wife who now lives in Australia, he has had no offspring because every time he has intercourse he always uses a condom. When he was arrested, they discovered in his hide-out several boxes of new condoms from at home and abroad. And they also found some used condoms which he had not had time to throw away. It is probably only Luci herself who knows Xanana's feelings because up to now no journalist has succeeded in meeting this woman.

This is despite the fact that she has visited Dili several times to meet her friends. And nobody has yet had the opportunity to ask Xanana about this matter. It is a public secret that Xanana has had relationships with many women. Many of his closest associates, some of whom are now in the hands of the authorities, know that his libido is very high. To satisfy this need, Xanana often asks for contributions; he often asked villagers for women when his group was in hiding in places nearby. But Fretilin did not only ask for that; they also asked for things like medicine, food, money and also young women.

Although Xanana's name was quite popular it seems that not all women who were offered to him accepted this voluntarily. Quite a number of them refused. But their rejection was in vain if Xanana wanted them since he would force himself on them anyway. This is what was experienced by Rega, the niece of Augusto Pereira.

Augusto was the police corporal in whose house Xanana was hiding when he was arrested. He has a very charming niece named Rega (not her real name). Last Wednesday, Rega celebrated her 18th birthday. She has been living with the Augusto family for a long time. "My parents died a long time ago," said Rega. To satisfy the lust of Xanana, who had given Augusto a lot of money, Augusto was willing to deliver Rega to be raped by Xanana.

At the beginning of November, Rega had just come home from school and was getting ready to have an afternoon siesta when Xanana raped her with Augusto's help. "I didn't suspect anything because A often used to come into my room. That's because Xanana's hide-out was indeed in my room," said Rega who only got to know Xanana on October 28. Augusto had lifted the vinyl covering which was concealing the bottom of the wardrobe in which Rega's clothes were hung. Underneath this vinyl, there was

a wooden trap door. And under that rather narrow trap door was where Xanana was hiding.

On that afternoon, when he came out he was wearing only his sarong. She suspected nothing when Xanana and Augusto approached her and she only realised what was happening after Augusto grabbed her two hands, clamping his hand over her mouth. Then Xanana got onto the bed and began to rape her. "I can still remember that he raped me for about 25 minutes" said Rega.

That afternoon, Augusto's house was indeed very quiet. The other people in the house were occupied with their own affairs outside the house and the only other person around in the house was Rega's grandmother who is senile and deaf. Although he almost always uses a condom when he has intercourse, it turns out that this has not been sufficient to protect him from sexually transmitted diseases. When doctors in Denpasar examined him they discovered that he has a sex disease in an such an advanced state that it is very difficult to cure.

Xanana is not unaware of this disease. The proof is that when he was arrested, soldiers found bottles of high quality penicillin which can be used to cure sex diseases. The soldiers also found dozens of hypodermic needles which were still in their wrappings.

Apart from penicillin and condoms, the soldiers found 4 foreign-made HTs, a lap top with a bubble printer and a video printer which he had been given by two Japanese journalists, a pistol, a semi-automatic (GETMI) weapon, a number of documents and a sackful of amulets.

It because of these amulets that people were willing to believe in the myth of him as a person imbued with super-natural powers making it possible for him to disappear with ease.

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### **XANANA GUSMÃO CELEBRATES CHRISTMAS MASS WITH POLICE**

*Indonesian Observer. 26 December 1992.  
Rewritten Antara story based on ABRI  
Information Center press release.*

*Original language: English; Abridged.*

*Remark: ABRI would have us believe prison can be so pleasant Xanana may decide to stay there forever. If Xanana's location is unknown to all but a small circle of officials, however, that means in effect a policy of deliberate isolation and no unanticipated non-approved visitors.*

(Jakarta) The captured leader of East Timor's pro-independence movement, Xanana Gusmão, celebrated mass on

Christmas Eve with members of the police intelligence unit here, the armed forces said Friday.

The mass, followed by a sermon and the traditional Christmas message, was conducted by Father Ben Tentua, a release of the armed forces information office said.

After the mass, Tentua gave Gusmão a box of the Indonesian clove-flavored kretek cigarettes and both cut a Christmas cake together and distributed pieces to all those who took part in the service, the release said.

The venue of the mass was not given.

Although the armed forces have said that Gusmão is detained here, the exact location of his detention has also been kept secret. He was visited last week by a Portuguese journalist of a private television network who interviewed him at the police headquarters.

### XANANA CUTS CHRISTMAS CAKE

*Jawa Pos. 26 December 1992.*

*Original language: Indonesian.*

*Remark: Killing him softly? Who were 'the others assembled?' Another 30 policemen?*

(Jakarta) East Timor security disrupter movement (GPK) boss Xanana Gusmão, now detained by the Indonesian Police, participated Thursday evening in a Christmas mass organized by Jakarta Police Headquarters. The proceedings were led by a priest, Father Ben Tentua.

The ABRI Information Center press release received Friday morning mentions that the night-time Christmas mass started with singing on the holy night. Then there was a call for repentance and a sermon with Father Ben Tentua's Christmas message.

After the mass, Xanana got a gift of a carton of ten packs of clove cigarettes from Father Ben Tentua. Xanana was also given the opportunity to cut a Christmas cake with the Father and then eat it together with the others assembled.

On the occasion, the GPK figure arrested last November 20 in Dili expressed his thanks to the Indonesian Police officers who had permitted him to celebrate Christmas this year.

## WHO WILL REPESENT XANANA AT TRIAL?

### XANANA'S TRIAL MAY START SOON

*Jawa Pos 26 November and 10 December 1992, Summarised only*

*Remark: These clippings suggest that trial of Xanana could take place earlier than previously thought. Having decided that it is politically expedient not to try Xanana on subversion charges, and keen to convince the world at large that the trial will be handled strictly in accord with the law, the authorities must comply with the Criminal Procedural Code (KUHAP) which allows a 60-day period of detention without charge, much less than the one-year allowed under the anti- subversion law. Of course, KUHAP allows an extension on application to the court so the above hypothesis could prove wrong but we should be ready for an early start to the trial. It is in the interests of the authorities to keep us guessing and to suddenly confront us with a trial, for which no-one is ready. - Carmel.*

### SPECIAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

Brig. Gen Theo Syafei, military commander of East Timor, told Jawa Pos [10.XII.92] that a special security unit has been formed to guard the court when Xanana Gusmão goes on trial in Dili.

Chairman of the Dili district court, Hyeronimus Godang SH, confirmed that the court had asked for such a unit, because Xanana's trial would be held in public. He denied that it was because unrest was anticipated during the trial. "It's because we anticipate that a huge number of people will want to attend the trial."

The date for the trial has not yet been set. According to one source it was due to start on 20 December, but another source said: "At the earliest it will start in the beginning of January 1993."

The Public Prosecutor, Singgih SH, on a visit to Dili, said the date had not been set but it "will start as soon as the police investigations have been completed. This is why I have asked the public prosecutor to have everything ready."

Singgih also said that in the first stage, he is likely to be tried on criminal charges. There will be a team of prosecutors to handle the case, but Singgih would not say who would be on the team.

In the earlier Jawa Pos report, the armed forces spokesman, Brig. Gen Nurhadi was quoted as saying that police and public

prosecutors were investigating Xanana intensively in Denpasar. "Because there is a limit to the time he can be detained, the investigation of Xanana must be completed soon. This is why the investigations are being conducted intensively."

He said the trial would take place in Dili, the *locus delikti* but interrogations did not have to be conducted there.

Regarding a lawyer, Nurhadi said, responding to the statement by the Legal Aid Institute that it would be ready to defend Xanana, that it would be up to Xanana himself to decide who should defend him.

### XANANA TO BE TRIED IN DILI

*Remark: Several differences appear in two December 10 stories on Xanana's trial, while vital details remain vague in both.*

*UPI: trial in 3 months according to a military source.*

*Reuter: no trial date mentioned by the Attorney General.*

*UPI: subversion charges will be brought.*

*Reuter: other charges will be brought under the Criminal Code (KUHAP).*

*On a point where the stories agree - the trial site is Dili - this places special burdens on defense lawyers. Xanana knows very little Indonesian, an additional handicap in his defense. He functions mainly in Portuguese.*

*The surrender of 1,000 clandestine followers probably refers to round-ups and conditional releases of many leaders and members of two of the most important youth and student groups which supported the armed resistance. It is very likely that certain figures from these groups will be produced as prosecution witnesses at Xanana's trial and testify under coercion. Their testimony and documents seized from Xanana's hiding place will expose persons and groups abroad whose aid they have sought and who have volunteered aid. The Army for sure and likely the prosecution will now depict the East Timorese armed resistance as confined to small bands led by three 'secondary' leaders shorn of most of their internal clandestine support links and the continuing diplomatic struggle abroad as the work of foreigners and some East Timorese with no standing in East Timor. Full Indonesian press accounts now available show that President Suharto himself ordered Xanana's trial shortly after he received news in Dakar of the capture.*

*- John*

According to a December 10 UPI story datelined Jakarta, authorities said Thursday rebel leader Xanana Gusmão will be tried in the East Timor capital of Dili within three

months and that about 1,000 of his followers in the troubled province have surrendered to the Indonesian government.

Military officials have said that Xanana would be tried on subversion charges, which in Indonesia carries a possible death penalty.

"Xanana will be tried in Dili where he committed crimes," said Singgih, the attorney general, to Antara, the Indonesian official news agency.

Xanana, 45, was captured by the Indonesian troops Nov. 20 after eluding government forces for 16 years. Though an exact date has not been set, the trial is expected to begin within three months, a high-ranking military official said.

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, East Timor's military operations commander, meanwhile said he estimated that up to 1,000 members of clandestine groups have surrendered after the capture of their leader.

Meanwhile, the Jakarta Post reported from Dili that 22 officers who took part in the capture of Xanana would receive medals of merit from Army Chief of Staff Gen. Edi Sudradjat.

Indonesia and Portugal are scheduled to discuss the future of East Timor at the United Nations Dec. 17. But Portuguese foreign minister José Durão Barroso said earlier this week the prospect of the talks were gloomy.

Barroso said the signals from Jakarta are "very negative" and charged the Indonesian forces had stepped up "repressive measures and intimidation" since the Xanana's capture.

Allegations of continued repression and human rights abuses by Indonesian troops have hampered relations between Lisbon and Jakarta.

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According to a December 10 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia will try captured East Timor rebel chief Xanana Gusmão under its criminal law, Attorney General Singgih was quoted on Thursday as saying.

Diplomats said the decision might let Xanana escape a death sentence, which he could have faced had he been tried under the harsher subversion law.

Antara news agency quoted Singgih as saying Xanana, the head of Fretilin guerrillas fighting Indonesia's rule over the territory, would be tried in East Timor's capital Dili where he was captured last month.

The military said earlier that he would be tried within three months. Singgih did not give a date.

He did not specify the charges but a senior police officer said they could include the illegal possession of guns. This charge

under the criminal code carries a maximum life sentence.

But there are other charges under the criminal law, including murder, that are punishable by death.

"A lot of us expected him to be charged under the subversion law or both laws," one Western diplomat said, adding that Indonesia unlike many other countries made a distinction between criminal and subversion laws.

Another diplomat said Xanana had a better chance of escaping the death sentence under the criminal law.

"It is hard to say. First they (Jakarta) may want to see what will be the effect of a death sentence. But I would be surprised if they gave him the death sentence," he added.

Diplomats say hard-liners in the government or military may want to charge Xanana with masterminding demonstrations in Dili in November last year.

The trial is expected to focus international attention on both Xanana and East Timor's status. Jakarta annexed the territory in 1976, a year after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers. The United Nations does not recognise the move.

Antara also quoted East Timor's military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying more than 1,000 members of a "clandestine group" had surrendered following Xanana's capture.

Syafei said they would be booked and sent back to their villages under a clemency programme.

He did not say whether they were members of Fretilin, whose strength he had put just a month ago at fewer than 150.

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### LBH LAWYERS TO MEET XANANA?

*Jawa Pos, 14 December 1992*

*This is a summary of the first part of a news item only. The second part deals with a religious ceremony of repentance in Manatuto, allegedly performed by 47 members of 'clandestine.'*

*Remark: Considering that this story comes from Jawa Pos, renown for serving army interests, it can be assumed that the lawyers said more than this. It is of course a grave breach of the Procedural Code for Xanana not to have been allowed the services of a lawyer since the time of his arrest on 20 November.*

### YLBHI READY TO DEFEND XANANA

A team of lawyers from the YLBHI (the Indonesian Foundation of Legal Aid Institutes) and Ikadin, the Bar Association, has said it is ready to defend Xanana Gusmão, the GPK [i.e. resistance] leader,

during the time of his interrogation up to and including his trial.

"For this, we will meet Xanana at his place of detention in Police headquarters," said Luhut Pangaribuan of the YLBHI. He said the plan had been prepared two weeks before but could only now be implemented because of activities related to celebrating Human Rights Day.

The lawyers' team intends to request Xanana's interrogation timetable from the head of Police Investigation, Brig. Gen. Utoyo Sutopo, and ask for permission to meet the detainee.

Luhut said that as yet they had no power of attorney from Xanana himself but this doesn't mean they cannot ask for his interrogation timetable.

"To get a power of attorney from him, we must meet him personally," Luhut said, expressing conviction that Xanana would accept their help.

Luhut also said the team had conveyed their intention to defend Xanana to the armed forces commander-in-chief General Try Sutrisno.

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### XANANA FACES LIFE IMPRISONMENT

According to a December 29 UPI story dated Jakarta, East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão is expected to be tried next month and could be sentenced to life imprisonment, police chief Gen. Kunarto said Tuesday.

Kunarto told local news media Xanana is still under interrogation at police headquarters in Jakarta and his file is expected to be handed over to the prosecutor's office in the near future.

Kunarto said he hoped Xanana would be brought to trial "sometime in January," probably in Dili, the capital of East Timor, on charges of crimes threatening national security.

He could also be charged with illegal possession of firearms and of launching a secessionist movement against the unity of the republic either partly or fully under the influence of a foreign power, Kunarto said.

"If found guilty of these violations, Xanana may face a maximum of life imprisonment," he said.

Xanana, 45, was captured by Indonesian troops Nov. 20 after eluding a manhunt for 16 years.

## PRINCEN ASKS FOR MEETING WITH XANANA

*TAPOL report, 31 December 1992*

H. C. Princen, chair of LPHAM, the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, has written to Indonesia's Chief of Police, asking for permission to meet Xanana Gusmão, the detained leader of the East Timorese resistance. Xanana is currently being held at the Police headquarters in Jakarta.

A report that Princen has already met Xanana is not correct. Princen told TAPOL today that he had received no reply yet to his request for a meeting. He wanted to know in particular why the International Red Cross had been allowed to meet Xanana but lawyers had still been prevented from seeing him.

Princen was acting as LPHAM chair, not on behalf of the team of lawyers which has already been formed by LBH, the Legal Aid Institute, and Ikadin, the Bar Association, of which he is not a member. Princen said the team of lawyers would include Luhut Pangaribuan, Franz Winarta, Yuwono and others already experienced in defending East Timorese on trial in Jakarta and Dili earlier this year. He understood that some East Timorese circles had expressed the wish that the well-known human rights lawyer, Adnan Buyung Nasution, and he himself should also be on the defence team.

Princen said his purpose in meeting Xanana was to check whether he knew that he had the right to choose his own defence team, whether he was being allowed to do so and whether indeed he was aware of what was going on with regard to his case. Indonesian press reports suggest that the trial will start some time in January.

The LBH, which has made it clear that it is prepared to handle Xanana's defence, has also sought permission to meet the prisoner but has received no reply yet, Princen said.

Asked why the authorities were now saying that Xanana would be tried not for subversion but on criminal charges, Princen said that there were opposing views in the army on how to handle Xanana. Some, notably Benny Murdani, wanted him to be depicted as a nonentity, a 'mouse'; to try him under the anti-subversion law would enhance his status as leader of the resistance. Others, especially those who scored by securing his capture, wanted to depict him as the important figure that he is, which would also enhance their own standing. Ali Alatas leans towards the former position, according to Princen, believing that this would facilitate his diplomatic battles in 1993.

## JOSÉ XANANA GUSMÃO REJECTS OFFER OF LBH TEAM OF LAWYERS

*Media Indonesia. Original language: Indonesian. 5 January 1993.*

*Byline: Apparently Benay Harman (text partly illegible).*

*Some of the text in our faxed copy is marginally legible. Clarifying remarks placed in brackets [-]. This seems a very suspicious exchange. YLBHI was not allowed to meet Xanana, and all communication was mediated through the police including translations between Portuguese and English. The translation of YLBHI's written communication to Xanana could have been easily manipulated. His reply might not have reflected his full wishes given his own effective communication to his captors only in Portuguese and occasionally in Tetum and a very little English, with no workable Indonesian.*

*Having likely heard information on the Dili trials of East Timorese youths in which LBH and Ikadin turned in remarkable defense performances in accord with the defendants' wishes, it seems unlikely that the alleged rejection of LBH lawyers by Xanana could have been made in ignorance. Moreover, the wholesale rejection beginning with the interrogation process, when defendants most need and seldom get their defense lawyers present, is most suspect, as it seems to legitimize the deliberate bar by the Army and Police on defense lawyers being present during this period when Xanana was manipulated in a television "interview" and through forged surrender leaflets. Kompas' Jan. 5 version of this story also contains these statements. "Xanana did not mention the reason for rejection of YLBHI legal aid. Xanana also did not mention if he had a legal advisor or not." It also indicates just one (salah seorang) family member, also unnamed by Kompas, asked LBH to represent Xanana.*

— John

(Jakarta) East Timor security disrupter boss José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão, 46, now detained in Police Headquarters, has rejected a team of Indonesian Legal Aid Institute Foundation (YLBHI) lawyers to accompany him during the interrogation process.

YLBHI Management Board Chairman Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara told Kompas and Media in Jakarta yesterday that his organization had received a letter of reply from Xanana Gusmão which rejected YLBHI lawyers accompanying him throughout the process from interrogation to trial. The letter was dated December 30,

1992 and was received by YLBHI yesterday, January 4.

"I am very thankful for your readiness to defend me in this process, but I wish to inform you the information that I do not need your organization's aid," said Xanana Gusmão in his letter which was sent to YLBHI through Colonel (Police) Drs. Ahwil Lathan [also seen as Lutan]. The letter consisted of two pages, one written in Portuguese and one more in Indonesian [a translation].

Abdul Hakim said that on December 17, 1992 his team wished to meet with Xanana in accord with the power of attorney received from one of the suspect's family. But Ahwil Lathan did not provide permission, giving the reason that the suspect had already appointed another lawyer to accompany Xanana [as written]. It was not mentioned who the lawyer intended was.

Abdul Hakim and his team then wrote a letter to Xanana through Ahwil Lathan.

"We inform you that our organization has been given the power of attorney by your family to meet and to accompany you throughout the interrogation process. Indonesian law allows you, as a suspect, to be accompanied by legal advisors of your own free choice." That was part of the YLBHI letter to Xanana. This letter was written in Indonesian.

José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão was arrested November 20, 1992 in an intelligence operation carried out by a special ABRI unit in a residence in Lahane Barat Village, West Dili. He is the Fretilin security disrupter boss and brains behind the blood November 12, 1991 incident. Some of those arrested due to involvement in that incident were proved to have built an underground network with Xanana, were charged with subversion, and are now in prison. They were defended by a team of lawyers from YLBHI and Ikadin [Indonesian Advocates League].

Will Xanana be charged with subversion? It is said the government will not charge him with any articles in the Anti-Subversion Law. According to Abdul Hakim, this represents a recognition by the government that the Anti-Subversion Law is no longer relevant in the current Indonesian context.

"This is a precedent that for similar cases the government will not apply the Anti-Subversion law," said Abdul Hakim. Nonetheless, in his view, the government should be consistent. Otherwise, legal uncertainty will arise causing an atmosphere of chaos among the public.

Compared to the Aceh and Irian Jaya security disrupters, said Abdul Hakim, what Xanana did is not different in principle. From that aspect, Xanana should have been

charged with the same articles since his activities were the same.

Still, the government's view represents a good start since it has till now applied the Anti-Subversion Law. Now it recognizes that law as no longer relevant. "This is also a precedent for similar cases in the future that the Anti-Subversion Law will not be brought to bear," said Abdul Hakim.

#### **TAPOL REPORT, 5 JAN. 1993**

A spokesman for the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) announced in Jakarta today that it had received a statement from the detained East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, declining the offer of the LBH to defend him at his forthcoming trial. [The precise wording of the statement signed by Xanana is not available.]

There are two possible interpretations, either that Xanana is under intense pressure to reject the LBH and appoint lawyers more amenable to the regime, or that his rejection is intended as a message that he refuses to be defended by Indonesian lawyers and is seeking to internationalise his case.

Several weeks ago, the LBH made a formal request to meet Xanana to discuss his trial and tell him of their willingness to defend him. However, the request has been ignored. H.C. Princen, chair of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM) recently asked Lt. Gen Kunarto, the Indonesian chief-of-police, for permission to meet the prisoner but has received no reply. His intention was to discuss the trial and find out whether he was being given the chance freely to appoint lawyers of his choice, as required by Indonesia's Criminal Procedural Code.

Princen told TAPOL today that he would persist in his efforts to meet Xanana. He said he feared that Xanana was under pressure to appoint lawyers acceptable to the regime. This could include threats about the fate of members of his family who are now in custody if he refuses to cooperate fully with the authorities over his defence team.

Last month, the Attorney General, Singgih SH, praised the initiative of another organisation of lawyers, the Ikatan Penasehat Hukum Indonesia, which announced its willingness to defend Xanana [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 21 December 1992], making it clear that such an offer had the Attorney-General's full endorsement. If this group's offer is formally accepted by Xanana, the prosecution can be assured of an easy ride during the court proceedings.

#### **Summarised from AFP and AP reports, 5 January 1993, datelined Jakarta.**

*Remark: There is no information yet as to the background of Sujono, the lawyer who, according to AP, the police have appointed as Xanana's lawyer.*

LBH (Legal Aid Institute) lawyer Luhut Pangaribuan told AFP he had received "a handwritten letter in Portuguese from Xanana Gusmão in which he basically said he did not need our assistance yet. If that is what he wants, we can only respect his decision, but we do not know for sure whether that is really his decision."

Pangaribuan said the LBH had send Xanana a written offer of help on 18 December after unsuccessful attempts to meet him. The offer followed a demand by an unidentified family member of Xanana, Pangaribuan said.

In the letter, dated 20 December and transmitted by General Intelligence Chief Colonel Ahwil Luthan, Gusmão gave no reason for his rejection of the offer and did not say whether he had chosen another lawyer or had any legal representative.

Jakarta says Xanana will soon be brought to court in Dili on charges of plotting against the state, which carries a maximum penalty of life.

According to AP, Pangaribuan said: "We respect his wishes but what we deplore is why the police did not give us a chance to meet directly with him."

Police have appointed Sujono as Xanana's lawyer.

#### **LBH: XANANA MUST CHOOSE LAWYER**

*Jakarta Post, 6 January 1993. Unabridged*

The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) has asked the police to allow the captured Fretilin leader José Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmão to choose his own lawyer. The Foundation distributed a written statement yesterday saying that it is important for Xanana to be accompanied by a lawyer of his own choice in view of the fact that he is to be tried later this month.

The statement, which was made after Xanana refused to be represented by lawyers from YLBHI, pointed out that Xanana has the right to have an attorney present at all stages of the legal process.

The foundation said it does not object to Xanana's decision so long as he made it independently without interference from other parties.

A lawyer from the YLBHI, Luhut M.P. Pangaribuan said yesterday that the legal aid foundation regretted the fact that it was not permitted to meet Xanana to discuss the matter. Luhut said the YLBHI's offer to

represent Xanana and his subsequent refusal was communicated via letter.

Luhut did not rule out the possibility that the foundation's offer was turned down because its relationship with the police has been less than cordial. He said the YLBHI's work is based on principles that it will not sacrifice simply to maintain a "good relationship."

The foundation decided to offer to defend Xanana after receiving a request from his relatives, Luhut said.

The YLBHI statement also called on the government to publicise the names of the East Timorese who were arrested in the wake of Xanana's arrest on 20 November of last year.

Coordinating Minister for Political Affairs and Security Sudomo has denied that any other people have been arrested in connection with Xanana's capture. [!]

#### **XANANA: NOT YET (?) FOR LBH**

*From Mate-Bian News. Jan. 8 1993*

A daily newspaper in Sydney published a short story on this item. It quoted AFP/Jakarta, yesterday, as reporting that, the lawyer of LBH mentioned above, said (and quoting Xanana's alleged letter) that "he (Xanana) basically said he did not need our (LBH) assistance YET."

Remarks: It is clear that the generals of Jakarta have got themselves into a mess because of Xanana's trial. All these series of alleged and/or false letters signal a deep division inside the army and between the army and Foreign Affairs, more precisely, Ali Alatas. Once the dust has settled, Xanana's camp will have a better chance to exert pressure for international legal assistance. If due pressure is made upon pres. Suharto, it is also possible that Suharto may step in and give amnesty to everyone, including Xanana. This is likely because it will be a smart way to discharge the diplomatic tension and dilute this inflammable fuel surrounding Xanana's capture which, yesterday, was further heated up by the statement of the Dutch Foreign Affairs Minister saying the arrest of Xanana is illegal in the light of international law. This new foreign minister has a good knowledge of the situation in East Timor because, he was in Dili between the assassination of the student leader, Sebastião Gomes, by the Indonesian army, and the massacre of Santa Cruz (12 Nov. 1991). He went there as an expert in torture. His report tabled on the UN in January 1992, said that "in East Timor torture is a matter of routine." So, adding to the fact that he is a Dutch Foreign Minister, he also has a some authority to speak on the issue of torture and abuse of human rights.

Having said that, it is important to note that much more pressure is needed to constantly highlight the illegal and barbarous occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian military and to protect all the Timorese prisoners in East Timor and Indonesia because the hard-liners in Jakarta seemed to have taken control of the situation. We fear that many prisoners in Dili can be killed soon if they are not given the necessary protection very very soon.

Please also note that these short items we are sending (regarding Xanana's legal situation) are meant to be used as pieces of a puzzle to discriminate Indonesian propaganda from Xanana's real stand on this issue. Hence, any comment and/or added information will be mostly welcome.

### FROM TAPOL, JAN 9, 1993:

The announcement that the police have appointed Sujono to be Xanana's lawyer does not necessarily mean that this has been done with his consent. Indeed, that has not been said. It could simply mean that Xanana has refused the services of any Indonesian lawyer. The trial cannot proceed without a defence lawyer, hence the authorities would need to appoint someone to do the job.

As yet, contacts in Jakarta know nothing about Xanana having spoken on Indonesian radio, along these lines. Nor has any of the media in Portugal picked up the story, whereas the Portuguese media is literally on the hunt for any morsel about the Xanana trial; this report would be big news. (Partly genuine interest, partly cut-throat competition.) I have suggested that a Portuguese journalist seek confirmation of the story by phoning one of their Timorese contacts, Lopez da Cruz for instance.

If it did happen, I would offer two possible explanations though I'm not much convinced of either:

1. Xanana was allowed to broadcast, so as to confirm that he had indeed rejected the LBH lawyers.

2. Giving him this opportunity may reflect a division within the regime about the handling of his case. It's difficult to believe that any of the contending parties would actually agree to the idea of international lawyers becoming involved. However, a 'leak' like this creates confusion about what the regime really wants, hence, perhaps, serving some group's interests.

The idea that Suharto could be prevailed upon to give an amnesty to everyone including Xanana is fanciful, I'm sorry to say. A lot will depend, once the trial gets going, on observers and foreign journalists exposing the predictable farce of the trial. Perhaps the regime is trying to size up what Xanana is likely to spring on them once he stands in open court which, curiously, has provided a

free platform for many people to speak out unhindered. If they have reason to believe he will move to internationalise his case, it could be they will do what they can to make it difficult for the press etc. to be present.

Carmel, TAPOL

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## OTHER ARRESTS IN EAST TIMOR

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### AMNESTY ALERT ON DISAPPEARED TIMORESE

AI Index: ASA 21/22/92

Distr.: UA/SC. 4 December 1992

Further information on UA 367/92 (ASA 21/18/92, 23 November 1992) - Arbitrary detention/fear of torture and new concern fear of "disappearance"

#### "Disappeared":

Abilio Baptista  
Afonso Maria da Cruz (note full name)  
Antonio  
Avalino Baptista  
Fernando Conceicao  
Fernando de Costa (note full name)  
Francisco Goncalves  
Henrique Guterres  
Ildefonso Soares  
Jorge Cortinal  
Mario Miranda  
Pascal Soares  
Rui Miranda  
Vitor Viegas  
and new name:  
Afung Chong  
and new names:

#### Arrested and possibly "disappeared":

Abel Fernandes  
Cipriano Mesquita  
Enrique Belmiro  
Mateus  
Vasco

The first 14 people named above are now reported to have "disappeared" after being arrested by Indonesian security forces in early November. Relatives have sought information about the detainees at military and police stations in Dili, but security force officials have denied that the 14 are in custody. Afung Chong, a motor mechanic, has also reportedly "disappeared" after being arrested on 24 or 25 November 1992. Abel Fernandes and a further four East Timorese, also arrested in mid-November, are currently believed to be detained in Dili. The exact whereabouts of these five remain unknown and there are fears that they too may have "disappeared."

The safety of all these people is a matter of urgent concern and Amnesty Inter-

national is calling upon the Indonesian Government to immediately clarify their fate and whereabouts. Amnesty International also calls upon the authorities to grant International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representatives, lawyers and relatives immediate access to all political detainees, in accordance with Indonesian and international law.

Serious human rights violations, including arbitrary arrest, torture, "disappearance" and possible extrajudicial execution have accompanied a recent crackdown by Indonesian forces in East Timor. The increased repression has coincided with the anniversary of the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre and the capture on 20 November 1992 of Xanana Gusmão, leader of the East Timorese resistance movement (see UA 366/92, ASA 21/17/92 of 30 November 1992 and follow ups). According to reports, the crackdown has been particularly severe in Dili and Manatuto, Xanana's home district. Hundreds of people were reportedly rounded up in mid-November and dozens are thought to remain in detention, most of them held incommunicado. All political detainees are at risk of torture or ill-treatment while in custody and at least one of those arrested after Xanana's capture is feared to have died as a result of torture.

Indonesian security forces have acknowledged the arrest of some members of Xanana's family and associates but have provided no information about, or have denied outright, the detention of others arrested prior to his capture.

#### FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/express and airmail letters

- expressing urgent concern for the safety of Abilio Baptista and 14 others (please name each individual) believed to have "disappeared" after arrest by Indonesian security forces in early November 1992;
- calling on the authorities to clarify their fate and whereabouts immediately;
- expressing grave concern for the safety of Abel Fernandes and four others (please name them), currently detained in Dili; urgently seeking clarification of their place of detention;
- calling on the authorities to permit ICRC representatives immediate access to all political detainees in accordance with Indonesian and international law;
- to release unconditionally all those detained solely for their non-violent political beliefs or activities or for being relatives of political suspects.

## TIMOR LEADER'S FAMILY TORTURED

*The Observer (London). 6 Dec. 92. By Hugh O'Shaughnessy. Abridged*

Indonesian forces occupying East Timor have been abusing and torturing the family of Xanana Gusmão, leader of the Timorese resistance, to make him renounce his cause.

His sisters, Manuela and Armandina, both in their late thirties, have been tortured, according to evidence held by the Portuguese government. Lisbon has called for action by the UN and the Red Cross to halt the ill-treatment.

Xanana has been flown to Indonesia and is held in Denpasar, but has made a statement on television – clearly obtained under duress – calling for Timorese to surrender to Indonesia.

The European Community's close relationship with Indonesia, which has been under strain since reports in *The Observer* last year and film of the massacre in November 1991 of Timorese at the Dili cemetery captured by a British television reporter, is likely to figure at this week's EC summit in Edinburgh.

Meanwhile, the Timorese resistance in Dili is regrouping after the kidnapping of Xanana, says Estevão Cabral, a Timorese leader in London.

"We know Xanana's statement was forced out of him. But our anger and sadness are turning to strength," Cabral said.

Xanana's kidnapping is likely to present diplomatic headaches to the Indonesians as they can hardly kill him in captivity and his survival in prison will be a further focus of international attention.

At a conference at the Law Society in London yesterday Dr. Roger Clark, Professor of Law at Rutgers University, new Jersey, ridiculed Indonesian pretensions to sovereignty over East Timor as "blatantly false."

## ARMANDINA GUSMÃO'S CONCERNS

*Jawa Pos. 6 Dec. 92. By Nany Wijaya.*

*Original language: Indonesian; Unabridged.*

*Remark: Armandina Gusmão dos Santos was reportedly arrested November 20, the day of Xanana's capture. She and her husband Gilman Exposto dos Santos were visited by the ICRC on or about December 11. Therefore the Jawa Pos reporter was given access to her even before the ICRC, indicating how closely that newspaper works together with the Army on matters related to East Timor.*

*Here she reportedly makes statements without any benefit of legal counsel which are tantamount to what lawyers call "admissions against interest" which might be later used against her in a court of law. The AFP story is itself based on an Antara release which claims Armandina was not really being 'detained' but just 'held for her own safety,' a claim opened to doubt by this article which, incidentally, carries a picture of Armandina replete with the lighted dots customarily used in television exposes to obscure an informant's face.*

*Allegations were on December 19 made by the dissident UDT Australian wing that Armandina had been "subjected to systematic beatings and torture during interrogation" and on December 14 – after the ICRC visit – "collapsed in the hands of interrogators after being savagely bashed by them and was later admitted to the Dili hospital." While we have not yet been able to obtain independent confirmation of this charge, the UDT press release does correctly identify Armandina's husband, arrested the same day as her, as having once been a UDT member, though a source familiar with the couple stresses that after his marriage to Armandina, Gilman was much more influenced by his wife and that Armandina, as the whole of her family, has stuck to the cause of East Timorese independence.*

*These are matters to bear in mind in what is clearly a heavily self-censored and inevitably distorted story by the Jawa Pos reporter. – John*

(Dili) Although Xanana has already admitted on television and in a personal letter – requested by ABRI for distribution – that he has been arrested, nonetheless there is clearly a segment of East Timorese society which does not believe it. This is caused by the myth that Xanana has supernatural powers and can make himself disappear.

Xanana's own family plainly does not believe he has supernatural powers. Moreover, they are thankful he has been captured.

"We in the family are relieved at his arrest. Maybe it's better than to get shot dead. It's better for him and for the family. Whatever his later punishment, we are willing to accept it. At least so long as he is imprisoned, we still have a chance to lead him back to God's path," said Manuel Gusmão, Xanana's father, as Armandina Maria Gusmão, Xanana's favorite younger sister, recounted it.

According to Armandina, Xanana was the smartest one on the family. Regrettably, he is also the one who has brought it most trouble.

Xanana's education extended only through upper secondary school, but his outlook rivals that of someone with higher education. Still, as for fighting, Xanana has not really liked it. The result was that under his leadership Fretilin forces decreased year by year.

"Xanana was not one who liked to fight. When he was small, he was rather timid and shy," Armandina remembered.

"He preferred more to read and write poetry rather than play soldiers. That's why he once had ambitions to be a journalist," said the mother of four children when met by Jawa Pos in Dili.

The substantial difference in age between them made Armandina not very knowledgeable about the childhood of her older brother. Xanana was the second of eight children – one died in infancy. Armandina herself is the sixth child.

Of the nine children of the couple Manuel and Antonia Gusmão, only two were males, namely, Xanana, born with the name José Alexandre Gusmão, and his younger brother, Manuel Hígino, who now works in a government agency in Denpasar.

Of the six female children, Armandina most resembles Xanana in looks, except his skin is whiter. "He has very white skin like his father," said Armandina, who in every-day life in a dance teacher.

Xanana's ties with Armandina are very close and extend beyond looks. "He was the one who brought me up. I lived with José since I was 11 years old," Armandina recalled.

In family circles, Xanana was called José, his personal name. "Xanana" is a nickname," Armandina explained.

The term 'Xanana,' according to this 37 year old woman, originates from the word 'ainana,' which means pineapple. "That's Tetum, the native language of East Timor," she added.

The word 'ainana' was later changed to 'Xanana.' People say it means a hand grenade shaped like a pineapple, the kind with a very powerful force. In other words, by using the name Xanana, José identified himself with this deadly hand grenade.

Clearly, José's hopes were fulfilled. Now people know the name Xanana more than they know José Alexandre Gusmão, the son of a primary school teacher.

José himself began using the name Xanana in 1976 when he was beginning his 'career' as a Fretilin fighter living in the forest.

Earlier, when he was a journalist for the daily newspaper Nacroma, published together with Ramos Horta who now lives in Portugal (sic), Xanana still used the name José. "We in the family still call him José," said Armandina.

From the start, Armandina knew that Xanana had taken the wrong path. "I'd warned him of this very often. But every time I mentioned it, he always got angry. My father, too, had warned him several times," said Armandina.

From the time he entered the forest in 1975 till his capture, "I only met him several times. And that was only when he summoned me," said Armandina.

There were several things which made Xanana feel it necessary to meet with Armandina. "Occasionally it was to ask for money, clothes, or food. But not infrequently, it was just to relieve a sense of longing," she said.

Meetings were always arranged by a courier. And the courier kept on changing. "This is what often made me have to be extra careful. I was concerned about being tricked, and then arrested," Armandina remarked.

Armandina revealed that living in the forest not only made her anxious about being captured by security personnel. But she was also concerned it could create conflict in her own household.

Armandina's fears were quite reasonable. Her husband, Gil, was a pro-integration fighter and very much opposed Xanana who was anti-integration.

Apart from that, Armandina herself repeatedly told the authorities that she had never met with her older brother. She never told them where Xanana was. "What was also making it hard for me is that I am a dance teacher. Many of my students are ABRI members," she said.

Armandina indeed had difficulties. If she did not meet, she longed to meet. When she met, she'd get frightened. The burden got heavier because what Xanana was doing was really not in line with her conscience. "I wished he would return to society and live a normal life like the other children in the family," she said.

But that wish remained a wish. For each time she reminded him of it, Xanana also got angry. It was at those times, said Armandina, "I felt like reporting his hiding place. But I am not unmerciful."

"I feared he would get shot dead in the process of capture. Whatever the case, he is my older brother. I got more frightened thinking that after his capture, he would be shot by officers. It was not only he who was foolish (konyol), but also me and my family. That's my problem, why I never reported his hiding place," said Armandina.

## ICRC VISITS XANANA'S SISTER

*The following brief information – based on an Antara report – appeared in a December 11 AFP story datelined Jakarta:*

A delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has met with one of the sisters of arrested East Timor pro-independence leader Xanana Gusmão.

Pierre Pont, ICRC representative for Indonesia, had a half-hour meeting with Armandina Gusmão and her husband at the Indonesian Army headquarters in Dili, the East Timor capital.

The ICRC could not be reached for confirmation.

Antara said that the sister and brother-in-law of the arrested leader of the pro-independence organization Fretilin were not detained but were staying at the headquarters for their own security.

Pont was also able to see other people, who were officially considered as detained at the headquarters, Antara said without giving a number.

Armandina Gusmão is no longer being interrogated, as she was after her brother's arrest, said Antara.

1) Has anyone seen or heard more on this story in the print or broadcast media, especially in Indonesia (where it must have already appeared), Portugal or Australia, usually the first to have such accounts? If yes, please email or fax it to me for any necessary translation from Indonesian or Portuguese, or post it if you are on this system and it is convenient for you to do so.

2) While the ICRC office in Jakarta and headquarters in Geneva cannot release publicly their reports made to host governments, sometimes small snippets appear in ICRC publications. Sometimes persons involved in these visits, often not publicized will speak 'not for attribution.' We ask that those in a position to do so to try to get further information. This further information can be placed in the hands of the mass media, government officials, NGOs, and individuals as seems appropriate. Many East Timorese abroad especially would welcome information on others detained in connection with Xanana's capture.

## AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL UA403/92 EAST TIMOR ARRESTS

18 December 1992

AI Index: ASA 21/25/92

### LEGAL CONCERN/FEAR OF TORTURE, INDONESIA/E. TIMOR:

#### Arrested in Manatuto:

Apisa (35), policeman, arrested 15 November  
Candido (29), Head of Agriculture Office, Manatuto, arrested 14 November  
Eduardo (30), businessman, arrested 14 November  
Felipe (30), hospital administrator, Manatuto, arrested 14 November  
Geraldo (28), businessman, arrested 14 November  
João (45), village head of Kai Rui, arrested 13 November  
João Faria (30), civil servant, arrested 14 November  
Kancio (50), businessman, arrested 15 November  
Manuel Constancio (27), civil servant, arrested 13 November  
Manuel de Costa (45), civil servant, arrested 14 November  
Mario Santa (33), civil servant, arrested 14 November  
Serilo (27), civil servant, arrested 15 November  
Tomas de Rosario Cabral (25), civil servant, arrested 5 December  
Vicente (50), nurse, Manatuto hospital, arrested 14 November  
Vitor (50), nurse, Manatuto hospital, arrested 11 November

#### Arrested in Dili:

Arnaldo Borges (17) arrested October  
Constancio Guterres (37), Armed Forces member, arrested 22 November  
Leandro Isaac (45) and  
Manuel Isaac (42), brothers, civil servants, arrested 22 November  
Manuel Mercario (47), nurse, arrested 22 November  
Maria Lourdes Alves Araujo (female), (36) and her husband  
Octavio Jordao de Araujo (42), arrested 18 December

#### Arrested in Same:

Elsa (female), arrested 15 November  
Graciana (female), arrested 15 November  
Luis, arrested 15 November

Amnesty International is urgently concerned for the safety of the 25 people named above. Those arrested are among at least 60, and possibly many more, people arrested in East Timor since early November 1992. The 25 were reportedly arrested in Manatuto and Same districts and in East

Timor's capital, Dili. The precise whereabouts of the 25 are not known, but they are believed to be detained in military detention centres in the towns of Baucau, Same and Dili. Those arrested are at risk of torture and ill-treatment by the Indonesian security forces. There have also been unconfirmed reports that 17 relatives of Constancio Pinto, an East Timorese activist now living in Portugal, were arrested on 25 November 1992 in Dili and there are fears they too may be at risk of torture.

Serious human rights violations, including arbitrary arrest, torture, "disappearance" and possible extrajudicial execution, have accompanied a recent crackdown by Indonesian forces in East Timor. The increased repression has coincided with the anniversary of the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre and the 20 November capture of Xanana Gusmão, leader of the East Timorese resistance movement (see UA 366/92, ASA 21/17/92 of 23 November 1992 and UA 367/92, ASA 21/18/92 of 23 November 1992 and follow ups). The crackdown has been particularly severe in Manatuto, Xanana's home district, in Dili and in the districts of Lospalos, and Viqueque.

Hundreds of people were reportedly rounded up in mid-November and dozens are thought to remain in detention, most of them held incommunicado. At least one of those arrested after Xanana's capture is feared to have died as a result of torture. In December, residents of East Timor appealed to Amnesty International to publish the names of those arrested in order to protect them and their families from further human rights violations by the Indonesian security forces.

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Indonesian forces invaded East Timor in 1975 in the aftermath of Portugal's withdrawal from its former colony. Since that time Amnesty International has continued to document serious human rights violations by Indonesian security forces in the territory, including extrajudicial execution, torture and ill-treatment, "disappearance" and political imprisonment.

In November 1991 more than 100 people were killed, and many others "disappeared," after Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a peaceful procession at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. The human rights situation has not improved in the year since the massacre. Hundreds of people have been subjected to death threats, beatings and arbitrary arrest and at least 13 East Timorese have been sentenced, at unfair trials, to long terms of imprisonment after being accused of organizing the Santa Cruz

procession and other peaceful protest marches.

#### RECOMMENDED ACTION:

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

- expressing concern for the safety of the 25 people named above arrested between October and December 1992 in East Timor and seeking clarification of their whereabouts;
- urging that representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), lawyers, relatives and doctors be granted immediate unconditional access to their place of detention;
- seeking assurances that all the detainees will be accompanied by a lawyer of their own choice while being interrogated, as required by Indonesian law;
- urging the government to release immediately and unconditionally all those detained solely for their peaceful political views or activities.

#### APPEALS TO

Brig Gen. Theo Syafei  
PANGKOLAKOPS  
Markas Besar KOLAKOPS/KOREM 164  
Dili, East Timor  
Indonesia  
Telegrams: Brig Gen. Syafei, Dili, East Timor

Maj. Gen. Suwardi  
Markas Besar, KODAM IX/Udayana,  
Denpasar  
Bali, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Maj. Gen. Suwardi, Kodam IX,  
Denpasar, Bali,

General Try Sutrisno  
[Salutation: Dear General Try]  
Commander of the Armed Forces  
Markas Besar ABRI  
Cilangkap, East Jakarta, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Gen. Try Sutrisno, Markas Besar ABRI, Jakarta, Indonesia  
Faxes: +62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ); +62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ); +62 21 35 6404

Ali Alatas  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Kementerian Luar Negeri  
Jl. Taman Pejambon 6  
Jakarta, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Minister Foreign Affairs,  
Jakarta, Indonesia  
Faxes: +62 21 36 7781; +62 21 36 7782

#### PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:

Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH)

Jl. Diponegoro 74  
Jakarta 10320, Indonesia  
and to the diplomatic representative in your country.

#### COMMENT FROM JOHN MACDOUGALL ON AI ALERT, DEC. 23:

Some further information has become available on two of the persons mentioned in this AI urgent action appeal. Leandro Isaac was a UDT supporter pre-integration and even became a member of the East Timor DPR (DPRD) during the term of Guilherme Maria Goncalves, East Timor's second governor after the invasion, an tyrannical Apodeti collaborator with Indonesian intelligence who finally fell out with the military Regional Secretary (Sekwilda) and was replaced by Mario Carrascalao. Leandro had also publicly supported Goncalves for a second term. This among other things led to his interrogation and intimidation in Bali by the military. In time his views became anti-integrationist. One brother, Raul Isaac, was a Falantil commander killed by the Indonesians in the mountains. The reasons for the detention of another brother, Manuel Isaac, mentioned by AI, are not so clear. Manuel was known among the people of Dili as a "bufo" (spy, intelligence agent), carried a handy-talky (radio), and seemingly enjoyed good relations with the Indonesians.

In any event, the detention of civil servants does seem to reflect a thinly veiled hint of a coming purge of the provincial administration made by the new governor, José Abilio Soares, shortly after taking office, though ABRI appears to be its executor. It is notable in this regard that both the Deputy Governor and Regional Secretary of East Timor are now Army men and know 'where the bodies are buried' in the local bureaucracy. In a recent article in an Indonesian magazine showing which governors were military and which civilian, Soares was mistakenly identified as military, so clearly is he regarded as the Army's tool.

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#### TIMOR CLANDESTINE NET HURT

According to a December 21 Reuter story by Wilson da Silva datelined Sydney, the human rights group Amnesty International has condemned an Indonesian military crackdown it says is underway in East Timor.

The group said on Monday that it has confirmed 60 arrests and has reports of 650 more since last month's anniversary of a massacre in the East Timor capital Dili.

Rebel groups said the crackdown has paid off for Jakarta, saying key clandestine operatives have gone silent and the resistance in serious disarray.

The London-based organisation said it has confirmed the arrests of another 25 Timorese, including senior bureaucrats working for Jakarta, businessmen, civil servants, nurses and Timorese serving in the Indonesian forces.

The latest group bring to 60 the number of confirmed arrests, but Timorese in Australia and exiled resistance officials have reported some 650 arrested, Amnesty said.

"The opposition (resistance) has been demoralised since the capture of Xanana Gusmão," said Amnesty director Andre Frankovits, referring to the Timorese guerrilla leader captured by Indonesian forces on November 20.

"The crackdown certainly hasn't stopped and one has to be seriously concerned about their safety and welfare," he said.

Timorese rebel spokesmen in Australia said the clandestine network they rely on for information from the former Portuguese territory, which Indonesia invaded and then annexed after Lisbon withdrew its administration in 1975, has virtually dried up as the crackdown has proceeded.

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## REPRESSION INCREASES IN EAST TIMOR

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### ILLEGAL LEAFLETS

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Surabaya Post, 25 November 1992. *Original language: Indonesian. Abridged.*

*Remark: One of the few press hints of on-going clandestine activity indicating continued popular support of the resistance. Anyone seen any of these leaflets? The story suggests quite a bunch.*

(Dili) This is an interview of East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares with Surabaya Post reporter, Lulu Manu.

*Q: There are rumors in Dili that some illegal leaflets were found about there being a new person replacing Xanana.*

A: Let them be, that's their right, isn't it? But I personally think there's nothing to all that. It's just pure political rumor. The important thing is we not be influenced by it.

*Q: What effort is the provincial government making to protect against those illegal leaflets?*

A: As for me, I don't see them as a danger. So I think, let them be. In the long run, they'll disappear on their own.

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## BISHOP MOORE: TERROR IN TIMOR

According to a December 11 Reuter story datelined London, Indonesian troops are waging a campaign of terror in East Timor following the capture of rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, according to a New York churchman.

"There have been numerous arrests, Indonesian soldiers and paramilitary forces are everywhere and secret killings are said to be taking place," Bishop Paul Moore of the Protestant Episcopal Church said in a letter to Britain's weekly *Economist* magazine. ...

*The full text of Bishop Moore's letter as published in the Economist for December 11, 1992, follows:*

### Terror in East Timor

Sir – According to information I have received from authoritative sources, the situation in East Timor in the wake of the capture of the independence movement leader, Xanana Gusmão (November 28th (sic)), is one of widespread terror even greater than before. There have been numerous arrests. Indonesian soldiers and paramilitary forces are everywhere, and secret killings are said to be taking place. The situation is so bad, my sources, say, that church leaders are telling people to be prepared for the worst. The Indonesians are reportedly invading the premises of at least some churches.

People of good will should insist that pressure be brought to bear on Indonesia to desist in its violations of human rights, allow full access to international observers, and negotiate seriously with the parties directly involved to bring about a just settlement in accordance with international law. Given the history of support for Indonesia by many western nations, Japan and others, in a situation that has claimed perhaps 200,000 Timorese lives, this is the very least we can do.

Paul Moore  
Episcopal Bishop of New York, 1972-89

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## LBH URGES LESS REPRESSION

*The Reuter Library Report, December 10, 1992, Thursday, BC cycle*

Indonesia's leading human rights group on Thursday urged the government to ease its tough security measures in the provinces of East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

Indonesian troops are fighting independence movements against Indonesian rule in each of the three provinces.

"The security approach should be reviewed because it will cause unrest in the society and as a result development may not reach targets," Abdul Hakim Nusantara, head of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH) said to mark International Human Rights Day.

He said reports of political repression were mainly in areas where there were separatist movements and that more than half of Indonesia's 600 political prisoners were from East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 in a move that is not recognised by the United Nations.

The status of East Timor was brought into international focus last year when troops fired into a crowd gathered at a cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

The government says 50 people were killed and 66 were missing, but witnesses put the death toll at up to 180.

There are also pockets of resentment in Aceh (pronounced Achay) and Irian Jaya.

Separatist violence in staunchly Islamic Aceh has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of people in the past two years, according to diplomats and human rights groups.

Jakarta crushed armed resistance to Indonesian rule when it took over Irian Jaya from the Dutch in 1963, but the separatist Free Papua Movement still retains sympathisers.

Analysts say another issue causing resentment in the three provinces is poverty and unemployment.

"The authorities should boost the welfare approach that would enable people in the regions to participate in (national) development," Hakim said.

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## TIMORESE RESISTANCE FIGHTS ON

According to a December 15 Reuter story datelined Sydney, Timorese guerrillas said on Tuesday they had ambushed an Indonesian patrol in East Timor, killing at least 30 soldiers, in the first attack since the capture of rebel leader Xanana Gusmão.

Guerrillas made a surprise attack on two truck-borne reconnaissance patrols last week near Maubisse in the Same region of the Indonesian-ruled territory, guerrilla spokesman José Ramos Horta told Reuters on Tuesday.

The two Hino military trucks were destroyed and all the Indonesian soldiers aboard were killed, he said, adding that there were no rebel casualties.

Rebel organiser Alfredo Ferreira in Darwin confirmed the attack, the first major clash reported since November 20 when Indonesian troops took separatist Timorese guerrilla leader Gusmão prisoner.

Rebels say Gusmão was tortured into saying what he does not believe and have challenged Jakarta to release him so he can speak his mind.

"If he is now a supporter of Indonesia's views then let them bring Xanana to (the United Nations in) New York," Ramos Horta said.

"There in neutral terrain let him speak," Horta said before leaving for New York to attend talks on December 17 between Indonesia and Portugal over the former Portuguese territory.

The United Nations does not recognise the annexation and still considers Portugal the administrative power.

An Indonesian army massacre of Timorese civilians in November 1991, captured on film by visiting Western journalists, bought the long-festering issue to a head and helped trigger this week's talks, to be chaired by U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Indonesia has said the guerrilla movement Falantil (Armed Forces for the Liberation of East Timor), which includes members of Fretilin, had become a spent force since Gusmão's capture, and that 1,000 rebels had surrendered to Indonesian authorities.

Rebel sources say many of those who surrendered were in fact ordinary villagers who had not been involved in the conflict.

They said clashes between the lightly-armed guerrillas and Indonesian forces were continuing under Gusmão's replacement Antonio Gomes da Costa, known by his nom de guerre Mau Huno.

About 15,000 Timorese have lived in exile since the Indonesian invasion, mostly in Portugal or Australia, where Ramos Horta is based.

## GENERAL TRY: "WE'LL STAMP THEM OUT!"

*Remark: Statements like this blow sky-high army claims that the armed resistance in East Timor is a "spent force." If it is so "easily smashed," what has ABRI been doing for seventeen years? Will General Try never learn to stop blustering? Also, we had not noticed that the army's amnesty offer has an expiry date. If anyone knows what it is, kindly post it as a response. Try's words are reminiscent of Murdani's vow to use "all means at our disposal" in August 1983. If he speaks like this after more than a thousand rebels have just "surrendered," one wonders how many more there are in the bush. – Carmel*

According to a report from UPI, dated Jakarta, on 18 December 1992, armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno, has vowed to stamp out the East Timorese Fretilin guerrilla movement "once and for all," the armed forces daily, Angkatan Bersenjata, said Friday.

The Fretilin rebellion is "total nonsense and their forces will be easily smashed," he told the newspaper. He repeated the government's call for rebels to return to their villages before an amnesty offer expired.

"Those who remain obstinate and refuse to surrender will have to deal with military operations designed to combat any criminal and ill-intentioned activities," he said. He said the amnesty would only be awarded to those who agree to take part in the development of their villages.

## REBEL LEADER'S CAPTURE SEEN UNLIKELY TO END JAKARTA'S TIMOR WOES

*Washington Post, 19 Dec. 92. By William Branigin, Washington Post Foreign Service*

*Remark: Not the greatest reportage, but at least Post news editors – as distinct from the editorial page staff – have 'rediscovered' East Timor. Carrascalao's further remarks are possibly the most important element in the story. – John*

(Jakarta) When Indonesian troops raided a house in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor last month and captured the renowned guerrilla leader known as Xanana, they dealt a crippling blow to his armed separatist movement. Yet, Timorese and foreign diplomatic sources agree, Indonesia's political problems on the remote island are far from over.

José Alexandre Gusmão, 45, who is better known by his nom de guerre, Xanana, pronounced "Shanana," is to be tried within three months in a civilian court in Dili, the

provincial capital of East Timor, on criminal charges related to his 16-year leadership of Fretilin, a small but persistent guerrilla movement battling for independence from Indonesia, authorities said.

Diplomats said he might thus receive more lenient treatment than if he were tried on subversion charges, which carry the death sentence here.

Xanana, captured Nov. 20 in the hidden cellar of a house south of Dili, was shown on Indonesian television Dec. 1 recanting his separatist views. Speaking in Portuguese to Abilio Soares, the government-appointed provincial governor of East Timor, Xanana called on remaining Fretilin guerrillas to surrender and said he now realized that "East Timor belongs to Indonesia."

Gen. Try Sutrisno, commander of the Indonesian armed forces, denied charges from Lisbon that, as Portuguese President Mario Soares put it, "Xanana . . . was certainly tortured and threatened" into making those statements.

"It's not true," Try told reporters. "We did not pressure him. What's the use of pressuring him?" He said it was an "insult" to suggest that Indonesia would treat a prisoner that way.

However, even supporters of Indonesia's 1976 takeover of East Timor were skeptical.

"Sorry, but we're not that stupid," said Mario Carrascalao, who served as governor of East Timor for 10 years before leaving office in September. "I am against Fretilin, but when I saw that statement, I was ashamed as a Timorese. It was an insult to my intelligence as a Timorese."

In an interview, Carrascalao said Xanana's capture was "a dramatic loss for Fretilin." It effectively dashed hopes among some Timorese of eventually forcing Indonesia to grant independence, a step that Jakarta feels it can never take without setting a precedent for the disintegration of this diverse archipelago of 13,700 islands and nearly 300 separate linguistic groups.

But Carrascalao made it clear that the government of President Suharto has a long way to go to achieve true "integration" of East Timor into Indonesia.

"The problem will continue for Indonesia," a senior Asian diplomat said. "But instead of a guerrilla war, today it is an urban-based underground movement."

Carrascalao and human rights activists here said that although there was no outward sign that Xanana, in the recantation or a subsequent Portuguese television interview, had been physically mistreated, they believe the arrest of a number of close relatives and supporters had put him under pressure. Among those picked up after Xanana's capture were his younger sister, Armandina Exposto, 35, a provincial gov-

ernment employee in Dili, and her husband, Jilman Exposto, an official of a Roman Catholic aid agency. There was no immediate explanation of the charges, if any, against the Expostos.

The United Nations, which does not recognize Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor, has called for a process of self-determination for the former Portuguese colony.

After more than 270 years of colonial rule over the eastern half of Timor Island, Lisbon pulled out in 1975, unleashing a bloody civil war among East Timorese factions for control of the impoverished territory. The western half of the island has been an undisputed part of Indonesia since 1949.

The leftist Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor, known by its Portuguese acronym, Fretilin, emerged victorious and proclaimed the "Democratic Republic of East Timor" on Nov. 28, 1975. Nine days later, Suharto, fearing the birth of what was then described as "another Cuba" on the archipelago's doorstep following the fall of South Vietnam, launched an invasion of East Timor. Indonesia formally annexed the territory in July 1976.

According to human rights groups, tens of thousands of Timorese were killed during the Indonesian takeover, and thousands of others were arrested or tortured. In part, because of a famine caused by dislocations during the civil war and subsequent invasion, more than 100,000 people - at least one-sixth of East Timor's population - died during the next few years, the groups have reported.

Largely isolated from the outside world, Fretilin, according to Indonesian and diplomatic estimates, had dwindled before Xanana's capture to about 200 active fighters. Moreover, Timorese exile groups in Portugal and Australia have been wracked by infighting and disputes over funding.

"The military struggle has been over for a long time," a Western diplomat said.

However, diplomats and Timorese sources said, the group in recent years has managed to increase its influence by shifting its focus to political activity against Indonesia in East Timor's capital and towns. It has made considerable inroads and attracted broad sympathy, they said, especially among thousands of unemployed young people in Dili.

Another volatile element of the equation, according to Carrascalao, is a group of right-wing, pro-Indonesia vigilantes known as "the ninjas," who he said were linked to the former military intelligence chief in East Timor and "terrorized" Dili after dark.

Carrascalao charged that these vigilantes were involved in provoking brutal military suppression of anti-government marchers

who participated in a funeral procession for a slain comrade on Nov. 12, 1991. Human rights groups estimate that at least 75 persons, and possibly more than 100, were killed when troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators at Dili's Santa Cruz Cemetery after a military officer was stabbed. The government says 50 were killed.

Nine soldiers and a policeman were subsequently court-martialed for the massacre, but their trials left key questions unanswered, and the longest sentence meted out was 18 months in prison.

By contrast, the government reserved its harshest treatment for 20 protesters. One Timorese accused of planning the Nov. 12 demonstration was sentenced in May to life in prison, and two students who helped organize a peaceful protest march in Jakarta a week after the massacre received sentences of nine and 10 years in prison for "subversion."

Xanana now is also being accused of masterminding the Nov. 12 demonstration. Indonesian human rights lawyers said that since his capture, he has been denied the right to legal counsel.

Since last year's killings, the government has barred most foreign reporters from visiting East Timor, although it has pledged to open the province to outsiders.

Said Carrascalao, "Another 12th of November is possible. It's a matter of when."

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## MILITARY OPERATIONS STRANGULATING EAST TIMOR

By: *Liem Soei Liong and Carmel Budiardjo, Tapol*

*Published in Publico, 23 December 1992, under the title, 'Indonesia wants to annihilate the resistance by April.' Original (English) here.*

The capture of Xanana Gusmão was one of the major aims of the present Indonesian military operation in East Timor. But Operasi Tuntas (Operation Thoroughgoing or Complete) has not yet reached its climax. With unprecedented ferocity Timorese guerrillas are being hunted down in the mountains and hundreds, possibly thousands, of arrests have taken place in the cities.

Operasi Tuntas, the code name for the present military operation, was originally to have been called Operasi Naga Merah (Red Dragon Operation) but Brig. General Theo Syafei realised that this sounded too ferocious and ultimately settled for the milder-sounding name. As a military operation,

Operasi Tuntas consists of new elements and has a new thrust. The main difference is that it reinstates the security approach as the army's strategy while the key thrust is to crush the clandestine movement.

### "Two-faced" Timorese

The clandestine movement has usually been taken as meaning the young activists who created a variety of organisations like RENETIL, Fitun, and OJETIL. These organisations were primarily responsible for the anti-Indonesia actions in Dili and Baucau. The Santa Cruz procession of 12 November 1991 was largely organised by the youth. But Operasi Tuntas has gone further than just hunting down and arresting the youth. Several months ago, Brig. General Theo Syafei and Governor Abilio Osorio Soares issued a warning to the so-called two-faced Timorese. They were referring to people who work within the Indonesian system while at the same time being involved in clandestine work for independence. Syafei and Soares are both well aware of the realities in East Timor and know that these 'two-faced' people are the bottom line. It is not enough to wipe out the armed resistance and destroy the clandestine youth organisations; any operation to break the back of the resistance must also mean 'cleansing' the entire Indonesian administrative system in East Timor.

Some of the defendants in the trials held in Dili earlier this year were civil servants. The latest waves of arrests show that one major aim of Operasi Tuntas is to break up the clandestine network within the Indonesian administration. Most of the detainees named in recent Amnesty International urgent actions are civil servants.

Indonesian press reports during the past month reveal the extent and range of this clandestine network. Xanana's visits from the mountains to Dili were partly organised by Timorese working in the provincial administration, including a village head. Xanana's arrest took place in the house of police first corporal Augusto Pereira, another 'loyal' Timorese. It is clear that Xanana's arrest was not the result of betrayal but resulted from a major search by the army during November. They ultimately discovered Xanana's whereabouts after inflicting the most horrific forms of torture on detainees who they thought might be able to inform on Xanana. It is understood that Henrique Gutteres, who was captured a few days before Xanana was found, finally broke down and revealed his whereabouts after all his finger-nails and toe-nails had been pulled out and both his ears had been slashed.

### The security approach

Since January this year when Brig. General Theo Syafei was appointed military commander, much has changed in East Timor. His predecessor Brig. General Warouw favoured the prosperity approach, a strategy of using persuasion to convince the Timorese to accept integration. The security approach used by Operasi Tuntas regards every Timorese as suspect. The prosperity approach has been shelved.

It is not possible to estimate the number of people arrested since Xanana was captured. The level of brutality has also far exceeded anything experienced by the Timorese for many years. According to information from church sources on 8 December, things are "far, far worse" than what Amnesty International has been saying. "Numerous people have been arrested and a significant number have been forced to betray others after being tortured. The reality is far worse than observers can see on the surface... The torture is so terrible that people defect to the Indonesian side. Many people who are released look like zombies... the lines to the prisons are tremendous... the beatings and tortures are out of this world. There has never been anything like it." Considering what Timorese have lived through for the past seventeen years, these words suggest a level of brutality quite beyond human endurance.

Central to the strategy currently being employed is an attempt to thoroughly demoralise the people of East Timor, so as to destroy their will to oppose integration. A key element in the campaign is the staging of 'loyalty ceremonies.' This method has been widely used in Aceh during military operations since 1990, but it is a new phenomenon in East Timor. In stage-managed ceremonies attended by the press and TV, young and old are forced to declare their loyalty to the Indonesian Republic. These ceremonies have taken place in many parts of East Timor but the ultimate showpiece was staged at the sports stadium in Baucau on 7 December when 3,000 citizens were ordered to watch an act of 'repentance' by 200 members of the 'clandestine movement.' Youngsters proclaimed the dissolution of their organisation. The organisation was not identified by name; it was referred to simply as 'the clandestine.' In their pledge of loyalty, they disbanded "any clandestine organisations in whatever form which have existed to undermine the Republic."

Moreover, repentance was not enough. As a punishment, several hundred people in the Baucau region were forced to participate in a pagar betis (fence-of-legs) campaign, walking hand-in-hand in huge circles into the

forest to force suspected guerrillas out into the open. Brig. General Syafei told the media that this was a 'voluntary act' by hundreds of people who spent three days in the forest to convince relatives in the bush to surrender.

Throughout the current operations, 'surrender' is the key word. By giving the impression that hundreds, even thousands, of 'rebels' have 'surrendered,' the army hopes to present the international community with a fait accompli, making further diplomatic effort irrelevant. Once an entire nation has 'surrendered,' what more is there to talk about? This is why Indonesia was so inflexible at the UN-sponsored talks on 17 December. The delay of four months till the next round of talks should give the army the time it needs to end, once and for all, any remnants of East Timorese resistance.

### The dissolution of KOLAKOPS

Kolakops is the special military structure for East Timor. It is a special operations command, unlike command structures anywhere else, designed for a region still in a state of war. It has powers to deploy fresh troops from all over Indonesia at a moment's notice. Earlier this year Brig. General Theo Syafei announced that Kolakops would be dissolved in September, then he postponed it till the end of the year. Now it has again been put back, this time to March 1993. The huge operations now under way suggest that the army hopes to be able to disband Kolakops before the appointment of Suharto for a sixth term as president. The date fixed for the next talks between Indonesia and Portugal also fits in with this timetable.

Whether Syafei will be able to achieve this is another matter; even Indonesian press reports suggest that East Timorese resistance is still widespread. To achieve their aim, the Indonesian military would need to wipe out practically the entire population. The arrest of Xanana Gusmão and the way in which he has been manipulated by his captors is a heavy blow for the Timorese but there is nowhere any sign of the collapse of the resistance.

In the past 17 years the Timorese have experienced many different phases of Indonesian rule. Every time they have developed new ways to overcome their oppressors with new forms of resistance. The present wave of terror under Operasi Tuntas is possibly the most difficult period of all for the Timorese, but their will to overcome and their will to resist is sure to prevail.

## ABILIO SOARES RTP INTERVIEW

*Remark: RTP viewers – what else did the man say this time? Are the Indonesian authorities so anxious that they intend to shroud Xanana's trial in secrecy? Indonesia press reports promise a "public" trial, albeit in distant Dili, but also state that extraordinary security preparations are being made because of the expected large local interest in the trial. Will wire service reporters and foreign press be allowed to report firsthand on the trial? Or will all coverage come via the various Indonesian media? – John*

According to a December 28 Reuter story datelined Lisbon, East Timor will remain part of Indonesia and Portugal should recognise the integration of its former colony, East Timor governor Abilio Osorio Soares has said in a television interview broadcast on Sunday.

In the interview with Portuguese RTP television, recorded in the Timor capital Dili, Soares said the future of East Timor had been decided. "It is an integral part of Indonesia," he declared.

Portugal wants the people of East Timor to be given the chance to express their views in a referendum, but Jakarta maintains a popular Timorese assembly opted for integration into Indonesia after the Portuguese left the territory.

"I hope for mutual understanding between Indonesia and Portugal. I hope Portugal will recognise this integration (of East Timor into Indonesia)," Soares said.

The East Timor governor, appointed by Jakarta, said resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, who was captured by Indonesian troops in November, would be given a fair trial by the Indonesian authorities in the next few months, but gave no date.

He rejected calls for international observers to be present at the trial.

"It is not an international case. It is an internal matter for Indonesia," Soares said.

According to a December 28 AFP story datelined Lisbon, thirty-six Timor guerrillas have surrendered to the Indonesian authorities following the capture of their leader in November, Dili Governor Abilio Soares told Portuguese television.

In an interview conducted in the Timor capital Dili, Soares told RTP television that 36 members of Fretilin had turned themselves in. The war in the island "had finished long ago" and guerrillas still at large "are no longer fighting," he added.

Speaking of the arrest last month of guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão, Soares said he would be given "all guarantees" at his trial. He rejected, however, the presence at

the trial of international observers, saying this "is an internal matter for Indonesia and not an international affair."

## UPDATE: SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

*TAPOL Report, 6 January 1993*

*From very reliable, protected sources.*

1. Some of the people who were arrested immediately before and after the arrest of the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, are being held in secret cells at Colmera prison and at Komarka prison in Balide, Dili. Henrique Belmiro Guterres is in the worst state of all; all his nails were pulled out, his ears were slashed and he has a broken arm. The families of those arrested have not been told by the International Red Cross of their whereabouts, which is what normally happens.

2. In late November, an East Timorese member of the Armed Forces, Lieut. Constancio Guterres was arrested on suspicion of being involved with a clandestine organisation. Other armed forces members have also reportedly been arrested as well. East Timorese troops are no longer being issued with firearms.

3. David Dias Ximenes was arrested on 17 December, held and interrogated for a day, then released after intervention by the International Red Cross. [David Dias Ximenes was sentenced to 15 years back in the early 1980s and spent his term of imprisonment in Cipinang, Jakarta. He was released and returned to Dili before November 1991.]

4. Several East Timorese businessmen have gone into hiding as they are suspected of having supplied Xanana Gusmão with his needs in his hideout. The head of the Public Relations Bureau [not clear at which level of the administration] has been summoned for investigations. The head of Samsat [?], Captain Martins has been transferred to Denpasar.

5. At the beginning of December, Governor Abilio Soares and military commander, Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei instructed all their subordinates in the civil and military services to round up all civil and military personnel who are suspected of being 'two-faced' for immediate interrogation; where proven guilty, they must be placed under arrest. Many of these people are anti-integration UDT sympathisers.

6. Some members of underground organisations who 'surrendered' in Baucau and who were then ordered to go into the bush to hunt down guerrillas have since been killed by Indonesian soldiers because they failed to capture anyone. They were given two alternatives to test the sincerity of their

surrender: they would stay alive if they captured rebels or be killed if they captured no-one.

7. Operations by the military have reached a new peak of ferocity, forcing people to take oaths, all of which is carefully recorded. Youths, especially young girls, are being compelled to attend dance parties held by soldiers all over the country. No-one dares to refuse or to protest as everyone is very afraid.

8. Things are far worse now than they were in 1975. We fervently hope that you will disseminate this information without mentioning the source. The situation in East Timor is dire; we sorely need intervention from the UN.

## GENERAL TRY INTERVIEWED BY TEMPO

*Tempo, 9 January 1993*

*Interview by Toriq Hadad while in Dili for Christmas.*

*Remark: It's difficult to take anything that General Try says seriously. But he is the armed forces commander-in-chief so his words must reflect official policy. Ah well...*

*His explanation that open rebellion is not subversion certainly does not tally with the numerous subversion trials in Aceh. Try's inability to produce a logical reason for not charging Xanana with subversion means that the motivation is purely political. It could also reflect a conflict within ABRI over how to handle the case.*

*The interview is accompanied by a photo of General Try shaking hands with Bishop Belo.*

*Everything in square brackets is added by TAPOL. All the rest is from TEMPO.*

*Q: What is your evaluation of 1992?*

A: 1992 can be said to be a year of success for internal security. The general election and the MPR (People's Legislative Assembly) session are proceeding according to plan. There are many measures of success, security during the general elections, the smooth running of the Non-Aligned Summit, the capture of GPK [i.e., 'terrorist gang'] leaders in East Timor and Aceh.

East Timor is gradually becoming secure. Fretilin, which formerly had tens of thousands of members [sic] before Xanana was arrested now has only 200. I need to expand on this GPK question. By GPK, we mean those who carry out armed activities in the forests and they now amount to... (Brig.

Gen Theo Syafei interjected, saying, 'There are 183 left.') Besides this there are inhabitants who have fallen under their influence, giving logistical support and information; they are called clandestine. There are about a thousand of these. Many have disbanded themselves.

*Q: Which members of Fretilin can get amnesty?*

A: It is the President which grants amnesty. The armed forces (ABRI) commander-in-chief implements the policy. Amnesty applies to all GPK/Fretilin members from the leaders down to the lowest level. Their names and places of origin are recorded.

Brig- Gen. Syafei has even prepared settlements for them [how generous!].

Basically, they should come down and help with development. If someone has clearly surrendered, what more do you want?

*Q: Is Xanana going to be charged with subversion?*

A: Subversion is when there is an underground movement that is invisible which then suddenly appears in the open. An example is the youngsters (who demonstrated in East Timor and Jakarta) who were tried. Why should people who only demonstrate be charged with subversion? It's because they had a pre-conceived plan and their network was underground. The demonstration was the only part that was visible. If someone openly wages a rebellion, it's not necessary to call that subversion. The Criminal Code is adequate. Articles about possession of weapons can also be applied.

*Q: Xanana is to be tried in Dili in January. Isn't this risky in Dili?*

A: It's in accord with legal procedure. Why should we be afraid? Things are secure in East Timor, including Dili. The point is that he will be tried as soon as possible.

*Q: Things are secure in East Timor. So, when is the East Timor Operational Command (Kolakops) going to be disbanded?*

A: A commando is an organisation which handles something. Perhaps, Kolakops evokes various connotations. Formerly it was a security command, now it is a territorial command, one which stimulates the people to build. Of course things will change. It is under consideration at ABRI headquarters.

*Q: Will Kolakops be replaced by Korem, as in other places?*

A: Yes, replaced by Korem. The question is how many personnel and the organisational structure. This will depend on the extent of its control. What's clear is that the territorial operation will be continued and intensified.

(According to TEMPO sources in Dili, the dissolution will take place before the MPR session [in March]. As distinct from other Korems, the one in East Timor will have a deputy commander. For the posts of assistants, highly experienced lieutenant-colonels are being got ready.)

Q: Is there going to be a tour of duty among regional commanders in the near future?

A: That is quite natural, to keep ABRI organisation fresh at all times. There has already been a tour of duty and a tour of area. As regards who and when, there will be an announcement when everything has been signed. I myself won't be sitting here for ever. I'm getting old and will soon retire.

Q: Are you going to be replaced before the MPR session, as happened five years ago [when Benny Murdani was unexpectedly replaced by Suharto before the 1988 MPR session].

A: Actually I should have retired on reaching 55. (Try was born on 15 November 1935.) As the President still needs me, it was extended for two years. When will I be replaced? I really don't know. What's clear is that the commander-in-chief won't go on for ever.

Q: How will things be with the MPR?

A: There will definitely be a meeting of minds over the different opinions among the people's representatives. This is not a liberal democracy. Consultation and consensus will take place. The result will emerge in the Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN). Once that has been done, the only thing remaining will be to choose the person mandated to carry it out. Four fractions have already nominated Suharto again. There will certainly be a meeting of minds and consensus. The same will also happen over the vice-president. All fractions certainly have their candidates.

Q: Your name has been mentioned as a candidate for vice-president....

A: (Laughing heartily) That's enough. Answer it yourself.

## LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST TIMOR

*The following is based on information conveyed by phone to TAPOL by an East Timorese contact in Indonesia on 7 January 1993:*

*[Some remarks have been added in square brackets.]*

Creating a 50:50 society

The level of fear, uncertainty and anxiety among the East Timorese is now at a very high pitch.

The objective of the forces of occupation is to create a "50:50 Society." This means that 50 per cent of the population are nationalists (i.e. anti-integration) while the other 50 per cent must consist of people pledged to spy on the others. The sweeping efforts to force people to take oaths of allegiance, often now according to traditional ritual, meaning that non-compliance will be fatal, is intending to have a very large number of people under threat of death to spy on their compatriots. People who are forced to take oaths of allegiance are then released and subjected to close supervision to serve the purposes of the intelligence.

Destroying the Church's links with the people

Another intel move to destabilise society is to persuade formal and informal leaders to destroy the close ties between the people and the Catholic Church. People are being urged to turn against the Church.

Hunting down guerrillas

Since 18 December 1992, hundreds of East Timorese in Baucau have been forced to go into the bush to hunt down guerrillas. This operation is still under way. There is no news of any guerrillas having been 'delivered' to the army.

Renewed armed activities

The armed resistance wishes is to be known that, since the arrest of Xanana Gusmão on 20 November 1992, they have been intensifying their level of military activity against the Indonesian army.

Armed contact with the army took place on 9 December in Fatubessi and Fatulia, located east of Ermera in the central sector. Two Indonesian soldiers were killed. On 18-19 December 1992, during an operation by the guerrillas, three trucks of Indonesian troops were attacked (blown up?), resulting in 60 Indonesian soldiers being killed.

Inevitably, say the guerrillas, an intensification of armed contact has repercussions on the local population, as the army takes reprisals against them. The guerrilla movement is keen to show that the arrest of Xanana has not led to decline in their activ-

ity. On the contrary, their intentions is to increase the pressure on the army.

*[There are several reports of armed contact with significant losses on the Indonesian side. There are discrepancies between the casualty figures, making it difficult to verify what precisely happened. This is in part a consequence of the extreme isolation of East Timor and the impossibility of obtaining independent confirmation. Our source gave no information about casualties on the side of the guerrillas.]*

Many high-level officials 'involved'

Many top-level East Timorese officials are regarded by the army as having been involved in looking after and supporting Xanana Gusmão during the period he was in hiding (in terms of helping him directly with hideouts, supplying his needs, etc.). They include six district chiefs (bupati), several heads of bureaus and some businessmen. As of yet, not all these people have been arrested as it is feared (by the army) that this could cause public unrest and unease.

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## REBELS SAID TO SURRENDER

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### ARMY OFFERS 'PARDONS' WITH BELO'S HELP

*The amnesty for those who surrender is a long-standing policy, not a new one. The new twists on it involve its re-announcement after Xanana's TV appearance under duress and the reported Belo offer to provide churches as surrender venues. We have seen no statement from Bishop Belo confirming this. That the Army announced it suggests he is, at best, not enamored of the idea.*

*Contrary to the reported comment by 'diplomats' in the story José da Costa has in fact been interviewed in the Indonesian press several times. A recent newspaper story, in fact, has him calling for his colleagues to surrender. He has been under going what is euphemistically called 'guidance' (pembinaan) by the Army. Consequently, his statements, like those of Xanana on TV, cannot be taken at face value.*

*As for Brig. Gen. Nurhadi's remark that the ICRC's report on Xanana will be 'objective,' ICRC reports also remain secret and for the primary consumption of the host government. In addition, the conditions under which the ICRC will be permitted to see Xanana have yet to be spelled out.*

— John

According to a December 3 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia has offered to

pardon East Timorese rebels who surrender following the capture of their leader two weeks ago, the daily newspaper *Jawa Pos* reported on Thursday.

"The pardon is one of the steps to attract the remaining Fretilin (rebels) to return to society peacefully," the newspaper quoted East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying in the territory's capital Dili.

Syafei, who did not give any terms or deadline for the surrender, said earlier that the capture of rebel leader Xanana Gusmão in Dili had broken Fretilin's resistance.

The rebels could surrender in any of seven churches provided by East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the *Jawa Pos* said.

It quoted Belo as saying his offer would be made in a Christmas message to Fretilin guerrillas asking them to lay down their arms in churches in the East Timorese cities of Bobonaro, Manatuto, Ainaro, Ailiu, Viqueque, Baucau and Dili.

The church dominates social life in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 following the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers.

Indonesia annexed East Timor the following year in a move that is not recognised by the United Nations.

Armed forces spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro told Reuters in Jakarta that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) would be allowed to visit Xanana within a week.

"It is a gesture. We will show to the world that we don't mean any harm. The ICRC report will be objective," Nurhadi said.

Authorities may charge Xanana with masterminding protests that led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

Some diplomats have complained that while all the focus was on Xanana, few thoughts were spared for the more than 100 other political prisoners believed held in East Timor.

They pointed out that Fretilin deputy chief José da Costa was captured in January and has not been heard of since.

Xanana appeared on television on Tuesday and urged his fellow guerrillas to give up their struggle. Portugal dismissed the interview as having been made under duress.

"(He) did not have a lawyer or conditions to defend himself and he was certainly tortured and threatened," Portuguese President Mario Soares said after seeing the television film.

"(His declarations) had nothing to do with the will and determination of the East

Timorese people who want self determination and independence," Soares added.

Indonesian authorities say they have also rounded up 20 of Xanana's closest aides since his capture.

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## SYAFEI: CHURCH URGES REBELS TO SURRENDER

*AP, Ghafur Fady. Abridged 4 Dec. 92.*

(Jakarta) Indonesian military has followed up its capture of an East Timor rebel leader with an amnesty offer for remaining rebels if they surrender through the Catholic church, a newspaper reported, Thursday.

The *Jawa Post* quoted East Timor military commander Brig Gen. Theo Syafei as saying "The decision to give amnesty is one of the steps of the military Commander in the effort to persuade them to live in peace and quiet in the community."

Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, head of the Catholic church in East Timor, welcomed the offer saying "Amnesty seems to be the best way to persuade them to come out from the jungle."

He said an appeal to the rebels would be announced in a Christmas message in the next two weeks.

In East Timor, a Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976, about 90 per cent of the 755,000 are Catholic.

Syafei estimated the number of rebels remaining as about one hundred but said that there could be many more. He noted that about 2000 people joined demonstrations on 12 November last year to demand independence from Indonesia.

Indonesia soldiers captured Xanana of Fretilin (sic), the revolutionary front on November 20 in a house in the suburbs of Dili.

Another 20 alleged supporters of the rebel movement were arrested later.

"As Gusmão was captured, we also found documents showing his first circle supporters, who have also been captured. Through them, we hope to uncover his second circle supporters," Syafei said.

In an interview with East Timor Governor Soares last week, Gusmão urged supporters to give up their struggle for independence and surrender to Indonesian authorities. The interview, broadcast by state-owned TVRI, was aimed at countering foreign reports that Gusmão had committed suicide in detention.

In Lisbon Portuguese Mario Soares said it was necessary to find out under what conditions Gusmão spoke. Soares said Gusmão "was definitely tortured, certainly threatened, and he hadn't even pleaded any conditions of defence."

He also said Gusmão's remarks in the interview "had nothing to do with the determination and the will of the Timorese people, who obviously want self-determination and independence."

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## YET ANOTHER AMNESTY OFFER BY ARMY

*Source: Reuter Date: 3 December 1992  
Dateline: Jakarta. abridged*

### INDONESIA OFFERS TO PARDON TIMORESE REBELS

*Comment: If ICRC is allowed to visit Xanana, that's excellent, but don't think that its report will be made public. The ICRC only reports to the host government; only if Indonesia were to go public with a fabrication of the findings of the ICRC would the latter go public to correct the record. – TAPOL*

Indonesia has offered to pardon East Timorese rebels who surrender following the capture of their leader Xanana Gusmão.

The rebels could surrender in any of seven churches provided by East Timor's Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the *Jawa Pos* said.

It quoted Belo as saying his offer would be made in a Christmas message to Fretilin guerrillas asking them to lay down their arms in churches in the East Timorese cities of Bobonaro, Manatuto, Ainaro, Ailiu, Viqueque, Baucau and Dili.

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Armed forces spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro told Reuters in Jakarta that the ICRC would be allowed to visit Xanana within a week.

"It is a gesture. We will show to the world that we don't mean any harm. The ICRC report will be objective," Nurhadi said.

Authorities may charge Xanana with masterminding protests that led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

Some diplomats have complained that while all the focus was on Xanana, few thoughts were spared for the more than one hundred other political prisoners believed held in East Timor. They pointed out that Fretilin deputy chief José da Costa was captured in January and has not been heard of since.

## 'DEMONSTRATOR SURRENDERS' CLAIM

*Remark: The meaning of this new claim is unclear. Part domestic psywar, it may refer to the Fitun members identified by Indonesian intelligence and interrogated. However, it may also mean more arrests. It strains credulity that 107 of the November 12 demonstrators suddenly walked in to Army or Police posts all at once on a single Thursday. These wire stories are often only a paragraph or two from fuller Indonesian-language press stories which provide fuller accounts. The Dili dateline and the anonymity of the officer also render the story suspect. – John*

According to a December 5 AP story datelined Dili, more than 100 Timorese involved in a demonstration that was bloodily suppressed last year have surrendered to the military, a military officer said today.

The officer, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said 107 East Timorese who took part in the anti-Indonesia demonstration surrendered on Thursday, two weeks after the capture of rebel leader José Alexandre Gusmão.

About 2,000 people joined the demonstration on Nov. 12 last year demanding independence from Indonesia, which forcibly annexed the former Portuguese territory in 1976. Indonesian troops opened fire at the demonstrators, bringing an international outcry.

A government commission said about 50 were killed and 66 were missing, and blamed the troops with overreacting to the protesters.

Human rights groups have put the toll at 200 or more.

## BIG ABRI PSYWAR CAMPAIGN

*Remark: This seems another example of the wires – mainly inadvertently, perhaps in a few cases wittingly – being used in ABRI's domestic psywar campaign. There is nothing really new here – it looks more like an effort to create a 'climate' of 'the inevitability of defeat and the wisdom of surrender.' – John*

According to a December 5 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesian military forces have threatened tough action against East Timorese rebels who refuse to surrender, the daily Jakarta Post reported on Saturday.

"We will not hesitate to use force against the separatists if they disturb the people," the daily quoted East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying.

The military earlier this week offered to pardon Fretilin rebels who voluntarily surrender following the capture of their leader, Xanana Gusmão, two weeks ago.

Syafei said 30 rebels gave themselves up after Xanana's capture and had returned to their families. He called for other separatists to lay down their guns before the armed forces withdraw the offer.

The military says it has rounded up 20 of Xanana's closest aides since his capture.

The authorities may charge Xanana with masterminding pro-independence protests that led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery last November to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

## ABRI CAMPAIGN OF LIES ESCALATES

*Remark: The mention of a written appeal by Xanana to his followers to surrender is especially ominous in regard to his safety and to the safety of his guerrilla followers. A written appeal – which would be printed and likely air-dropped or posted or distributed in pre-identified places – could only have been written under the most extreme duress, if indeed it is genuine and not a forgery. Guerrillas who have surrendered in the past have hardly all been welcomed with open arms and placed under 'benign' Army 'guidance' (indoctrination). An unknown number have simply been summarily executed.*

*In this regard, it again strains credulity to believe that 36 newly surrendered guerrillas were all released shortly after surrendering and only 'required to report' (wajib lapor, like the ex-PKI political detainees). One can only hope that if the guerrillas do not themselves see through a sophisticated hoax, Xanana has been able to convey in any message he has written wording which would make it obvious to the guerrillas the appeal was spurious. Notice the huge dose of skepticism in the non-bylined AFP story. Another reason to make worst-case assumptions is contained in the December 5 issue of Tempo. Xanana's capture is the cover story and main report, yet there is no interview with him. ABRI generally allows newsmagazines with the domestic prestige of Tempo and Editor interview or comment access to even prominent prisoners, but apparently declined to do so for Xanana at this point. The best Tempo could manage in this regard were excerpts from Robert Domm's 1991 interview with Xanana. There is a clear picture of Xanana – which Tempo does credit to itself – on the contents page which extends down to Xanana's upheld hands – both of them – but only the fingers*

*are shown. It is not clear if he is handcuffed or otherwise bound not around the wrists below. The fingers of both hands are in unusually close proximity. He is freshly but rough shaven and in khaki. Possibly the photo was taken shortly after his capture. Tempo's stories appeared before the airing of Xanana's 'interview' on TVRI. – John*

According to a December 5 AFP story datelined Jakarta, thirty six members of an East Timor pro-independence movement have surrendered to the Indonesian military following a written appeal from their captured leader, unconfirmed press reports said here Saturday.

The members of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) surrendered Tuesday to the military district command at Same, Manufahi regent, the Jakarta Post quoted East Timor military operational commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying.

No independent or military confirmation of the surrenders was immediately available, while East Timor's bishop said reports of an agreement for the guerrillas to give themselves up at specified churches were all "lies."

The Jawa Pos daily said Thursday the military persuaded the guerrillas to surrender by delivering a copy of a hand-written letter by long-time movement leader José "Xanana" Gusmão – captured November 20 in the East Timor capital Dili – calling them to give themselves up.

The daily quoted Syafei as saying that following Gusmão's surrender, Jakarta had offered an amnesty to guerrillas who gave themselves up to designated churches.

It said the 36 that surrendered were released after the questioning but obliged to report three times a week.

Military figures recently put the movement's membership at about 200.

Gusmão, 45, who headed the armed faction of Fretilin since 1979 before his capture during a dawn raid on his underground hideout in Dili, reportedly said in his letter, "I know it would be hard for all of you. But I think this is the time for you to give up your weapons."

"I hope this is not too late to confess our mistake" and admit East Timor has been integrated with Indonesia, Jawa Pos quoted Gusmão's correspondence as saying.

The letter reportedly urged the Fretilin guerrillas, who have been fighting against Indonesian presence in the former Portuguese colony since 1975, not to rely on support from Portugal for their struggle.

### 36 GUERRILLAS SURRENDER, SAYS REPORT

*The following news are reported on 6 Dec. 1992 by Sunday Times, Perth, Western Australia.*

Jakarta: Thirty-six members of an East Timor pro-independence movement have surrendered to the Indonesian military after a written appeal from their captured leader.

Unconfirmed press reports said members of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) surrendered on Tuesday to the military district command at Same, Manufahi regent, the Jakarta Post quoted East Timor military operational commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying.

No independent or military confirmation of the surrenders was available but East Timor's bishop said reports of an agreement for the guerrillas to surrender at specified churches were "lies."

The Jawa Pos daily said on Thursday that the military persuaded the guerrillas to surrender by delivering a copy of a handwritten letter by long-time movement leader José "Xanana" Gusmão - captured on November 20 in the East Timor capital Dili - calling them to surrender.

General Syafei was quoted as saying that following Gusmão's surrender Jakarta had offered an amnesty to guerrillas who gave themselves up to designated churches.

It said the 36 who surrendered were released after questioning but obliged to report three times a week.

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### XANANA'S MEN TAKE BLOOD OATH IN BAUCAU

*Bernas. 7 Dec. 92. Original language: Indonesian; Substantial excerpt.*

*Remark: In the several Indonesian press stories on Baucau, the underground resistance is simply referred to in English as "Clandestine." It is fairly obvious the Army rounded up the cast of characters and big crowd for the choreographed Baucau 'dissolution' ceremony described in the article and they are engaged in what Indonesians in other contexts would label 'over-acting.' Still, the event gives some idea of the scope of the clandestine East Timorese resistance organizations, both geographically and in its extension beyond students and youth. As in the Fitun and OJETIL dissolutions, the reporters intimate that not all members of the clandestine group involved were present. With pressure on them so heavy in the towns, it seems more than possible many of those not caught in the Army intel dragnet have gone to join the armed resistance. Hence Syafei's*

*"Operasi Tuntas" (Operation Thoroughness, or Operation 'Once and for All') coupled with Try Sutrisno's continued bluster along the same lines is bound to meet continued frustration. It seems clear much of the clandestine network has yet to be uncovered and that the Army's Aceh-style textbook moves against it may only serve to re-generate it - and even the armed resistance. - John MacDougall.*

(Dili) Two hundred members of the Fretilin security disrupters' clandestine organization in Baucau dissolved themselves on Sunday. The dissolution in Baucau's Sports Building including the signing of a blood oath and a pledge witnessed by over 3,000 residents of Baucau District.

The blessing in the customary law (adat) blood oath ceremony was carried out by two adat figures, Cipriano Correia and Natavidada R. Gusmão. They said that in the Baucau area if a blood oath is broken, the persons involved will die or suffer misfortune.

In front of local community figures and religious figures, the young leader of the clandestine organization in Baucau, Sergio de Jesus, representing 200 members of his organization, read a five-point statement of views.

First, they declared their actions to date had greatly harmed Indonesia indirectly in its efforts to settle the East Timor problem.

Second, they declared their actions were done purely for the interests of a small segment of the community in East Timor with personal ambitions.

Third, they appealed to all East Timorese, especially in Baucau, not to be easily influenced by the coaxing, flattery, and reporting, originating domestically or abroad, in the print and electronic media, illegal leaflets, and other misleading propaganda. Anyone trying to influence them should be immediately reported to the authorities.

Fourth, they hoped that everyone who had been supporting their activities while in their positions as civil servants, community leaders, and private businessmen come to their senses and not repeat their activities of undermining the government of the unitary state of Indonesia.

Fifth, they asked all residents to turn over a new page in giving content to the development now underway. They should discard their feelings of anger and revenge.

Hermanagildo Belo, a member of the clandestine organization, read out a pledge joined in by all the clandestine organization members present.

Military District (Kodim) 1628/Baucau Commander Lt. Col. Eduard Siagian told reporters that the statement of views repre-

sented a proper step. Eduard said Baucau was one of the East Timor districts with quite a lot of clandestine members. It has been a Fretilin base since the early days.

Meanwhile, Major L. Simbulon of the East Timor Operations Execution Command (Kolakops) said that the dissolution of similar organizations was being carried out in Same, Manufahi District. In the near future, he said, members of the clandestine organization in Manatuto, Lautem, Viqueque, and Bobonaro would also dissolve themselves.

It was also reported that on Saturday 107 clandestine members delivered a statement to Kolakops Commander Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei demanding that the government sentence Xanana Gusmão to death. But Supreme Advisory Council (DPA) member from East Timor Francisco Lopez da Cruz considered this as an attempt to dictate to the government. The government should be wary of such a statement. Xanana's punishment was up to the courts because Indonesia is a nation of laws.

The statement to Brig. Gen. Syafei was delivered by Guil Vicente de Jesus Guteres, Jutito de Jesus, Mariano de Sousa, Talof Alini, and Estanislau de Carvalho. They claimed they have been deceived up till now by Fretilin sympathizers both in government and the private sector.

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### TWO HUNDRED EAST TIMORESE REBELS SURRENDER

*(JAKARTA, Reuters, Dec. 6)*

About 200 East Timorese rebels surrendered in the former Portuguese colony over the weekend, responding to the Indonesian government's offer of clemency, Antara news agency reported.

Antara said the rebels pledged loyalty to Jakarta, which annexed East Timor in 1976, a year after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers. The United Nations does not recognize the annexation.

"They also said they were ready to be punished if in future they violated (East Timor's) integration (with Indonesia)," Antara quoted Fretilin rebel João Ximenes as saying in a statement read on behalf of those who surrendered.

It is not clear if they were members of Fretilin, whose strength is estimated by the military at between 150 and 200.

Antara said they were clandestine operatives.

The rebels' statement was made to local government and military officials in Baucau city, near the East Timor capital of Dili, where Fretilin chief Xanana Gusmão was captured last month.

International human rights organizations have expressed concern over the safety of Xanana, who may be charged with murdering pro-independence protesters that led troops to fire at a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery last year to mourn the death of a separatist sympathizer.

Jakarta says 50 people were killed in the incident and 66 are missing, but witnesses put the toll at up to 180 dead.

A group of pro-Indonesia East Timorese urged the government Saturday to punish Xanana and his deputy José Da Costa with death sentences.

"Xanana and Da Costa are irresponsible leaders, they are just rebels who confuse East Timor people. We feel that we've been cheated by Fretilin," Gil Vicente de Jesus Guterres, the group's spokesman, said.

Da Costa was captured in January and has not been heard of since.

Xanana was regarded for many years as a symbol of resistance to Jakarta's rule and his followers were in bitter conflict with East Timorese who supported the annexation.

East Timor military commander Theo Syafei threatened last week to take tough action against rebels who refused to take up the offer of clemency.

"We will not hesitate to use force against the separatists if they disturb the people," the *Jakarta Post* newspaper on Saturday quoted Brigadier General Syafei as saying.

*Comment: This appears to be the Reuter version of the same news Antara release earlier reported by AFP and posted yesterday. While it adds some detail, the remarks accompanying that posting appear still to apply. The Army used similar tactics in Aceh after it ruthlessly crushed some ruthless rebels there. But in the East Timor case, the tactics seem to have been set in motion by the capture of Xanana and his coerced recantation and appeal to his colleagues to surrender rather than soon after crushing extensive armed resistance. The Timorese resistance was and remains mainly political and these widely publicized Army tactics designed to depict a fading resistance are efforts at 'political persuasion' the Army did not apparently feel free to employ till more than a decade after widespread warfare ended. They effectively comprise an overt 'turning of the screw' more tightly on a still broadly anti-Indonesian civilian population.*

— John MacDougall

## TAPOL: INDONESIAN CLAIMS OF MASS SURRENDERS ARE A SHAM

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release today, 7 December 1992:*

TAPOL is gravely concerned at the rapidly deteriorating human rights situation in East Timor, following the arrest on 20 November of the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão.

Current reports of mass "surrenders" by resistance fighters in East Timorese following the staged televised interview of Xanana, accepting Indonesia's integration of East Timor against which he has been fighting for 17 years are part of a propaganda offensive by the Indonesian military. Xanana has been held incommunicado for more than two weeks, denied visits by the International Red Cross and lawyers; members of his family have been arrested and tortured. The televised statement by Xanana Gusmão was made under extreme duress and is, in itself, a grave breach of his rights as a protected person under the 4th Geneva Convention.

Indonesia's aim is to convince the world that armed resistance in the bush and mass urban-based opposition to Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor has now collapsed. The claim last week by the military commander in East Timor, Brig Gen. Theo Syafei, that the Catholic Church in East Timor had specified churches where resistance fighters can surrender was denounced as "a lie" by East Timor's Bishop Belo in an interview published Saturday by the *Lisbon, Publico*.

Since Xanana's capture, numerous arrests have taken place. The latest arrests, involving dozens if not hundreds of people, are being dressed up as "surrenders." According to one report, 107 people who took part in last year's demonstration on 12 November surrendered last Thursday, all of whom expressed "repentance and regrets." It strains credulity to believe that so many people arrived at army or police posts on the same day. It is more logical to believe that they were rounded up in the latest crackdown.

The latest claim is that 250 people in Baucau will today ceremoniously "disband their organisation" which opposed Indonesia's illegal occupation. TAPOL points out that many arrests took place in Baucau district in early October and believes that these people have been subjected to extreme pressure to get them to participate in this disgraceful farce."

The propaganda campaign is clearly intended to sabotage UN - sponsored negotiations in New York on 17 December be-

tween Portugal and Indonesia, when the question of East Timorese participation in the talks is expected to result in the UN Secretary General initiating consultations with East Timorese representatives. Xanana Gusmão's participation in these consultations is crucial. The key objective of the talks is to secure the right of self-determination for East Timor. Bishop Belo declared in his interview last week that "for me the best solution is a referendum." In February 1989, the Bishop called on the UN Secretary General to consult the people about the future of their country by means of a referendum.

TAPOL calls for the immediate release of Xanana and all those arrested before and since his arrest. As long as they continue to be held, the International Red Cross and lawyers of their choice must have unrestricted access, in compliance with the 4th Geneva Convention and with Indonesia's procedural code.

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## BELO DEMANDS WRITTEN GUARANTEES

According to a December 7 AFP story datelined Jakarta, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, was quoted by the *Suara Pembaruan* daily as saying he was seeking from the Indonesian military a written guarantee of the safety of pro-independence fighters who decide to surrender.

He told the daily that he was prepared to include a call for Fretilin members and supporters to surrender in his Christmas pastoral letter, but only if he could get such a written guarantee from the military's operational commander in East Timor, Brigadier General Theo Syafei.

The Indonesian government has renewed calls for Fretilin members and supporters to surrender to the authorities, backed up with a pledge of amnesty.

The military has said 36 Fretilin members gave themselves up in Same, East Timor on December 1, but there has been no independent confirmation.

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## MORE THAN 1000 EAST TIMORESE REBELS "SURRENDER"

*Source: Melbourne Age, 11 Dec. 1992. Unabridged. Courtesy the Fretilin Committee of NSW.*

(Jakarta, AP) More than 1000 East Timorese members of pro-independence clandestine groups have surrendered (sic) to authorities, the official Antara news agency reported on Tuesday.

East Timor Military Commander Brigadier-General Theo Syafei was quoted as saying interrogations were under way and those who did not face charges would be registered before being returned to their villages.

Speaking to reporters at Dili's Komoro airport, General Syafei did not say when all the surrenders had taken place and whether the figure included 343 members reported to have given up after the November 20 capture of rebel leader José Alexandre Gusmão.

General Syafei was greeting Attorney-General Singgih who arrived on Tuesday for a visit to Dili, the capital of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia.

Mr. Singgih was scheduled to tour areas connected to killings of pro-independence protesters by Indonesian soldiers last year - Motael Church and Santa Cruz cemetery - and the hiding place of Mr. Gusmão who was captured last month in Dili.

A procession from the church to the cemetery on November 12 last year turned into a bloody pro-independence protest when soldiers shot and killed dozens of demonstrators.

A government commission that blamed the soldiers for overreacting found at least 50 people were killed and 66 others still were missing. Human-rights groups claimed the toll was 200 or more.

Mr. Gusmão, 46, leader of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor or Fretilin, was captured in his hiding place - an underground tunnel - in Dili's western suburbs of Lahane.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976.

General Syafei declined to say what measures might be taken against those who had given up resistance to the Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony.

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## XANANA SURRENDER APPEALS FORGED

*Jawa Pos*, 6 Dec. 92.

*Original language: Indonesian.*

*Story type: News; Excerpt.*

*Headline: "We Reject Foreign Interference," 107 East Timorese Youth Ask Death Sentence For Xanana*

*Remark: The translation below is a full version of just a part of a longer story covering various subjects. The excerpt deals with the alleged written appeals by Xanana asking his comrades to surrender to the Indonesians. The Indonesian press has reported copies of these appeals were air-dropped in various places throughout East Timor. Remember these are translations*

*twice removed - from the original Portuguese to the Indonesian in the news story to the English here. I have not even address the extent of correspondence between the Portuguese and Indonesian versions of the appeals.*

*That said, the appeals appear to be forgeries, most likely not written by Xanana at all and minimally not written willingly by him. Jawa Pos reproduces photographs of the letters in a box with the caption: "These are the appeals written by Xanana himself asking the security disrupter members to surrender."*

*First, the handwriting differs significantly from that in the many messages sent abroad by Xanana over the years. Xanana's cursive script leans consistently rightward, whereas the script in these letters leans slightly leftward or is upright, almost as if they were written by a left-handed person. Xanana typically runs the letters of the alphabet in a word very closely together, whereas here the letters in a word are quite distinctive. The only part of the written appeals which appears almost precisely the same as in past samples of Xanana's script is the distinctive signature 'Xanana' running upward left-to-right at a 45 degree angle and ending with a trailing underline flourish. It is possible Xanana was simply handed the appeals and told to sign them or was handed several blank sheets of paper and asked to write his *nom de guerre* at the bottom of the page.*

*Second, while it cannot be ruled out that Xanana wrote these with his left hand, I am inclined to doubt it. However, such 'masking' of his true script would be consistent with the clearly different appearances of the letters' closings from the messages with which we are familiar. Apart from the absence of any slogan before the closing - which would be usual though perhaps not in this context - both letters bear three separate signatures. A first line reads "JA Gusmão" and is followed immediately underneath by "José Alexandre Gusmão." Further down below both is the characteristic "Xanana" which touches neither of the above signatures. Xanana would typically sign his letters "Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão." He would not use his real personal name "José Alexandre Gusmão" or the unusual abbreviated version of it, "JA Gusmão." The "Xanana" also generally appears written over any formal closing and signature like "Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão," whereas here there is a complete separation.*

*At the very least, these letters are written in such a way that anyone familiar with Xanana's script through written letters or orders would quickly spot the conspicuous differences between his usual hand and style and those evident in these appeals. This*

*would give rise to doubts among comrades reading them (1) regarding their authenticity, and/or (2) regarding their being written under duress. In either case, the 'underlying message' would be that the appeals should be ignored. The content itself might even give rise to such doubts. I refrain from going into that here.*

*I have made a blown up copy of the Portuguese versions of the appeals reproduced by Jawa Pos and will fax it to anyone with genuine copies of Xanana's script who is willing to make a more detailed analysis than can be posted here.*

*- John*

### Jawa Pos story excerpt:

(Dili) After his capture, Xanana wrote two appeals to his supporters, particularly those still holding out in the forests of East Timor.

In line with Xanana's own request, the hand-written letters have now been distributed by ABRI to all corners of East Timor.

The content of the two letters is not the same. One is short, the other long. The short one was done in Denpasar, the long one in Dili. The moment after he was captured, Xanana was really brought to Denpasar for a health examination. Later he was returned to Dili again, and finally he was brought back to Denpasar for further interrogation.

This is a translation of the short letter:

To all fighters,

As you all know, I was captured on 20 November 1992. I admit now that we have lost the war. Consequently, unite with the Indonesian officers. After careful thought, I ask you all to surrender to the nearest ABRI post. Don't waste this chance.

Denpasar, 23 November 1992

[actually, '23.Nov.92']

JA Gusmão

Xanana

[actually, as described in the 'remark']

### This is a translation of the long letter:

For all leaders of the movement

Beloved comrades

I hope you all want to think deeply about the present situation. I want you all to understand that the difficulties we face are getting heavier so that it is impossible to continue the war any more.

Let us have a dialogue so this question can immediately be settled. I remind you not to place excessive trust in Portugal.

Actually, I have awaited this moment a long time. It is the most appropriate moment to show to you all that we cannot possibly get what we want.

I admit I am the one to blame and have to be responsible for all these mistakes. Consequently, in order that you not join in

bearing the final responsibility, I ask you all not to think about or do various sorts of things. It is certain that you all can not possibly win this war.

Change your positions, and open your eyes to the facts as they are.

We must be able to appreciate the fact that what has been done by Indonesia in East Timor is for the sake of progress of our land.

I understand that all this will make you restless. But you have to agree that now is the time for us to lay down our arms.

Hopefully it is not yet too late to realize that really, de facto, East Timor is already integrated into Indonesia.

Dili, 24 November 1992 [actually, in contrast with the other letter, '24 de Novembro de 1992']

JA Gusmão

Xanana [actually as described in the 'remark']

### **HORTA: XANANA'S ALLEGED SURRENDER APPEALS ARE FORGERY**

*Memorandum to Solidarity Groups from José Ramos-Horta 28 December 1992*

1. I completely endorse John MacDougall's analysis of Xanana Gusmão's alleged letters appealing to FALANTIL fighters to surrender. Therefore I do not need to elaborate further.

2. Courtesy of TAPOL I received a faxed copy of the alleged letters published by *Jawa Pos* on 6 December 1992. I did not need to have a closer look to conclude that the letters are very amateurish forgery.

3. I have numerous hand-written letters from Xanana and others that are type-written with his signature dating from at least two years ago till as recently as the first week of November 1992, two weeks before his capture. None of these letters bear a remote resemblance to the ones published by *Jawa Pos*. Xanana's signature is not that easily forged. There are some details in the signature which only I and Xanana know about that indicate whether a signature had been or not forged.

4. Regarding certain statements emanating from Lisbon and Maputo, I have written a piece for *Diario de Noticias* which I believe answers all the questions. I believe that it had been published. (See page 56).

5. Wish you all a Happy New Year!

*José Ramos-Horta, Special representative, CNRM*

### **BLOOD-DRINKING OATHS IN AINARO**

*Jawa Pos 19 December 1992 Summarised*

*Remark: Here is an example of how the forces of occupation are using Timorese traditions to enforce total obedience to their power.*

*The oath is called 'Juramento Tradisional' in the article. Juramento was the name of the pledge which members of the Portuguese army took when they were accepted into the force. It was a simple pledge with none of the ceremony described in this report. Making a pledge with blood is a traditional practice among some East Timorese tribes for strictly tribal purposes.*

*It is impossible to know the circumstances, the dire threats, that compelled the participants to take part in such an event which goes against everything these people have believed and striven for during the past seventeen years.*

*Now that East Timor is so isolated from outside observation, the population in many parts of the country are being forced to bend to the will of their Indonesian persecutors in all kinds of obscene circumstances.*

#### **294 AINARO CLANDESTINE TAKE BLOOD OATH**

294 members of the Ainaro clandestine who till now have supported the GPK-Fretilin yesterday took a traditional oath of loyalty to the Indonesian Republic. The ceremony took place in the Ainaro football stadium in the presence of a thousand people.

This form of ceremony is regarded as sacred. If violated, the consequences for the oath takers will be fatal, for themselves as well as for their descendants. [It is of course within the power of the army to make sure that disobedience is indeed fatal for everyone concerned.]

The ceremony lasted from 9am till 11.30am. First of all, the local inhabitants flooded into the stadium, followed by the 294 clandestine members who entered and formed rows three deep in the stadium. The district chief, the military commander and other officials were present.

The ceremony began with all those present singing the National Anthem, Indonesia Raya. Two traditional chiefs (katuas) then read out the oath, followed by the 294 clandestine members who repeated it in unison. The traditional leaders then killed a chicken and poured its blood into a bowl. As this was happening, 20 health personnel took drops of blood from all the 294 persons and mixed it with the blood of the chicken. Whiskey was then added to the

mixture and the traditional chiefs gave it to each of the participants to drink.

The participants were then required to kiss the red-and-white [Indonesian] flag. They held the red half with their right hand and the white half with their left hand and lifted the flag up to cover their face. After this, a prayer was said by the local priest with each participant holding the right hand across the left breast until the prayer had been said. The head of the group of clandestine members, Manuel Parreira held a Bible as this was happening with two fingers held up.

All the participants then signed the pledge.

#### **COMMENT FROM MATE-BIAN NEWS**

About this joke, there are alternative thinking!

Information gathered from reliable sources said that the Indonesian army did kill goats and chickens and invited all those peasants walking in the street or going to the market to join the feast! Those peasants did not even know that the scene was set to promote Theo Syafei's inspired propaganda and that they would be main actors.

Photos were also taken to show the scene and portray them as "guerrillas surrendering" to the powerful ABRI.

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### **DEVELOPMENTS INSIDE INDONESIA**

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#### **MASS DETENTIONS IN JAKARTA**

According to a December 7 AFP story datelined Jakarta, the Jakarta military commander Major-General Kentot Harseno has called on Moslem leaders to help stem the rising number of mass student street brawls, the Kompas daily said Monday.

Kompas quoted Harseno as telling more than 1,000 Moslem leaders from Jakarta and its surroundings at the military headquarters here Sunday that some of the recent mass brawls here had "tended towards religious confrontations."

"Please help us guide our students so that they do not fall easily prey to rumours or illegal pamphlets inciting brawls. Conflicts with a religious background will only lead to vengeance and would never end and we all will only lose from it," Harseno told the Moslem leaders.

"It would be embarrassing for us, Moslem believers, who are so many in this country, if we fall for incitements and then

attack or make an enemy of our brothers from other faiths," he said.

Jakarta military spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Permana told the same gathering that police Saturday arrested 75 high school students who had started to gather at a large square in central Jakarta with the intention to attack another school.

"The students had fallen prey to rumour that a student had burned a holy religious book, but when the rumour was checked it was untrue, it turned out to be a mere rumour," Permana said.

Harseno said the incitements were likely to be the work of communists, who he said would continue to resort to anything to destabilize the government just for the sake of change.

The government banned the then powerful Communist Party of Indonesia and its teachings in 1966 in the wake of an abortive coup blamed on the party. Indonesian officials and the military have continued to warn people of the possible revival of communism here.

Harseno last month said the Indonesian armed forces will deploy its members to deal with the increasingly violent student street brawls.

Jakarta's police records show that a total of 127 such brawls took place here during the first 11 months of 1992 and led to nine deaths, 12 people severely injured and 19 others lightly wounded.

The figures also show that 968 students had been detained because of involvement in the brawls but that all but 135 of them had been released.

Kompas said that Harseno was planning to hold similar meetings with leaders of the other religions soon.

Meanwhile the Jakarta Post daily quoted Home Affairs Minister Rudini as warning religious groups not to act in ways which could be deemed offensive to others, such as building a place of worship in an area where the faith has no followers.

Indonesia has the world's largest Moslem population with more than 80 percent of its 180 million people following Islam. There have been several reported attacks on Christian churches in East Java and Sumatra since August.

## G7 SUMMIT: 'CONDITIONALITY' CALL

*Forwarded by Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor, Dec. 7 1992*

*The letter that follows was sent today to Dominique Strauss-Kahn, Minister of Industry and Foreign Trade, following his visit and statement in Jakarta last week. A copy, joint to a communiqué, was sent to a number of NGOs, media political organizations and trade unions.*

*Agir pour Timor suggests to solidarity groups from a G7 country to inquire about the announcement that Indonesia will be invited to the next summit, and whether this invitation will be conditioned to some respect of human rights.*

Paris, 6 December 1992.

Mr. Dominique Strauss-Kahn  
Minister of Industry and Foreign Trade  
139 rue de Bercy  
75012 Paris

Dear Mr. Minister,

During your visit in Jakarta, last Friday, you stated that the Group of the Seven Most Industrialised Countries (G7) was considering to invite Indonesia to its next summit, in Tokyo from 7 to 9 July 1993 (AFP, Jakarta, 4-12-1992).

You cannot be unaware of the massive repression occurring presently in East Timor, occupied by Indonesia for 17 years, following the arrest of the leader of the Timorese resistance, Xanana Gusmão, on November 20. According to information obtained by Amnesty International, the latter has been tortured under interrogation with electric shocks and is in a disturbing psychological state, expressing himself by broken sentences and being subject to serious losses of concentration. Hundreds of other East Timorese have been arrested, many have been tortured, some have disappeared. One of them, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, reportedly died under torture. Another one reportedly is in the hospital, with broken limbs and hand and feet nails torn out. Two young women, Ligia de Araujo, 22 and Regina Conceição Araujo Serreno, reportedly were raped in front of their families on November 29. These acts remind us of those of Gestapo against resistance fighters during the Second World War.

Such statements, made at such a moment, are akin to encouraging Jakarta to continue its executions. 200,000 to 300,000 East Timorese, or 30 to 40% of the population, already died since the invasion in 1975. We are amazed, dismayed and incredulous.

Our amazement is all the greater as your statement occurs at the very moment when

diplomatic efforts worldwide are aiming to refrain Indonesian violence. In France, declarations of François Mitterand to President Suharto during his visit, as reported by press agencies, as well as the interview we had in the Quai d'Orsay [Foreign Ministry] after this visit, let us think that French diplomacy was taking this direction. Your act may ruin all these efforts, thus putting into danger the lives of thousands of other East Timorese.

Sincerely yours etc.

The President,

(signed)

Antonio Dias

Cc: Presidency, Foreign Ministry.

## ETAN/CANADA WRITES ON G7 AND INDONESIA

9 December 1992

Barbara McDougall  
Minister of External Affairs  
House of Commons  
Ottawa Ont. K1A 0A6

Dear Ms McDougall,

Reports have appeared in the press this week that Indonesia will be invited to attend the G7 economic summit in Tokyo from 7 to 9 July 1993.

This is an appalling idea. As you know, Indonesia's human rights record, both in occupied East Timor and throughout its territory, are among the worst of any country in the world. Indonesia's status as head of the Non-Aligned Movement of states cannot be allowed to excuse its total disregard for human rights and other basic international principals. Its invitation at this time, just after the arrest of East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, would be an even more appalling precedent.

The G7 summit is supposed to be a gathering of heads of western democracies. Inviting Russia to attend a previous summit was a reasonable extension of this forum. Inviting Indonesia, a country which last year expressed its contempt for democratic principals by refusing to accept aid from the Netherlands (on the basis of Dutch calls for human rights to be respected in Indonesia and East Timor), is entirely different.

I hope you can re-assure Canadians that Indonesia's President Suharto will not be a guest at the next G7 summit.

Yours sincerely,

David Webster

East Timor Alert Network/Toronto

## SARWONO: SUCCESSION UNCERTAINTY

According to a December 8 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Sydney, the absence of a clear-cut successor to Indonesian President Suharto is creating uncertainty among foreign investors, the Minister for Administrative Reform said.

"You cannot be clear-cut in a complex society, especially since Indonesia is in a growing stage," Minister Sarwono Kusumaatmadja told Reuters after addressing an international seminar on the challenges facing future leaders in the region.

Sarwono admitted that the absence of a named successor to 71-year-old Suharto, who has been in power since crushing a communist coup in 1965, was creating uncertainty among investors. "It affects us in the sense that we will not be attractive in the short-term as other, apparently more stable, Asian societies," he said. "But the hare can also lose against the tortoise."

Suharto is virtually assured of re-election for another five-year term next March, but many investors worry that the lack of an obvious successor means there could be conflict once Suharto does go.

With presidential elections only three months away, there is still no clear sign of who will be his vice-president and, possibly, Indonesia's next leader.

Commander of the powerful military, Try Sutrisno, is a front-runner for the number two job.

General Try's top aide, Air Force vice-Marshall Teddy Rusdi, said the military was best placed to produce the country's leaders but would accept any candidate decided by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) which meets in March.

"We would not be disappointed," he added.

But diplomats believe the contest could shape into a test of strength between the military and the growing numbers of Western-educated technocrats in public service.

Sarwono warned that the private sector would soon join the military and the bureaucracy in producing national leaders.

"It will therefore be important for Indonesia to develop meaningful roles for these new emerging forces," he said.

"A wasteful and unnecessary conflict may arise if roles and functions are perceived as being static and immutable," he said, in an apparent reference to the contest for the vice-presidency.

But he added: "You don't have to kick the military out of the leadership system to accommodate the coming leadership."

Economic analysts say the drop in confidence of foreign investors is also due to a series of scandals that have shaken the capital market and the banking sector in the past two years.

Sarwono blamed both the private and public sectors for the poor image, saying the private sector was speculative and shortsighted in its quest for profits, while the public sector was corrupt in areas where it escaped scrutiny.

"That is why in Indonesia, at least, dialogues of public officials and the leaders of the private sector are often coloured by mutual recriminations," he added.

The latest scandal erupted last month when Bank Summa nearly collapsed because it could not meet its obligations at the central bank, forcing its owners to raise funds by selling their control of the country's second largest company, PT Astra International <ASTR.JK>.

Sarwono urged banking authorities to be more vigilant, saying there were weaknesses in enforcing the rules.

## AT THE RELIGIOUS ABYSS ...

According to a December 8 AFP story by Pascal Mallet datelined Jakarta, signs of renewed tension between Moslems and Christians in Indonesia prompted President Suharto to abandon his usual reserve Tuesday and remind citizens of their duty to show religious tolerance.

Suharto's remarks came in the wake of attacks on six Christian churches and places of worship in predominantly Moslem areas of Sumatra and Java between August and November – and amid Hindu-Moslem violence that has left hundreds dead since Sunday on the Indian subcontinent.

Several newspapers, including the *Kompas* Daily and the weekly *Tempo*, which have been accused by fundamentalists of working for the Christianisation of the country, have reportedly received threats.

Jakarta military commander Major-General Kentot Harseno said Monday that a brawl between students of different religious faiths was narrowly averted recently in Jakarta.

Suharto alluded to these incidents in a speech Monday to the opening of the national conference of the Buddhist Council, the nation's highest authority on Buddhism.

"We should be conscious that if our society falls into the abyss of inter-religious conflict, we will undergo a huge setback, because it will have a wide impact and leave a wound that will take a long time to heal," the army daily *Angkatan Bersenjata* quoted the president as saying.

The appeal, printed on the front page of a number of Indonesian newspapers

Tuesday, came after similar remarks by officials and military leaders and is widely seen here as a warning.

Most analysts interpret the fact that the head of state has now spoken on the issue as an indication that the authorities will not tolerate any lapse into religious violence – such as has been seen in India and the former Yugoslavia – that would threaten Indonesian unity.

The authorities' concern over the possible repercussions of the bloody clashes between Moslems and Hindus in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh is well founded, according to many.

According to witnesses, some Moslem clerics have stirred religious hatred in Indonesia by pointing to the actions of Christians against Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Warned Suharto: "All religious leaders should be capable of restraining themselves and their flocks."

Since coming to power in 1966, Suharto has always upheld the official doctrine which has made Indonesia, with the world's largest Moslem population, a state neither secular, nor Islamic, but multi-denominational.

Some 88 percent of Indonesia's 185 million people are Moslems, but they are supposed to live in equality with the country's Christian, Buddhist and Hindu minorities.

One Indonesian analyst said that behind the recent upsurge in religious violence, which is not believed to have caused any casualties, was "the aggressive Christian missionary zeal, especially that of the Protestant Pentecostal sect in predominantly Moslem areas."

But another blamed "a revival of Moslem fundamentalism in an Indonesian society becoming increasingly westernized at too fast a speed."

Others have attributed the increased tension to battles between factions within the armed forces and the government in a period of political uncertainty here.

The 72-year-old Suharto plans to seek and is likely to win a sixth consecutive term of office in March, but his deputy and possible successor has not yet been named.

The favourite for the post, military chief General Try Sutrisno, himself a Moslem but supported by Christians, said Tuesday that "harmony and tolerance between faiths" would be the government's prime goal.

## PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER STATEMENT

10 December 1992, from *Infight*, Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights.  
Original text

Statement by Indonesian Author  
PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER on the occasion of Human Rights Day, December 10, 1992

Salam!

On the occasion of Human Rights Day, December 10, 1992, I, Pramodya Ananta Toer, Indonesian author, just one of a number of people suffering the same fate, between October 1965 and December 1979 (14 years and 2 months), have had stolen from me by the rulers of the State of the Republic of Indonesia:

- a personal freedom
- b labour
- c livelihood, both in respect to myself and my family
- d the right to defend myself from libels and accusations, both formal and otherwise, and both written and oral;
- e the right to an honest and impartial trial;
- f my land, house and all its contents;
- g the best, most productive and creative periods of my life.

And after having been "released" in December 1979 because "according to the law there was no evidence of my involvement in G 30 S/PKI," I have been obliged to report to the military authorities until December 1992 (precisely 13 years) - and without any recourse to a court decision. In addition, I, like others, have suffered:

- a restrictions on my profession and bans on all my books;
- b restrictions on my right to state my personal feelings and opinions
- c restrictions on the right of assembly and right to organise in my own society and on my own homeland
- d restrictions on my right to vote and stand for elections
- e restrictions on my right to travel, both overseas and in my own country
- f discrimination in the form of a special code placed on my official identity card that differentiates me from other citizens.

So I feel the need to make clear the following:

That the theft of ones rights as a human being, without any recourse to a fair and impartial trial, is equivalent to pronouncing us dead under civil law, marginalising us as pariahs, or more precisely it is the same as treating us as cattle.

Remembering that it is the duty of all human beings to become fully human, as was explained by the writer Multatuli, then it is clear that all those who steal the rights of another as well as all those who suffer such theft, have suffered a loss of their humanity.

### And so I make this statement:

27 Years is a long enough period of time for the rulers of the State of the Republic of Indonesia or of any state to restore the rights of human beings as human beings to those who have suffered their theft, whether they be moral or material rights. And 27 years is far too long also for those who have suffered such theft to defend and uphold their rights as human beings through their strength and perseverance alone. And if the rulers of the state do not have the moral strength and courage to make such restoration, then we say too that our efforts to uphold and defend our rights has itself made a contribution to helping the rulers of this state become more fully human beings.

It is no longer the era to deposit the idea that the formation of a strong country can be achieved through cold-blooded contempt for and the theft of the rights of its own people through an apparatus and system of violence. A country is strong because its citizens are strong and fearless. Because when disaster imperils the nation it is the people themselves who will have to face that danger.

And it is out of date rationalising continuously to convince world opinion that human rights in Indonesia "are respected in accordance with the special traits of the national culture," when all this talk is just a form of political manipulation in order to justify the violation of citizens basic rights carried out to preserve the rulers' power, and many other personal interests of the men in power.

And at this time, we demand of all state rulers in whatever country that they let go of the unworthy mentality which leads them to use violence against demonstrators and workers on strike who, after all, wish to do nothing more than conduct a dialogue regarding the socio-economic deprivations they are suffering. We should be pleased to know that there are those in society who have the courage to demonstrate and strike. History teaches us that those who fought for national independence during the colonial period educated the people to be courageous, not just in debate and argument, closed or open, against colonialism and imperialism, but indeed in fighting to oppose them. This courage is climaxed in the period of revolution. And so it is not proper now that we are an independent nation to teach the people, through beatings and bayonets,

to once again be afraid to state their opinions and feelings. And we especially say that all forms of violence in East Timor should stopped, remembering that Indonesia, through the republic of Indonesia's first president in his speech "To Build the World Anew" before the General Assembly of the United Nations had already stated that Indonesia had no territorial ambitions.

The time has passed for the theft of people's basic rights as human beings to continue anywhere in this world, nobody should suffer such theft any longer, remembering that such rights are what crown every individuals life. That too is the reason why law is necessary, (and the State of Indonesia was once supposed to be a state ruled by law), so that we can avoid clashes of interest between individuals in the implementation of their rights as human beings.

Hoping for the best for all of us, respectfully

Pramodya Ananta Toer  
Jakarta, 7 December 1992

Jalan Multikarya II/26  
Rawamangun Utara - Utan Kayu  
Jakarta 13120

*The New York Times* printed this piece on its op-ed page on December 10, headlined "The Theft of Rights."

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## STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS DAY DEMONSTRATIONS IN JAKARTA

*Statements released internationally by the coalition of student groups, STUDENT SOLIDARITY FOR DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA [SMDI], [FAX: 61-2-7804170]*

*Released in Australia by AKSI - Indonesia Solidarity Action.*

### JAKARTA STUDENT ACTIONS COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

Statement on the occasion of Human Rights rally on University of Indonesia campus, Depok, 9 December. The rally was attended by over 100 students. This is the first student rally at the University of Indonesia for several years and signals the re-awakening of U.I. students, who are now organising through a number of new student organisations, mostly affiliated to the SMDI. Speakers included representatives of students groups from Jakarta, Bogor, Semarang, Malang and Solo. The speakers in particular stressed opposition to the use of force to suppress the increasingly frequent actions by workers, peasants and students.

[A demonstration in front of the Jogjakarta Provincial Parliament was also planned for 10 December. No news has reached AKSI/INDONOW of this action as of AM 11 December.]

### Statement

Democracy and the guarantee of human rights are necessary preconditions for the achievement of a better life for the people. Students have proved that they can seize opportunities to play an active role in giving real content to democracy and in upholding human rights. For students to play this vanguard role in an optimum manner certain basic conditions of student life must exist. Students must have freedom of expression and freedom to organise. There must be the conditional right to think critically and to be supported by an independent organisation that can articulate the views of students in an open and democratic manner. The banning of the student publication "Lentera" (published by students from the Faculty of Letters University of Indonesia) in August, 1990 and "Vokal" (published by Semarang Teachers College students) in October, 1992 constitute evidence of the suppression of the freedom of expression. In addition there is far too much interference by extra-student elements in student affairs. Indeed even the demand for an independent organisation that can openly and democratically express the opinions of students had been responded to with violence and the arrest of activists. The violent dispersal and arrest of students in Bandung, Semarang and at the action of the National Independent Youth Solidarity Committee in Yogya [on 26 October] are facts that are still fresh in our memories.

With this bitter reality in mind as regards student life in Indonesia, so we: Jakarta Student Action Committee, hereby declare:

1. Freedom of expression is a basic human right of students.
2. Freedom of open forum should be guaranteed.
3. The upholding of the freedom of expression needs an independent and democratic student organisation.
4. Decisions affecting students should be based on the active involvement and the aspirations of students.

### Declaration of the human rights committee

[This declaration was distributed at rallies on the University of Indonesia campus, 9 December and on Universitas Nasional campus on 10 December.]

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights announced on 10 December, 1948 represents the universal commitment by mankind in dealing with the problems of

humanity on this planet. Violence and brutality arise in the form of the oppression of the strong over the weak. Exploitation of human beings colours social life in such a way that we see only the powerless of suffering. Such conditions exist everywhere and in many countries, including in our beloved country, INDONESIA.

Colonialism, in its outward form has been expelled from Indonesia, but its "character, special features and style" is more and more evident in so many aspects of life. The country's national economic resources are in the grip of a tiny clique of people, so that the chance of ordinary people having equal access to these natural sources have begun a vane hope, especially those not close to political power, namely the Sons and Daughters of the President. Democracy that is pronounced from above is nothing more than cries becoming ever more clichéd reflection of a President's desire for the status quo. While at the same time not a few people suffer behind bars because they had called for change and had criticised the repressive system that has continued for so long. The apparatus of the law which should stand side by side with the people to uphold justice has become instead the protector of corrupt power. The expression of free speech, free assembly and the putting forward of critical ideas is seen as being subversive and an expression of opposition to authority. The constitution can only interpreted from above with many interpretations that always put constraints on the implementation of human rights. The political power of the day has given birth to an authoritarian, neo-feudal leadership whose actions are also imbued with fascism. Centralised presidential power determines everything. So defence of human rights is seen as cause for suspicion rather than something that should be upheld.

Considering the above, we, the Student Committee for Human Rights demand:

1. The ending of the system of presidential power which has lasted too long and become too authoritarian, because it contradicts the civilised and just humanity that should be a part of upholding human rights in Indonesia;
2. That all repressive acts end, because freedom is the right of all humankind;
3. The repeal of the 1963 Subversion Law because it is not in conformity with the principle of freedom guaranteed in the constitution; Jakarta, Indonesia, 10 December, 1992.

## INDONESIA ON RIGHTS DEFENSIVE

*Remark: The failure to identify the first Indonesian human rights activist mentioned in the story suggests again that wire correspondents have received warnings and are resorting to self-censorship, quite apart from any biases some may have. – John*

According to a December 12 UPI story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia will set up an independent national commission to advocate human rights, but denied that the move aims to counter Western countries' accusations of human rights violations, a government minister said Saturday.

"It was not a reaction toward those (western countries') accusations on human rights implementations in Indonesia," Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said as quoted by local media.

"The formation of the commission has larger goals such as counseling on human rights and formulating its implementation, since other countries also have such commissions," he added.

Alatas did not give an exact date when the commission will be established, but said the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would first hold the second seminar on human rights next January, involving experts from other Asian countries.

Alatas denied accusations that Indonesia was only implementing the commission as a defensive move against criticism by western countries.

"We just want to put human rights in its right proportion as required by the United Nations Charter," Alatas asserted.

Indonesia refused aid from the Netherlands early this year after the Dutch government criticized a military massacre in Indonesia's former Portuguese colony of East Timor in November 1991.

In an attempt to quell separatist groups in the country, the government forces continued operations against insurgent movements in East Timor and Irian Jaya, although at reduced levels.

Alatas also rejected a statement by one of the country's human rights activists that Indonesia's view on human rights placed too much emphasis on sovereignty, refusing any outside intervention on its human rights issues.

Along with international organizations, domestic human rights activists have for years criticized intolerable violations and restrictions implemented by the Indonesian government authorities against the rights of the people in the country.

Another human rights activist, Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, urged Thursday the government to stop using the security

approach and to start emphasizing the welfare of the people.

"The use of the security approach has scared people. They fear the uncontrollable force," said Abdul Hakim, who is also head of the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI).

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## TIMOR DOMINATES INDONESIA'S HEADLINES

(December 18, Jakarta, UPI) By Sukino Harisumarto

East Timor, one of the smallest and most remote provinces in sprawling Indonesia, dominated the nation's headlines again in 1992, calling unwanted world attention to a region that long has been nettlesome to the Jakarta government.

A Portuguese colony for more than 400 years, Roman Catholic East Timor was annexed in 1976 by Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim nation, a year after Lisbon abandoned its colonial empire.

But the annexation was not peaceful, and pro-independence Fretilin guerrillas continued to battle Jakarta's armed might, at a loss of what East Timor activists estimate at 200,000 lives, one-third of the district's population.

The latest chapter in the controversy over East Timor - which the United Nations says was annexed illegally 16 years ago and still refuses to recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over the region - occurred with the arrest in November of Fretilin guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão.

Indonesia says Xanana masterminded a demonstration in the East Timor capital of Dili Nov. 12, 1991, that led to a bloodbath when government troops opened fire on unarmed protesters.

Indonesia admits to 50 deaths in the shootings at the Dili cemetery, but witnesses and international human rights groups put death toll at 100, or even more. Scores of people remain unaccounted for well over a year later.

The Dili incident drew widespread international human rights criticism, and since Xanana's capture Indonesia has been careful to emphasize he would be treated "according to the laws of the country."

Fretilin, which since 1975 has sought independence for the former Portuguese colony, has by government estimates only a handful of active guerrillas and few weapons. But Indonesia maintains a large garrison of troops in tiny East Timor 1,200 miles west of Jakarta.

"For sure the overseas (Fretilin) supporters will understand that the Indonesian government is able to overcome the (East

Timor) situation," said Foreign Minister Ali Alatas after the rebel leader was captured.

Xanana, who carries a Portuguese passport (sic), was taken to Bali for questioning, but armed forces chief Gen. Try Sutrisno said he would be returned to Dili to face charges of subversion (sic), which carry a possible death penalty.

Mindful that they now are in the international human rights spotlight, Indonesian lawmakers have warned authorities to act carefully in dealing with Xanana.

Sudomo, the coordinating minister for politics and security, also warned that Xanana's case be handled carefully because "the international community will also be watching the process."

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## NEW ANTI-GOVERNMENT CALENDAR:

**"It's not as good as last year's" says Intel**

*Jawa Pos, 24 December 1992. Abridged translation*

*Comment: This article follows on from the seizure of calendars in 1991, the Land-for-People Calendar, which slated the government through hard hitting cartoons. The head of Bakorstanasda, Soerjadi tries to play the affair down, making quips about this calendar not being as good as the previous one (the artist of the first one is no longer in Indonesia). But he is clearly not amused: he is obviously concerned enough to initiate an intense investigation and to need to expose the network.*

## BAKORSTANASDA SEIZES HUNDREDS OF CALENDARS

The Central Java division of Bakorstanasda have seized hundreds of calendars whose pictures and writing were forcing the government into a corner. The calendar has a cartoon of a giant whose entire body had been bound with rope. Around the cartoon is a map of Central Java and DIY with various writings which are compromising.

"We found this calendar in Solo and Semarang. It is very likely that there are many like it. Therefore, we want any person having a calendar like this to return it to an official" said Pangdam IV/Diponegoro Mayjen Soerjadi, who is also head of Central Java Bakorstanasda.

The artist and the producer of the calendar are as yet unknown but it was smuggled through two campuses: Undip in Semarang and another in Solo. Each calendar was being sold for Rp1000 on the campus and Rp1300 to the general public.

According to Soerjadi, the painting on this calendar was not as good as on the "Tanah untuk Rakyat" calendar produced

before, which was seized by security forces in Salatiga and Semarang. But it still had a lot of sentences which threatened the government's position. "For example, corruption, intimidation, manipulation, opportunism" he said as well as various pictures on the map of Central Java about projects in progress. "Dirty sentences," he said.

Soerjadi said that at the bottom of the calendar was written "UUD45 (Indonesian Constitution) section 33, clause 3." "It is not clear what it means by this," said Soerjadi. "However, we expect that this calendar was produced by a certain group to assure the people that they still exist. But we are not too worried. We will certainly put an end to this problem soon," said Soerjadi.

Soerjadi's parting words were that an intense investigation, in coordination with the supreme court of Semarang, was in progress. The priority was to capture the maker of the calendar and to expose the network circulation.

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## COMMENTS FROM EXTERNAL TIMORESE

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### MAU HUNO CONFIRMS CONFIDENCE IN RAMOS HORTA

*Publico 5 January 1993. By Angela Silva*

*Original Language: Portuguese; Unabridged.*

(Lisbon) After Xanana Gusmão's arrest, he is now the strong man of the Timorese resistance. As Ma'Huno - nobody would know him by his Portuguese name Antonio João Gomes da Costa - he recorded a statement which was received and made public yesterday by Radio Nova, Porto. Dated 28 November (i.e. after Xanana's arrest but before his first interview with the governor of Timor), this statement was telephoned through to Portugal. The statement may have been filmed and a video cassette could arrive later. The following are the most significant extracts of Ma'Huno's long message.

"In the name of Fretilin and, in particular, of the armed resistance, I, Ma'Huno Bukar or Antonio João Gomes da Costa, Secretary of Fretilin's Leadership Commission (CDF), as member of the Maubere Resistance's National Council - the CNRM - (...) have decided to release this document, which may be called the 20 November Declaration. It states the position of the CNRM inside occupied East Timor vis-a-vis fellow

soldier, now prisoner of war, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão.

I - By way of this 20 November Declaration the CNRM, in the interior of our occupied country, makes public its recognition of fellow soldier Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão as a symbol of Timorese resistance. Said recognition is based on the two following factors:

1. The fact that it was he, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão who, with recognised and applauded rationality, took on the command mechanisms of the resistance inside the country while Commander of the Falantil, and was acknowledged Head of the Timorese Resistance in his leadership of the CNRM. This acknowledgment was widely recognised, in the form of both actions and documents, by leaders of the two Timorese political parties in the Nationalist Convergence, Fretilin and UDT. Said parties were and continue to be accepted by the Portuguese Government and the European Parliament (...) as the legitimate representatives of the people of East Timor.
2. After fellow soldier Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão's capture in Dili, capital of occupied East Timor (...), on the international scene the following actions, intended to secure his protection (...) while being held incommunicado by Indonesian generals, are noteworthy:
  - a) The very dignified and firm position taken, at the time of that regrettable event, by Portuguese Chief of State Dr. Mario Soares, demanding (...) the immediate and unconditional release of the captured Timorese resistance leader, and offering Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão political asylum in Portugal.
  - b) UN Secretary General Dr. Boutros Ghali's expressed availability, when he defends, on the basis of the legitimate claims of Timorese representatives forwarded by the administering power's government, the involvement of both Xanana Gusmão and Dili's Apostolic Administrator Msgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, in talks without pre-conditions under UN auspices.
  - c) The position taken by respected human rights organisations (...), particularly Amnesty International (...)
  - d) The concern expressed by International Red Cross (ICRC) officials who sought monitoring of the prisoner's well-being and condition.
  - e) The rapid response by Indonesian human rights groups such as LBH and Inflight.

## II - Decisions

Recognising the reputation which fellow soldier Xanana Gusmão enjoys in various geographical areas, earned while at the forefront of the Timorese resistance; having high regard for his image which, penetrating as it did the Timorese conscience, has made him a charismatic leader; always bearing in mind our close friendship and comradeship (...) reinforced by war with reciprocal confidence and respect, demonstrated so often throughout the bloody 17-year history of East Timor; (...) Corroborating arguments and sustaining positions which Xanana Gusmão, no longer in the mountains of East Timor, can define(...)

a) Considering the current situation of Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, acknowledged leader of Timorese resistance, today, in name, prisoner of war of the Indonesian generals.

b) Given the urgent need to respond on behalf of East Timor in the international context (...)

c) The Maubere Resistance's National Council (CNRM), based in occupied East Timor's interior, proposed to take the following decisions:

1. To freeze Xanana Gusmão's functions as leader of the Resistance and Commander of the Falantil, thereby invalidating any position taken, or statement made by him on behalf of East Timor (...). Dialogue without any pre-conditions under the auspices of the UN.
2. To confirm José Manuel Ramos Horta in the position of the Falantil Commander's representative, a position which was already widely known and contained in documents signed by Xanana Gusmão while still in the mountains of East Timor (...).
3. To back up and strengthen our colleague Ramos Horta as the CNRM's special representative abroad (...)
5. To maintain the non-partisan nature of the Falantil, subordinate to orders from the CPM-R (Resistance Political-Military Commission), ( a organ dependent on the Secretary of the CDF), the composition of which consists of CNRM organs and members in East Timor's interior, namely:

### III A - Structure

1. Powers. Fretilin's Leadership Commission (CDF). Ma'Huno Bukar (...), in coordination with the CNRM special representative abroad, our friend Ramos Horta, is responsible for the internal aspect of the struggle. Santar is vice-secretary, in charge of the entire mobilisation of the Timorese people in the struggle.

2. General staff of the Falantil. The general staff of the Falantil (...) maintain resistance on the ground, and are subordinate to the secretary of the CDF, responsible for the CPM-R.

### III B - Duties and Objectives

1. It is the CPM-R's duty to honour the smooth running of the talks without pre-conditions sponsored by the UN.

2. The search for an internationally acceptable solution to the problem of East Timor.

IV - Expressing the CNRM's views, reiterating and reaffirming its positions, and corroborating its arguments, this 20 November Statement concludes with the following points:

1. Warmly welcoming the position taken by Portuguese Head of State Dr. Mario Soares on the Xanana Gusmão case, in a gesture clearly indicating a relationship of confidence (...), reflecting Portugal's stance at the ASEAN/CEE meeting in Manila, - a relationship of confidence which the meeting of cultures (Portuguese and Maubere) for centuries has enabled and will continue to allow to flourish - the CNRM also demands from Jakarta the immediate and unconditional release of Xanana Gusmão (...). Xanana Gusmão, considered a symbol of Timorese resistance, to be present at the negotiating table, without pre-conditions, sponsored by the UN, given that Jakarta also wishes to seek an internationally acceptable solution to the problem of East Timor.

2. Interpreting the UN Secretary General's meeting with our friend Ramos Horta ( representing the Falantil's Commander abroad) as a gesture of implicit acknowledgment, and by confirming herein said status, Ramos Horta is vested with powers to take strategic initiatives in defence of the Timorese cause when, due to circumstances, prior consultation with the CNRM within the country is not possible, as long as the objective of bringing peace to East Timor and its people is always at the forefront.

3. (...) Given that it recognises the historic role played by the highly considered Catholic Church in Timor, and aims to defend fair and lasting peace in this Land of the Holy Cross, the CNRM affirms the imperative need for the honourable Bishop of Dili, Msgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo to be involved in the talks without pre-conditions, sponsored by the UN.

4. Holding in high regard the positions adopted by (...) Amnesty International, the CNRM urges Jakarta to (...) respect the wish of the prisoner as far as joining his family abroad is concerned.

5. Grateful to the ICRC, and sharing the concerns expressed by that organisation, the CNRM calls attention to the unprecedented disappearance from an Indonesian prison during the '80s of the anthropologist and Independent militant from Western Papua.

6. Not dismissing the possibility of seeing Xanana Gusmão brought before an Indonesian court for trial, and rejecting as illegal any judicial proceedings brought against him, the CNRM appeals to Indonesian human rights groups, such as the LBH, to use their good offices in defence of Xanana Gusmão.

With good wishes. Mountains of our occupied country East Timor, 28 November 1992.

The CNRM Signed by myself, Ma'Huno Bukar, Secretary of the CDF.

## ABEL GUTTERES INTERVIEW

*Green Left, #82 December 2, 1992*

*Remark: Spelling 'as is.' We still have not seen any credible report that the UN Secretary-General has asked for Xanana's release. Apparently, some such alleged remark is being widely circulated in Australia. Anyone having access to a record of such a remark by Boutros-Ghali is requested to post it.*

— John

### 'To freely vote without coercion'

By Nick Everett

Abel Guterres is a leading representative of Fretilin, the liberation organisation of East Timor, based in Melbourne. He spoke to Green Left Weekly about the imprisonment of Xanana Gusmão by Indonesian troops and the December 17 UN sponsored negotiations on East Timor.

Guterres explained that Fretilin is not sure where Gusmão is being held. "No one from any of the human rights organisations, like Amnesty International or the International Red Cross, the Indonesians haven't allowed anyone to physically see him. So we fear for his health."

Referring to the mounting international pressure on Indonesia to release Gusmão and the current focus on East Timor, Guterres argues that it would be difficult for Indonesia to continue violations of human rights unnoticed.

"I don't think they are going to get away with it because Portuguese President Soares called for his release, the President of France, Mitterand, also called for his release and United Nations Secretary General also has called for his release," he said.

"The international pressure is definitely mounting, but a lot more has to be done especially here in Australia. I think more and more people need to be pushing to find out what the Australian government is doing.

"The Australian government has been assured of Xanana's safety, but there is no proof, no observers from the Australian people in Jakarta, to really justify that

Indonesia is really treating him well. "We know that the Australian government put more importance on its economic interest with Indonesia than on East Timor, especially the East Timor Gap Treaty, which Australia is so eager to get the wealth and natural resources of the East Timorese.

"Their action is almost daylight robbery, piracy on the East Timor resources. But that is the government, I think the important thing is that Australians are the ones who will really maintain pressure on a persistent level.

"East Timorese have resisted for the last seventeen years despite the loss, the killing of 200,000 people. The younger generation especially are really standing up and raise their voices and defy the Indonesian occupation. That's exactly what happened on the November 12 last year, when the massacre took place.

"Australians can play a leading role and really put pressure on the government for a satisfactory answer from the Indonesian government."

"To have someone from Australia, or a government official to see or meet physically with Xanana," would be useful, "to see or ascertain his healthy condition."

Confirming that the negotiation process is still going ahead for December 17, Guterres said it is urgent to secure Gusmão's release for the negotiations.

"The negotiation process is still going ahead, as scheduled, and so the whole process will still take place. One of the important things that we urge the government to do is to pressure Indonesia to release Xanana into United Nations custody. I think that will facilitate Xanana to join in the negotiation table.

"These talks are called the proximity talks, which means that Portugal and Indonesia will meet in the first phase and then at a later stage East Timor will be involved. But at the same time the UN Secretary General will also consult with East Timorese representatives."

Discussing Portugal's proposal that East Timor could become an autonomous state within Indonesia, Guterres said that "the bottom line is that no one, not anyone can decide but the East Timorese people through referendum. If the East Timorese choose to be an autonomous state within Indonesia then so be it. But we are certain that 99.9% of East Timorese want independence. That is what the struggle and all this suffering has been for.

"In whatever shape or form the negotiations are conducted the very bottom line is that a referendum has to take place in East Timor for the population to freely vote without coercion."

## FRETILIN DARWIN: XANANA COERCED

According to a December 2 AFP report datelined Darwin, the captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão was forced by Indonesian security forces to say East Timor belonged to Indonesia, an official spokesman for the resistance group Fretilin said here Wednesday.

Referring to reports of Gusmão's reportedly "relaxed" appearance on Indonesian television this week, Fretilin's Australian representative Alfredo Ferreira said Gusmão would never have said what he did voluntarily.

"All the statements should be seen as being under duress – they forced Xanana to say it."

It was "unthinkable" Gusmão would make such statements of his own free will, he said.

Ferreira, who enjoys a reputation for reliability in Australia, said he had also received reports that an East Timorese man arrested the same day as Gusmão was in a Dili hospital, after being tortured by Indonesian security forces.

"He was tortured and he has two broken arms and his nails from at least one hand were all pulled out," Ferreira said.

However, Ferreira said he was satisfied the Indonesian authorities had not physically tortured Gusmão.

"They don't have to torture him physically, they have other ways to torture a person."

"We should not forget that members of Xanana's family were arrested, and as I understand it, some of them are still in custody," Ferreira said.

"He's isolated, and he doesn't know what's really happening.

"They might twist all the accounts (from) outside, make up stories, and prepare films to make him believe it's hopeless to keep on fighting."

Gusmão appeared on Indonesian television Tuesday looking relaxed and, speaking in Portuguese, told his rebel Fretilin colleagues to surrender.

Gusmão, reportedly being held in Bali, was speaking with East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio at an undisclosed location.

According to a translation of Gusmão's television statements, verified by several Portuguese speakers, he also expressed regret for his part in a protest in Dili on November 12, 1991.

He said the former Portuguese colony of East Timor was now part of Indonesia.

Ferreira said in Darwin that Indonesian authorities should prove that Gusmão's

statements were freely made, by allowing him to visit the United Nations in New York, and make the statements there.

"Only then could they have some sort of value," he said.

Fretilin, led by Gusmão, has fought Indonesia's annexation of East Timor since Indonesia's invasion in 1975.

An Australian government spokesman said Wednesday that Gusmão did not appear to be under duress in the interview although the circumstances were not known.

Senator Robert Ray, representing Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, told the Senate the broadcast was seen by officers from the Australian embassy in Jakarta who confirmed it was Gusmão.

"What we can say is that our embassy reports that in that interview he appeared well and there were no obvious signs of duress.

"The government has sought assurances from the Indonesian government at the highest levels that Xanana will be not ill-treated and that he will be accorded due legal process."

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## LOBATO SAYS XANANA CAPITULATED

*Published in Publico 12 December, taken from the same SIC-TSF program which included Joao Gabriel's interview with Xanana. Translated by CDPM.*

"Xanana did, in fact, capitulate." This is the comment from Rogerio Lobato, Fretilin commander who, in a statement yesterday to the SIC, once the interview with the ex-leader of the resistance was known about, said it was "with deep sadness" that he had seen a sunken, defeated and beaten Xanana." He stressed that "at this moment, Xanana is not the leader of the Timorese resistance," stating that he was speaking on behalf of Fretilin. He further added that his organisation had expected "much more from Xanana." "At a time when we had hoped that he would be strong, he weakened, vacillated, and this is very grave." Confirming that the current leader of the Timorese resistance is now Ma Hunu, with whom he said he had already been in contact, he revealed that the latter had "sent a message from the interior asking for support, support for the armed resistance, support for the new leadership in the country's interior." By way of concluding, Rogerio Lobato further stated: "Xanana Gusmão demanded a lot from our people, from our youngsters; just look at the case of 12 November, when young people went out onto the street and died for the flag which Xanana then defended: the independence of East Timor. Xanana now says that integra-

tion is best for Timor; it is, therefore, a situation which we cannot accept."

## BACKGROUND ON ROGERIO LOBATO

Rogerio Lobato is a former Fretilin commander who left the field in 1975. He was one of three 'designated diplomats' along with José Ramos Horta and Mari Alkatiri who left East Timor just days before the massive Indonesian invasion. His performance abroad, however, did not come near matching those of the others just mentioned. He would do things like making grandiose claims of arms shipments for the resistance, none of which materialized.

His position in the external Fretilin operation took a nose-dive around 1983 when he was indicted for diamond smuggling in Angola, considered a friendly country to the Timorese resistance. He was convicted and served several years in jail. He has since played no publicized formal role in the Fretilin external delegation or the broader CNRM, though he is personally acquainted with some of these persons. He also does not enjoy good standing among the Timorese refugees generally, who are full of acidic stories about him.

It is unclear why *Publico* would listen to Rogerio for an assessment of Xanana's prison interview. Perhaps it relates to his being the brother of Nicolau Lobato, the first resistance commander, and to the fact that Rogerio's entire family was killed by the Indonesians. Vastly understating the matter, Rogerio has not gotten along well abroad with José Ramos Horta, Xanana's designated representative, and perhaps his comments derive more from that relationship than anything else. He may, in short, simply have pushed himself into the limelight, however briefly, in an effort to 'make a comeback.' While he has been close to Abilio Araujo in the past, no convincing evidence is available here that Abilio is 'sponsoring' his return. Nor has anything yet been seen here regarding Rogerio's – or anyone else's – alleged contact with Mauhunu (nom de guerre for Antonio Gomes da Costa), Xanana's deputy who remains uncaptured. – John

### Comment from Charles Scheiner:

While the divisions among some Timorese exile leaders are troubling, we should not let them distract us from important matters: Indonesian violations of human rights and prevention of self-determination for East Timor. Once the Timorese can elect their own leaders, they will be able democratically to decide who speaks for them. In the meantime, it is counter-productive to play up dissension, and feeds into Indonesia's hands. There is no disagree-

ment among Timorese exiles on the key issue of Timorese self-determination.

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## HORTA INTERVIEWED BY EDITOR

*12 December 1992*

*The interview was conducted by Tatiek S. Hafidz.*

*Q: What is your comment following the arrest of Xanana?*

A: The news of Xanana's arrest made me very sad indeed. As long as he is in the hands of the Indonesian authorities, they must be held responsible for everything that happens to him.

*Q: Isn't your struggle losing more and more support?*

A: Slowly but surely, I'm certain, we shall get more and more support. We shall appeal to people at all levels. We shall work by means of diplomacy, particularly in the USA, to change policies towards Indonesia.

*Q: You and Xanana have been accused of masterminding the Santa Cruz Incident.*

A: Oh, who do you think I am? That was an action by the people of East Timor. But I wouldn't completely deny the charge. Of course, I supported that action. But I have no money to provide financial support. Even for my own everyday needs, I sometimes experience problems. The salary I get for teaching at the University of New South Wales, Sydney is very modest. I'm not as rich as some people think.

*Q: But you receive many donations.*

A: Yes, that's true. But those funds are used for humanitarian purposes.

*Q: So how do you make contact or do your networking with East Timor?*

A: I admit it is becoming more and more difficult to make contact, especially now that some movements are being more rigorously controlled. We still have many ways of communicating, but you wouldn't expect me to discuss this with you. This would mean violating the first law of a guerilla ha... ha....

*Q: How large are your forces in East Timor today?*

A: Our forces are indeed very weak. I will admit that.

*Q: So, will Fretilin abandon the armed struggle now that Xanana has been captured?*

A: No, we shall continue the struggle to the end, even if only a handful of people are left.

*Q: What's the point? Wouldn't it be better for you to surrender to the Indonesian government?*

A: We agreed to enter into negotiations. We would be very happy to sit at the negotiating table, to explore all possibilities for a peaceful solution. But don't forget, the important thing is that the people of East Timor have the right to determine their own fate.

*Q: It's the aspiration of the East Timorese to integrate with the Republic.*

A: Foreign Minister Alatas always says that the East Timorese people are happy to be integrated with their brethren in Indonesia and like eating fried rice - which I also like. But why does he refuse a referendum which he is bound to win?

*Q: Your struggle is of no significance. The evidence: in mid-December, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas of Indonesia and the Portuguese Foreign Minister will meet under UN auspices, but Fretilin will not take part.*

A: I don't understand Ali Alatas' way of thinking. He is usually open to constructive ideas. But this time, I truly fail to understand why it should be like this. If you want to discuss East Timor, people like myself, Belo and Xanana should be drawn in.

*Q: What in your opinion are the characteristics of Xanana?*

A: He is very intelligent. He is a leader of great stature and modesty. For me, he's a great leader, a leader for Southeast Asia.

*Q: But Xanana is disappointed with you because you have used the name of the party for personal interests. And recently, you've had a dispute with Mrs. Xanana. Isn't that true?*

A: Yes, it's true. We had a disagreement over money. It was about how funds for the struggle should be used. She wanted the money to be sent to East Timor to support the struggle there. But I was of a different opinion, that the money should be used for the struggle at the international level. We finally reached agreement that the money should be used to finance the international diplomatic efforts of our movement.

## ABILIO ARAUJO: XANANA PLANNED ESCAPE TO LISBON

### Abilio Araujo accuses ex-guerrilla of not following Fretilin's line

*Diario de Noticias, 12 Dec. 92. Translated by CDDP.*

The Indonesians foiled an escape plan by Xanana Gusmão who, "after being betrayed, was captured," Abilio Araujo told *Diario de Noticias*. The escape plan "was set up without the knowledge of Fretilin," and Abilio Araujo added, "Fretilin feared not only that he would vacillate, as he did in fact vacillate, but also that he would repeat his defence of direct talks with the Indonesians, leaving Portugal, the administering power, on the sidelines."

Xanana was counting on being a protagonist at the talks in New York on 17th and, according to Abilio Araujo, that ambition was linked to the news made public some months ago, according to which the Portuguese authorities were allegedly favouring the ex-guerrilla's presence in New York. However, this scenario had not been envisaged by the *Palacio das Necessidades* [Portuguese Foreign Office], according to well informed diplomatic sources.

It should be noted that Fretilin, and namely Abilio Araujo, unequivocally distanced themselves from Xanana's action back in January this year when, in an interview for the daily *Publico*, he stated that "Xanana has done everything to weaken Fretilin."

When pressed to explain why it was that Fretilin had allowed Xanana to go so far, to the point of, in recent months, walking the streets of Dili, putting the resistance at risk, Abilio Araujo said that "after a certain point had been reached Xanana Gusmão had come to be like a bait or a paper tiger. I have distanced myself from him since 1989. I knew that he was in my house and cautioned the people in Timor. The costs of this chance-taking are incalculable."

Abilio Araujo says that since 1990 Fretilin in Timor has been living "a double clandestinity, one in relation to Xanana which has fortunately ended now, and another in relation to the Indonesians. Xanana constantly wanted to interfere and destabilise Fretilin."

Abilio Araujo affirms that another deserter, Mau Hodu, eventually gave himself up to the Indonesians in February this year, following serious differences with Xanana. "The surrender was provoked, and Xanana's capture originated from excessive confidence in factors and circumstances over which he never had control. That is why he

fell, betrayed and captured. Mau Hodu and Xanana are history, and now the reorganisation of the resistance forces will take place within a framework of total discipline and fierce opposition to recklessness."

Abilio Araujo insists that Fretilin's clandestine leadership "is untouchable, in existence since 1990 without Xanana's knowledge, and totally supports me. The Indonesians have made a big error of judgment."

"We are doing a survey of connections between Jakarta and Timorese sectors and even Portuguese groups, some leaders having acted with a high degree of ingenuousness."

"We have suffered some set-backs but they in no way compare to what the Indonesians are claiming. In the near future, and when the Indonesians least expect it, resistance actions will commence in Timor, and some will be on such a scale that the whole world will know that we exist and what we are fighting for," assures Abilio Araujo.

Regarding the surrender announced by Jakarta, Abilio Araujo recalls that "when Nicolau Lobato chose death rather than betrayal of his country, Jakarta also said that 800 guerrillas had surrendered. In reality, they forced Timorese who were already prisoners to sign surrender documents. Some of those who "surrendered" are now in Lisbon and can testify that this is what happened. One such case is that of Paulino Gama, who signed his surrender and later escaped. Now, the same Indonesians that just two weeks ago assured us that the armed resistance was but a band of 100 men are now announcing the surrender of over 1000. It is true that some have surrendered, others weakened like Xanana and Mau Hodu, and that there are areas in which the situation is very worrying, but Indonesia has fallen into a trap because the clandestine resistance apparatus remains standing firmly."

### COMMENT FROM JOHN MACDOUGALL, DEC. 23, 1992:

Abilio Araujo, ostensible leader of the Fretilin external delegation, actually today represents mainly himself. While a student in Portugal, he returned to East Timor for a few months before the Indonesian invasion but left well before it began. He has not been back to East Timor since that time. Personally ambitious, he has been Fretilin-centric in his approach and on numerous occasions 'talked down' first the Nationalist Convergence and then the CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance), pan-Timorese initiatives supported most visibly by Xanana Gusmão and José Ramos Horta

as better representing current sentiment among resident East Timorese who mostly categorize themselves as simply pro-Indonesia or anti-Indonesia. This is not the first time he has excoriated Xanana publicly.

It is telling that no third party of note has proposed Abilio Araujo as a credible East Timorese interlocutor in any internationally sanctioned negotiations on the future of East Timor. Even as a Fretilin external leader, his performance, after initial early activity, grew notoriously lame, almost to the point of invisibility save for his living high off the hog in Portugal. All this drew an extraordinary direct personal rebuke from a secret delegation sent by Xanana to meet with him. Abilio's claims that Fretilin's clandestine leadership support him, not Xanana, and that this personal or party network remains intact are completely incredible and reveal his lack of any extensive contact with the situation on the ground in East Timor. Virtually nothing he says may be taken at face value. If anything, his occasional public comments picked up by certain Portuguese reporters typically give rise to numerous suspicions and rumors regarding his allegiances.

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## XANANA TRANSFER OF POWER?

*Preliminary report by Antonio Dias, Agir pour Timor, December 16.*

According to Antenna 1, a Portuguese radio heard yesterday in Paris about midnight, Xanana Gusmão was in Dili at the time of his arrest because he wanted to get out of East Timor and Indonesia, in order to assume a political role outside.

A videotape dated from Sept. 11, 1992, filmed in the territory, showing a transfer of power between Xanana and Mau Hunu, was received quite recently.

Mari Alkatiri, from Fretilin's external delegation, confirmed having a copy of the videotape and denied an earlier claim by another Timorese that Xanana was a 'traitor.' José Ramos Horta also has a copy. From Bruno Kahn, December 18:

The following "clarification" was given to me by Antonio Dias:

It appears that Antenna 1 was fully quoting or interviewing Mari Alkatiri. It is him who mentioned the videotape, the possible transfer of power and also the reason why Xanana was in Dili at the time of his arrest.

About the date of the tape: Antonio tells me that, indeed, Alkatiri said it had been filmed, not received, on 11 or perhaps 17 Sept., 1992. He said the date had been chosen as the anniversary date when ASDT became Fretilin. But after checking it seems

that the actual date of this change was 12 Sept., 1974. So:

1. There is a contradiction with some information from Jean-Pierre Catry that the tape was filmed in August;

2. If Alkatiri is right, there is some minor confusion on the date of this filming.

## COMMENT FROM JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA

*Transcribed by Charles Scheiner, 18 December 1992.*

It has come to my attention that there has been some speculation about an alleged "transfer of power" from Xanana Gusmão to Mau Huno in the course of a meeting held in the mountains in August. This comes from a video (which I have in my possession) which shows Mau Huno and Xanana exchanging watches. This interpretation seems to have originated from Mari Alkatiri, the long-distance Fretilin leader based in Maputo.

Exchange of watches is not part of the Timorese culture nor of the resistance culture. I have just spoken with Abilio Araujo on the phone; he agrees with me on this particular point. However he believes that Xanana was planning to leave East Timor to attend the UN-sponsored talks. However, the numerous correspondence that Xanana sent me in the last few months (as recently as October 11 and the first week of November), contains no evidence to support this interpretation. I do not rule out anyone's right to speculate; however I continue to insist that this matter should not be discussed, at least in public.

The content of the speeches videotaped during the ceremony and subsequent letters from Xanana Gusmão, completely contradict these interpretations and speculations. I reiterate that I will not answer any more questions on this matter, nor should anyone waste his or her time in asking me questions or clarifications. I suggest that for the time being, and until such a time when Xanana Gusmão himself and/or Mau Huno are able to provide a detailed explanation, we should not waste our time and energy.

## DIALOGUE WITH THE RESISTANCE

*Comment from John MacDougall, December 19, 1992.*

José Ramos Horta appears to want to restrain public discussion of the internal dynamics of the East Timorese resistance inside and outside Timor. Here he announces he not only will not participate in such discussion but again asks us to take 'on faith' his understanding of an as yet untranscribed, not widely disseminated videotape and other unidentified written communications. In my view, this is not

enough. In the first place, information on the internal and external resistance is routinely splashed all over the Portuguese press – and José has played no small role in adding to print copy there in this respect.

Further, the Indonesian press is now regularly regurgitating – often with much distortion, amply documented in this online medium – stories from the Portuguese press. This material is read widely by embassies in Indonesia, the top Indonesian leadership, educated Indonesians, and East Timorese – almost none of whom have access to the original Portuguese press stories or to this online medium. It would be foolish to think its net influence on many of them is not negative.

Without compromising resistance secrets, a more open discussion among those working for the East Timorese cause with its various spokesmen – to none of whom full confidence is automatically extended just as we do not automatically extend to each other – is not simply long overdue but it is a dialogue especially needed at this moment for judicious planning. José, for his own part, cognizant of his own penchant for indiscreet and sometimes off-the-rail remarks, should take action on his long-evident need for better direct and early access to the flood of material in the Indonesian-language press on East Timor. Otherwise the Timorese diplomatic struggle gets ceded to the Indonesian side by missteps or default. There are a lot of questions that need answers. On some, we can indeed wait. On others, we cannot. Solidarity that means anything is always a two-way street.

– John MacDougall (*in my hat as Coordinator, Task Force Indonesia, which is an independent group and not an "East Timor solidarity group"*).

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## RAMOS-HORTA: XANANA IS NOT A TRAITOR

*Diario de Noticias, 26 December 1992*

*By José Ramos Horta. Original language Portuguese, unabridged.*

*(Lisbon) After 16 years of fighting, Xanana Gusmão has just spent his first Christmas in prison. The following analysis of the latest events related to East Timor was written by José Ramos Horta (Special representative of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM)) for DN.*

This is the first Christmas which Xanana Gusmão spends in captivity, somewhere in an Indonesian prison. His last 16 Christmases were spent with his guerrillas, among the giant 'gondoeiros' and the soaring palm trees, drinking 'tuaka' or some 'tuasabu,' eating grilled deer meat under East

Timorese skies by the light of the stars and moon. This Christmas, however, he is in captivity.

His captors will not have enjoyed his audacious denial to journalist João Gabriel of practically everything which had been dragged out of him by force two weeks previously by the jailer of East Timor, a certain Abilio Osorio Soares, the "Pablo Escobar" of East Timor.

It is feared that Xanana is now undergoing a new round of physical and psychological torture on account of his temerity.

Meantime, while he faces captivity in complete solitude, and at the mercy of his jailers, in Portugal - and only in Portugal - some voices can be heard denouncing the Maubere Resistance leader, and this comes precisely on the eve of the first New York round between ministers Durão Barroso, Alatas, and Boutros Boutros Ghali.

The repudiation of the attacks against Xanana Gusmão was universal - from solidarity groups worldwide to the Timorese communities in Portugal and Australia.

Members of the Portuguese delegation at the New York talks did not hide their irritation at the spectacle, which only served to weaken the Portuguese negotiating position. Friends of the Timorese cause, well placed at the UN and in the US, did not hide their bewilderment at the most diverse versions coming out of Maputo and Lisbon.

I do not wish to enter into sterile debate. I only wish to appeal to good sense and to the sense of justice and humanity. Let us not jeer at the one who is being taken to be publicly hanged and who still has the courage to let us know, in whispers, his true feelings. Xanana has not sold out. He was captured during a military operation, which is known to have been carried out with greater intensity since June. They were closing in around the clandestine network, with various cells in Viqueque, Baucau, Lospalos, Manatuto being dismantled, according to Xanana's most recent letter, dated November and addressed to someone in Australia. He was aware that the net was tightening around him. In not one of the letters he wrote in recent months did the resistance leader give the slightest hint that he was preparing to leave the territory in order to take part in the New York negotiations.

I always made clear to UN officials and Portuguese representatives that I endorsed Xanana participating in the negotiation process. But this would only have been advisable and politically viable at a later stage in the process, at which minimum security conditions would be guaranteed. I was in favour of a UN mission to East Timor, at an early stage, to meet with

Timorese clergy there and with the resistance leader.

The conditions for that meeting would have been planned in the same way as the resistance had known how to prepare for the meeting between Xanana and the Portuguese deputies.

There was not the slightest basis for the news spread by the Portuguese press this summer about Portugal's and the UN's demand for Xanana's participation in the New York talks. In communications sent to Xanana, I always warned him of the complexity and slowness of the process and that his participation would only be advisable and viable if the conditions I was proposing were met.

"The territory was becoming progressively smaller for him," said Bishop Ximenes Belo. Perhaps these words from the head of the Timorese Church best explain Xanana's capture. What had been feared for years finally happened.

The first images of Xanana and his statements shocked everyone. It was a violent emotional impact. In the midst of all the drama it was President Mario Soares who behaved most correctly. His opportune statements gave us encouragement and avoided the spread of panic. The Government also reacted quickly and appropriately. The same cannot be said of some Timorese leaders abroad, who were only too quick to crucify the Resistance leader.

Specialists emerged, veterans from the PIDE's prisons, arguing that Xanana had "wavered," one or two Timorese repeated parrotlike the analysis of the PCP's [Portuguese Communist Party] "comrades." But the overwhelming majority of Timorese continue to trust in Xanana Gusmão. His meeting with João Gabriel, surrounded by 30 jailers, was enlightening and should be sufficient, I think, to elucidate his critics. Or are they waiting for the Indonesians to show him on the TV being tortured for all the world to see, and for him to scream out "no, no integration," before they will believe that he did not sell out.

The resistance in East Timor continues. There were no surrenders. Dozens of clandestine militants were arrested. The "network" has been reduced. But with the speed and determination of those used to 18 years of war, it is being reorganised. And the resistance continues under the guidance of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), now headed by Ma'Huno, fellow soldier and close friend of Xanana. I have received some messages indirectly from Ma'Huno, in which he expresses his determination, appeals for courage and unity, reaffirms his confidence in me, - a confidence which is clearly evident in the

most recent video from East Timor, made before Xanana's capture.

My intention is not to stimulate the debate, which would be as pointless as it would be counterproductive to the struggle as well as for the Resistance's image. But I would not have a clear conscience, and would not be doing my job as the CNRM's special representative if I did not at least try to do justice for someone who, while free men are celebrating Christmas in comfort and safety in exile, is at his captors' mercy, condemned to isolation, humiliation and torture.

Both internally and on the international scene, the forthcoming months will be difficult and decisive for East Timor. The situation in Indonesia "is at boiling point," according to the majority of observers. President Suharto seems to favour a policy enabling more "flexibility," opposed by the hawks, Benny Murdani and Try Sutrisno. The game of political chess has begun. Some observers argue that Suharto intends to remove Try Sutrisno from the leadership of the Armed Forces before the end of the year and have him substituted by a "moderate," probably the superior officer who led the Military Honour Commission (the second investigative mission) on the Santa Cruz massacre. According to the same specialists, the conclusions of that report offered no support to the hard line.

After arriving in Sydney from New York on 21 December, I immediately went on to Melbourne, where I spoke on the last day of a conference on Indonesia. The most respected specialists on Indonesia, from all over the world, were present. Also attending was all the Indonesian democratic elite, with whom I had long talks - and their sympathy for the Timorese cause was clearly evident.

I believe I noted a political willingness to carry out a more aggressive and firm strategy at my meeting with Minister Durão Barroso and Ambassador Pedro Catarino in New York. This is the position I advocate, and which I outlined in my speech to the International Commission of Jurists' annual dinner in Sydney, on 14 November.

Portugal should not hesitate. Reason and morals are on her side.

The international scenario is favourable to us. Firmer and more imaginative action in the US, EC and Third World could tip the diplomatic balance in our favour in the coming months, and influence the very political evolution in Indonesia. We are going to win the battle. I am convinced of that.

## VOICE OF THE FUGITIVE (RAMOS-HORTA) FROM MELBOURNE

*Tempo*, 2 January 1992. Interviewer is Dewi Anggraeni.

Original language: Indonesian. Excerpt of text, interview segment complete.

Remark: Names as spelled by *Tempo*. The interview was conducted during the recent Monash University conference on Indonesian democracy. Horta flew back from New York to speak at the conference. He was accompanied by "a Fretilin figure, Francisco Pang." In the text segment, Horta is cited as stating that the movement now takes its leadership guidelines from Mau Hunu since Xanana is a detainee.

José Ramos Horta received *Tempo* reporter Dewi Anggraeni for a special interview. Excerpts:

*Q: Does Xanana really agree with your diplomatic lobby in the UN?*

A: He supports it fully.

*Q: There is a story that Xanana knew he'd be arrested, so he made a symbolic transfer of power by giving his watch to Mau Hunu.*

A: That story isn't true. There's no tradition like that. It might well be that Xanana gave his watch to Mau Hunu. But this has no connection with a transfer of leadership.

*Q: Your conflict with Emilia Gusmão has been interpreted as a split within Fretilin.*

A: Emilia is Xanana's ex-wife. I only took my guidelines from Xanana, that the money collected be used to pay for a diplomatic lobby in Washington.

*Q: How much is there in that fund?*

A: About Aus\$100,000.

*Q: To what extent has your UN lobbying been successful?*

A: Even if George Bush had been re-elected, the US view would have swung toward us. We have already asked that a ban on the use of American-made weapons be put into effect in East Timor.

*Q: Are you sure your efforts are supported by the people? How many Fretilin supporters are there now in East Timor?*

A: If you're asking about the number of guerrillas, not a whole lot more. But in the past few years we decreased armed activity and strengthened the diplomatic struggle. I am sure the East Timorese people support this fully.

*Q: Where did the lobby fund come from?*

A: We have no permanent fund for this. For example, I paid my own way to fly to New York. In the past when friends asked me to come to Melbourne and Sydney, I asked them to collect the money to buy my ticket.

*Q: There is no funding from your own organization?*

A: They are very poor. It's hard to collect money. You probably think we collect money from all over the place. But our capital is only our spirit.

*Q: Last May, you submitted a proposal for negotiations with the Indonesian government. That caused some anger among your supporters. What was the outcome?*

A: Anger – I don't think so. But some anxiety from those who too quickly drew conclusions. I have explained this all repeatedly and everything has been straightened out. In Europe and America, there was a welcome for the proposal I launched on May 14 at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

*Q: I meant there was anger because you were regarded as seeking popularity. Fretilin supporters suspected your intentions.*

A: That's the risk of being a leader. I had ideas which I could properly convey in New York. So I had to make use of the opportunity. I certainly don't need to wait for the agreement of all the members in Melbourne, Sydney, and elsewhere. After my explanations, Mau Hunu and the other leaders agreed.

*Q: You mean you acted without agreement?*

A: Oh, no. I had already discussed the ideas with Xanana by letter two years ago. Xanana, in an interview with a Portuguese magazine, agreed. This was a way of investigating the possibility of seeking a meeting point with Indonesia.

*Q: Where will you go from Australia?*

A: I'm going to the Human Rights Commission in Geneva together with other leaders in our movement. José Amorin from the Netherlands, Abé Barretto who once studied at Gadjah Mada University, José Gutierrez from Canada, and Nelson Sanctus from Melbourne.

## INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO XANANA'S CAPTURE

### SUPPORT FOR IMPRISONED FRETILIN LEADER GROWS

*Green Left Weekly* Dec. 1, 1992

By Sean Malloy

The Australian Council For Overseas Aid said that the United Nations should seek the immediate release into UN custody of East Timorese Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão and involve him in talks on December 17 around Indonesian occupation.

"We remain very concerned for his personal welfare because of his long-standing conflict with the Indonesian military and past cases in Indonesia of death in military custody. The UN, which does not recognise Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor, should intervene to give him protective custody," said ACFOA spokesperson, Pat Walsh.

"We call on the Australian government to make immediate enquiries about the situation of these people and to ensure that they are given total access by the International Red Cross and that their basic rights are respected according to international standards," he added.

Democrat Senator John Coulter urged international vigilance to prevent the Indonesian authorities in East Timor from torturing Gusmão.

Coulter also urged the UN to defend Gusmão, "I urge you to press Indonesian authorities most strongly to produce Xanana Gusmão and to grant you and other representatives of the international community access to him, in order to verify that he is being treated correctly," he said.

Fretilin representatives in Australia have appealed for Gusmão's release.

"There are reports that Xanana has been taken out of East Timor and is currently being held by the Indonesian army somewhere in Jakarta. Information from Indonesia also indicated that Xanana is being subjected to intense interrogations by the Indonesian army and security forces, aimed at obtaining details of the resistance program and movements in East Timor," said Fretilin representative Estanislau da Silva.

Fretilin is calling on all concerned organisations to pressure Indonesia not to transport Gusmão arbitrarily, not to torture Gusmão, to allow humanitarian organisations access to him and for his release into UN custody.

## JAPAN 'NEUTRAL' ON XANANA

According to a December 3 Kyodo story datelined Tokyo, Japan is not taking a position on the capture and detention in Indonesia of top East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, but will monitor Jakarta's plans to try him under Indonesian law, a senior Foreign Ministry source said Thursday.

Despite calls from Amnesty International and other groups for Japan to take a stand, Tokyo considers the issue to be a domestic affair of Indonesia, the official said.

But he said Japan will be "watching the situation," taking into account President Suharto's statement that the guerrilla leader, captured last month in the East Timorese capital of Dili, will be tried under Indonesian law.

Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor before it was annexed by Indonesia in 1976, has called for an international campaign for Gusmão's release and for assurances that his life will not be put at risk while in detention.

Gusmão will reportedly be tried for subversion, which in Indonesia carries the death penalty.

## OFFICIALS, RIGHTS GROUPS CONDEMN TIMORESE REBEL BROADCAST

JAKARTA, Indonesia (UPI), Dec. 2. — The government has broadcast a television interview with captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão in which he apparently called on his followers to give up their armed struggle.

But human rights groups and officials in Portugal, of which East Timor is a former colony, claimed the statement broadcast Tuesday night was made under duress and called on the United Nations to intervene to prevent "a violation of the most basic human rights."

In his televised message, Xanana also urged overseas supporters of the Timor resistance Fretilin movement to join him in "understanding the province's current situation, and to avoid being trapped by Portuguese promises."

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

Indonesia annexed the province soon afterward and declared the region its 27th province in 1976 in defiance of U.N. resolutions claiming the right of East Timorese to choose their own future.

In the broadcast, Xanana was shown chatting with East Timor Gov. Abilio José Soares, speaking in Portuguese as the governor translated into Indonesian to the viewers.

Xanana, 45, said he regretted last year's anti-government protest that ended with Indonesian troops opening fire on demonstrators in Dili. The government admitted that at least 50 people were killed in the incident, and 66 remained unaccounted for.

Witnesses put the death toll close to 200. The massacre resulted in widescale international condemnation of Indonesia.

Xanana, who was arrested Nov. 20 by Indonesian troops after eluding capture for 16 years, smiled repeatedly during the interview. A cup of coffee, meals and a red-and-white Indonesian flag appeared on a table between the two men, while Xanana asserted he felt safe in the detention house. "East Timor belongs to Indonesia,"

Xanana said as quoted by Abilio as saying.

Responding to the interview, the London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, Tapol, said in a statement, "It is absolutely clear that Xanana was interviewed under extreme duress," and the broadcast interview was "heavily and clumsily edited."

"It is not worthy of serious consideration as the freely-expressed views of a man who has fought the illegal occupation of his country for 17 years," Tapol said.

"The authorities have shown by using this propaganda stunt that they recognize the outstanding position Xanana occupies in the hearts and minds of the people of East Timor," it said.

Commenting in Lisbon, where the interview was also broadcast, Portuguese President Mario Soares said, "This kind of thing can only happen under a totalitarian regime. It is obvious that Xanana must have been coerced or tortured for him to make those kind of statements."

The Portuguese Foreign Ministry said in a statement, "In the face of the incongruity of Xanana Gusmão's recent statement concerning his position over all these years of resistance against the occupation of East Timor, we regard with great concern the situation he is in.

"Everything points to Xanana having been subjected to threats and beatings against himself, his family and his fellow fighters.

"The Portuguese government urges the United Nations, the international community and especially the International Red Cross to act to bring to an end this situation which represents a violation of the most basic human rights."

Ramos Horta of the Maubere National Resistance Council in Lisbon said, "These

statements were forced out of him. He has been submitted to all kinds of psychological torture. We cannot believe in what Commander Gusmão said in the interview."

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and has pressed Jakarta to grant an act of self-determination. Portugal has led international appeals for Xanana to be humanely treated while in Indonesian custody.

Talks between Lisbon and Jakarta aimed at breaking the stalemate over East Timor are to resume at the U.N. in New York on December 17. The talks will bring together Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and Portuguese Foreign Minister José Durão Barroso in a meeting brokered by Secretary-General Boutros Ghali.

## NGOS ASK UN SECRETARY GENERAL TO SEEK RELEASE OF TIMORESE LEADER

*Press Release from Jean Inglis, Free East Timor Japan Coalition. December 8, 1992*

On Dec. 7 the International Federation for East Timor (IFET) appealed in a letter to the United Nations Secretary General for urgent action to secure the release of Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese leader captured by Indonesian troops in Dili on Nov. 20.

The Federation, on behalf of nongovernmental organizations in Japan, Australia, Great Britain, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Spain, Italy and Canada, urged Dr. Boutros-Ghali to "take every measure in your power" to secure Mr. Gusmão's release and termed the UN leader's immediate response "crucial" to the achievement of a peaceful settlement of the East Timor issue.

[The Secretary General announced in September that long-stalled talks on East Timor between Indonesia and Portugal would be resumed under his auspices at the UN on December 17. Observers believed that the heightened international concern about East Timor since the Nov. 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, when Indonesian troops opened fire on mourners at a cemetery in Dili, would exert pressure on Indonesia to move toward a negotiated settlement of the issue.

In particular, a recent military aid cut by the US Congress is said to have sent shock waves through the military-dominated regime, long accustomed to general indifference to its 17-year occupation of East Timor on the part of major military and economic aid donor countries.

Reports from Indonesian authorities since the arrest of Mr. Gusmão, however, including a crudely edited videotaped

"interview" broadcast on Dec. 1 in which the captured leader is purported to have acknowledged Indonesian sovereignty, indicate that hard-liners in the Suharto regime may be attempting to sabotage the UN talks.]

The IFET letter states that the arrest of the East Timorese leader and others close to him "augur ill for the fate of the discussions to be held under your auspices between representatives of Portugal and Indonesia on December 17." It expresses fear at the measures used by Xanana's captors to extract the purported statement from the East Timorese leader, who has been held incommunicado for over two weeks. Fear is also expressed that the Indonesian authorities' treatment of Mr. Gusmão "may be aimed at creating confusion with regard to the agenda for a comprehensive settlement of the East Timor issue, an agenda which we believe must satisfy the legitimate demands of the people of East Timor to choose their own destiny, free from coercion by the forces that have occupied their territory for 17 years."

[Amnesty International, in an "urgent action" appeal issued December 4, stated that one of the at least twenty close associates and relatives of Xanana Gusmão arrested since Nov. 20 is reported to have been tortured to death in custody, and that there are fears that others, including Xanana, have also been tortured.

East Timorese have dismissed the videotaped "recantation" by Xanana as propaganda. The Catholic bishop of East Timor, Ximenes Belo, stated in an interview with the Portuguese daily, *Publico*, on Dec. 4 that "for the past seventeen years, if any prisoner spoke in the way that Xanana has spoken, it has happened as a result of torture." Bishop Belo also termed a Reuter-reported statement by General Syafei that the bishop would call on the Timorese resistance forces to surrender "completely false. It's all military propaganda."

Bishop Belo, who has appealed to the UN Secretary General to hold a referendum in East Timor, told *Publico* regarding Xanana's capture: "the arrest of any individual, even if he is the leader, does not mean the surrender of an entire people."

The International Federation of East Timor, a nongovernmental organization registered with the United Nations Department of Public Information, seeks a comprehensive resolution of the East Timor issue in keeping with the United Nations Charter and the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the issue. These resolutions have called for a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and have affirmed the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination.

For further information, contact Jean Inglis tel.: 0823220962

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## US CATHOLIC CONFERENCE: FREE THEM!

According to a December 11 story by Religious News Service (RNS) datelined Washington, the U.S. Catholic Conference is pressing the Indonesian government over the fate of East Timorese resistance leader, José Alexandre Gusmão.

In a letter to Indonesian Ambassador Abdul Rachman Ramly, Archbishop John Roach of Minneapolis-St. Paul called on the Indonesians to release Gusmão and other Timorese resistance leaders immediately.

Gusmão, popularly known as Xanana, is the key figure in the East Timor resistance movement.

Talks regarding the status of East Timor, part of the island of Timor northwest of Australia, are scheduled to begin Dec. 16 under the auspices of United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali. The island was formally ruled by the Dutch and the Portuguese. At independence, the western, Dutch-ruled part of the island became a province of Indonesia but the East Timorese sought independence. In 1975, the Indonesians invaded East Timor.

Since the 1975 invasion, an armed resistance movement, seeking independence from Indonesia, has erupted in large-scale violence. A year ago, Indonesian troops massacred dozens of demonstrators at a Catholic cemetery.

"You are well aware that the situation of East Timor and the behavior of Indonesian forces there continue to be of deep concern to many in this country," Roach said in his letter to the Indonesian envoy.

"Those of us who consider ourselves both friends of Indonesia and supported the legitimate rights of the Timorese people would be very pleased to learn of the immediate release of these detained persons," Roach said.

Last month, marking the anniversary of the massacre, Roach called on the U.S. government to pay greater attention to the plight of the East Timorese.

### The full text of the letter follows:

United States Catholic Conference  
Department of Social Development and  
World Peace  
Office of International Peace and Justice  
3211 4th Street, NE  
Washington, Dc 20017-1194  
(202)541-3198 Fax (202)541-3339 Telex  
7400424  
December 1, 1992

H.E. Abdul Rachman Ramly  
Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia

2020 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I write to express the concern of the United States Catholic Conference over the present condition and future well-being of the East Timorese resistance leader, Mr. José Alexandre Gusmão, also popularly known as Xanana, as well as that of several other persons recently arrested in apparent connection with the detention of Mr. Gusmão.

You are well aware that the situation of East Timor and the behavior of Indonesian forces there continue to be of deep concern to many in this country. Those of us who consider ourselves both friends of Indonesia and supporters of the legitimate rights of the Timorese people would be very pleased to learn of the immediate release of these detained persons.

We look forward with interest to the talks on the future of East Timor, scheduled shortly to resume under the auspices of Mr. Boutros-Ghali, between your Government and the Government of Portugal. The release of Mr. Gusmão and the others would augur well for the success of those important discussions.

With sincere best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Most Reverend John R. Roach  
Archbishop of St. Paul and Minneapolis  
Chairman, Committee on International  
Policy

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## HIROSHIMA APPEAL TO JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS

*From Jean Inglis, Dec. 10, 1992*

Deeply concerned at the arrest on Nov. 20 of East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão and others, and dismayed by the failure of the Japanese Government to act, citizens in Hiroshima issued an appeal to the members of the upper and lower houses of the Japanese Diet. On Dec. 8 a letter was delivered to each parliamentarian's diet office, calling on him/her to press the Japanese government to use its considerable leverage with the Indonesian Government to secure the release of Xanana and the others and to persuade Jakarta to engage in peace negotiations under UN auspices to achieve a peaceful settlement of the East Timor issue.

In recent years Japan's economic aid to the Suharto regime has grown to the point where it is now roughly equivalent to Indonesia's defense budget. This year's pledge, \$1.32 billion, is ten times the amount pledged by the No. 2 donor country, France.

The letter from East Timor support groups in Hiroshima City and nearby Kure City refers to the importance of negotiations at the UN on the issue and states that Xanana is "the most appropriate person to represent the East Timorese people" at these talks.

Negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal are scheduled to take place under the auspices of UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali on Dec. 17. Mr. Gusmão's arrest and Indonesian authorities' statements that he will be put on trial have cast a pall over prospects for the talks. Over the years the Foreign Ministry has repeatedly stated that its position on the East Timor issue is one of "watching the negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary General." The Hiroshima citizens action is aimed at garnering parliamentarians' support for a more active stance by Japan in support of the negotiations.

In addition to the letter to parliamentarians, the Hiroshima groups have printed and distributed to the public postcards addressed to the Indonesian Embassy and Japanese Foreign Ministry calling for Xanana's release, as have a number of other East Timor support groups in Japan.

*Comment from John MacDougall:*

*Japan's position on East Timor remains essentially, "It is not our problem." Until Japanese officials can be convinced their economic interests in Indonesia, or other strategic interests like the relationship with the US, are more threatened by de facto supporting the Indonesian side on the East Timor issue, basic policy will not change. If the Clinton administration does change US policy toward Indonesia, and follows this with active coalition-building diplomacy on the issue, Japan could conceivably move at least closer to an emerging international consensus, even if its economist interests came under attack by Indonesian nationalist threats. Such threats have truly huge backfire potential for Indonesia in view of the scope of Japanese investment in Indonesia and its role as principal aid contributor in the CGI consortium. It is unlikely the present Indonesian government would sacrifice its national economy to retain East Timor.*

## CONGRESSMAN HALL BLASTS RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, WARNS OF REACTION IN CONGRESS

*Press release from Representative Tony Hall, House Select Committee on Hunger*

*For immediate release, December 11, 1992  
Contact: Eric Delinsky (202) 226-5470*

Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-OH), Chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, today lashed out at the Indonesian government over new accounts of widespread terror and atrocities by Indonesian forces in the wake of the capture of Xanana Gusmão, leader of the resistance movement in Indonesian-occupied East Timor, where at least 100,000 people have perished since Indonesia illegally invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

"These are horrendous reports," said Hall. "The United States should not tolerate this kind of conduct by the Indonesians any longer. The international community should make it clear that, one way or another, Jakarta will pay a stiff price if this continues."

Hall reacted to fresh reports on December 10, 1992 from Amnesty International and December 11 from a respected Catholic organization, the London-based Catholic Institute for International Relations, and other authoritative sources, that many people are currently being tortured and beaten in an Indonesian military effort to break the spirit of the Timorese people. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

Such sources indicate that there have been numerous arrests in the aftermath of the November 20 arrest of Mr. Gusmão, the Timorese leader. The military has announced that he will be placed on trial within three months, and may face the death penalty. Last week, Gusmão appeared on Indonesian television and renounced his long-held views, eliciting charges that he had been tortured. East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Belo, has indicated as much. Indonesian authorities waited 17 days before allowing the International Red Cross to visit Gusmão, but other prisoners have not been allowed such visits. Red Cross rules prohibit the organization from commenting publicly on the conditions of the prisoners it visits.

Hall pointed out that there is longstanding interest in Congress in the plight of East Timor, citing letters signed by a majority of the House of Representatives in 1990 and the Senate in 1991. Hall led a successful Congressional effort that ended in October

with the suspension of \$2.3 million in American military training for the Indonesian Armed Forces for Fiscal Year 1993. That marked the first time that the Congress cut aid to Indonesia over the East Timor situation.

"Indonesia will suffer in terms of international goodwill and in other ways if Jakarta continues on its hard-line source," Hall said.

## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: RELEASE TIMORESE PRISONERS

*EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT SESSION  
NEWS PRESS RELEASE. DECEMBER 17,  
1992*

Thursday, 17 December - The situation in East Timor once again drew a response from Parliament in a resolution which calls for the immediate and unconditional release of all Timorese political prisoners. Parliament wants immediate access for representatives of the UN Committee on Human Rights and Amnesty International to East Timor and to Indonesian prisons. The resolution warns Indonesia of the consequences that repeated violations of human rights and international law may have for relations with the EC.

## FEER LETTERS COLUMN

*Far Eastern Economic Review, 24-31  
December 1992, published the following  
letters, under the heading, Release Timor  
Prisoners:*

The article by Suhami Aznam [Guerilla end game, 3 Dec.] on the capture by the Indonesian armed forces of the East Timorese resistance movement leader Xanana Gusmão, bears some correction.

To describe Xanana and the East Timorese independence movement as "separatist" is to concede to Indonesia what the UN has not recognised, namely the political incorporation of East Timor by Indonesia. It is not just a question of one man's freedom fighter being another's enemy, it is a fact of international law that Portugal is deemed by the UN to be the administering power in East Timor.

The pressing question now on the part of the international community is to secure the release of all East Timorese prisoners of war and, in the case of Xanana, to facilitate his unconditional release and passage to New York to attend the upcoming UN-sponsored dialogue on East Timor as legitimate representative of the Timorese people.

Geoffrey C. Gunn, Hongkong

"With extraordinary measures one certainly achieves a silencing of the movement for a time, but the spirit of resistance which it stimulates survives such government action and creates a new organisation." These words, written by a senior Dutch official in 1930 in the aftermath of Sukarno's arrest by the Dutch colonial authorities, are appropriate today when one contemplates the situation in East Timor following Xanana Gusmão's capture by the Indonesian occupation forces near Dili last month.

Contrary to the speculation of your recent article, it seems unlikely that Xanana's arrest will mark the end of the East Timorese struggle against Indonesia, or the cessation of guerilla resistance.

After 17 years of bloodshed, which has witnessed the death of perhaps as many as 200,000 East Timorese (a quarter of the pre-1975 population), the will of the East Timorese people remains unbowed. As Bishop Belo recently pointed out, the arrest of one man, however prominent, has not changed the need for a referendum on the future of the territory.

If Jakarta ignores this call and continues with its policy of repression, it will face the nemesis of all colonial regimes, the destruction of empire and the triumph of popular nationalism.

Peter Carey, Oxford University, England

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## EVENTS IN BRITAIN

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### U.K. AEROSPACE SEMINAR IN BANDUNG

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release on 1 December 1992:*

The Society of British Aerospace Companies will be holding an aerospace symposium in Indonesia from 8-10th December 1992. It is likely to take place on the premises of Indonesia's state-run aerospace industry, IPTN, in Bandung, West Java.

The companies slated to attend the seminar include GEC Avionics, Lucas, Dowty, Rolls Royce and British Aerospace, which hope to offer their technologies and 'good will' to Indonesia's military-based aerospace industry.

The armed forces are in the process of acquiring up to 44 Hawk fighter/trainer aircraft from British Aerospace. (Hawk trainer aircraft are easily convertible into fighter planes.) The deal would also involve a substantial element of British military and technical assistance and training, as agreed by the Ministry of Defence at Farnborough

airshow in September. An initial contract for 24 Hawks is expected to be signed in the very near future: its value is approximately \$258 million, many times Britain's annual aid contribution to Indonesia.

The aerospace symposium was announced back in March in 'The Engineer.' Numerous people wrote to the Society to object to the implicit - if not explicit - support it signalled to the Indonesian military regime. The Society emphasized that, contrary to 'The Engineer' report, the symposium was not an arms sales event, but an opportunity for a developing country 'to discuss the manufacturing processes and core technologies' used by Society members. TAPOL's request for further dialogue on the subject was curtly rejected. The Society has not - to our knowledge - publicly announced the dates of the symposium.

In the light of recent revelations about technology transfers from the UK to Iraq which are so much in the news, it is of immense concern that a similar process of promoting dual-purpose technologies to Indonesia is underwriting the drive for British technology exports to Indonesia.

A TAPOL spokesperson today said "This symposium contains some of the most essential features of Britain's policy on arms exports to Indonesia: a tight lip, a large purse, and a duplicitous commitment to the 'good' of a developing nation. Given the inhumane operations of the Indonesian armed forces not only in East Timor, but also against civilians in West Papua and Aceh, such features are repellent."

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### LONDON BENEFIT DINNER FOR EAST TIMOR

*From: Anna Laine, British Coalition for East Timor, 23 November 1992*

Note: This evening coincides with the weekend Conference on East Timor organised by the Catholic Institute for International Relations and the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor. All are welcome.

#### AN EVENING FOR EAST TIMOR

The British Coalition for East Timor presents

A Ten-Course Culinary Extravaganza with a special performance by The Tebe Tebe Theatre Group on Saturday 5 December 1992 at 7.30pm

The British Coalition for East Timor is a group of concerned individuals run on a voluntary basis. Money raised is used in two ways - to give direct support to the East Timorese community (Timor Relief Fund), and to encourage an effective understanding of their plight. Our aims are

the withdrawal of the Indonesian armed forces from East Timor and the full participation of East Timorese representatives in UN-sponsored peace talks. It is hoped the Evening for East Timor will help BCET in its work towards these aims.

### BRITISH COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR FUNDRAISING DINNER REPORT

*Dec. 10.*

A meal organised in London at the weekend to raise funds for the work of the British Coalition for East Timor (BCET), was a roaring success. Timed to coincide with the CIIR/IPJET conference on the legal aspects of the case for East Timor, over 200 friends and activists from East Timor, Portugal, Australia, Holland, Ireland and, of course, the UK attended (and a few more besides).

Peter Carey, a sponsor of BCET, introduced the evening. José Ramos Horta then gave a powerful speech updating everyone on the situation on East Timor, the arrest and treatment of Xanana, his family and friends. He made it clear that the struggle of the people of East Timor is still alive and vital despite the arrest. Both speakers celebrated seeing so many people together in the restaurant because of their commitment to the struggle in East Timor, showing clearly the great increase in public awareness and sympathy.

The delicious 10 course Chinese meal was followed by a performance by the Railakan Theatre Group. The Group was formed to mark the anniversary of the massacre in East Timor with a piece of street theatre first performed in Covent Garden. The evening was rounded off with raffle.

The evening was a success in all ways: in terms of money raised, raising awareness (many new friends came knowing little about the issue), forging stronger links with different solidarity groups and, not least, in having a great evening out. A much needed respite for the hard working East Timor activists.

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### CIIR/IPJET CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR, LONDON

*Announcement, 2 Dec. 1992.*

Indonesia's occupation of East Timor: legal questions

5-6 December 1992

The Law Society, 113 Chancery Lane, London WC2

#### SATURDAY 5 DECEMBER

Conference to be opened by Ian Linden, General Secretary of CIIR. Morning session

to be chaired by: Pedro Pinto Leite, Secretary-General, IPJET.

Session 1: 9.30-11.00 am

Paper 1: Prof. Roger Clark, of the Rutgers Law School, U.S.A. - Overview of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor in International Law

Discussants: Lauri Hannikainen, of the Academy of Finland, introducing the rules of jus cogens and the problem of East Timor

Session 2: 11.30 am-1.00 pm

Paper 2: Prof. Garth Nettheim, of the Univ. of New South Wales, Australia - Human Rights and East Timor International Law and International Politics. Paper presented by Michael Ellman (FIDH).

Discussant: Daniel Machover, solicitor in London, introducing the recent trials in East Timor and Jakarta and humanitarian law

Session 3: 2.00-3.30 pm Afternoon session to be chaired by: Prof. Paula Escarameia

Paper 3: Prof. Francois Rigaux, of the Univ. of Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium The similarities between the questions of East Timor and Western Sahara

Discussants: Susan Marks, of the Univ. of Cambridge, introducing comparison with Kuwait and other international questions ;

Shambhu Chopra, lawyer, president of the Indian Society of Human Rights, Allahabad, India, introducing a comparative analysis with the occupation of Tibet, Goa and Kashmir

Session 4: 4.00-5.30 pm

Paper 4: Prof. Roger Clark, of the Rutgers Law School, U.S.A. - The substantive issues of the East Timor case

Discussants: Gerry Simpson, of the Univ. of Melbourne, Australia, introducing the East Timor case and the jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice; Paulo Canelas de Castro and Ana Gomes from Portuguese Embassy, introducing the position of Portugal in the case; Peter Zoller, from Australian Embassy, introducing the position of Australia in the case;

Session 5: 6.00-7.00 pm

Paper 5: Iain Scobbie, of the Univ. of Dundee, Scotland - The procedural aspects of the East Timor case

Discussant: Christine Chinkin, of the Univ. of Sydney, Australia

## SUNDAY 6 DECEMBER

Session 1: 9.30-11.00 am

Chair: Professor Roger Clark

Paper 6: Prof. Paula Escarameia, of the Instituto Superior de Ciencias Sociais e Políticas in Lisbon - East Timor and the right to self-determination

Discussants: Bill Bowring, of the Polytechnic of East London, introducing

self-determination and the jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice; Sasha Stepan, attorney in Melbourne, Australia

Session 1: 11.30 am-1.00 pm

Chair: Ian Linden

Programme for action

Speakers: Pedro Pinto Leite (IPJET), Antonio Barbedo de Magalhães, (Porto University), Peter Carey (Oxford University), John Taylor (South Bank University, London), José Ramos Horta (Special Rep., Council of Resistance of Maubere People). Carmel Budiardjo (TAPOL)

TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE, CONTACT MARI KING AT CIIR, PHONE +4471-354 0883, FAX +4471-359 0017.

## LEGAL MINDS TACKLE TIMOR

According to a December 8 IPS story datelined London, a group of international legal experts are taking steps to try and break the "conspiracy of silence" surrounding the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and the brutal treatment of opponents of the occupying regime.

"Indonesia has wrongfully occupied East Timor for the last 17 years; the international community can not just continue to sit back," says Susan Marks, a lecturer in international law at Cambridge University.

Since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, tens of thousands of suspected freedom fighters have been rounded up and tortured or executed in the territory.

One, captured East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, was shown in a pre-recorded video on Portuguese television last week, apparently accepting the annexation of the former Portuguese colony by Indonesia and calling on his comrades to surrender.

The statement was dismissed by fellow rebels and the Portuguese authorities as being made under duress. "(Gusmão) did not have a lawyer or conditions to defend himself and he was certainly tortured or threatened," said Portuguese President Mario Soares.

But, apart from a few ripples of international indignation, the world has, for the most part, turned a blind eye to Indonesia's occupation, said delegates to last weekend's conference organized by the Catholic Institute of International Relations (CIIR) and the International Platform of Jurists (IPJET).

In the hopes of provoking an international reaction, the international jurists have fired off a letter to the United Nations, condemning Indonesia's treatment of the rebel leader and urging the release of Gusmão and other political prisoners.

Last year, world attention was momentarily focused on East Timor, when a British television crew filmed a massacre of scores of peaceful demonstrators in the East Timorese capital of Dili.

And East Timor may make legal history if Australia's current attempt to carve up the oil-rich sea bed around the island and share it out with Indonesia, under the Timor Gap Treaty, is rejected by the International Court of Justice.

But international lawyers attending the two-day conference said much more pressure needs to be piled on Indonesia which installed itself in East Timor as the Portuguese were handing over power to the island's citizens, and has since refused to budge.

"There is no question about the illegality of Indonesia's position," says Roger Clark, a law professor from Britain. He joined other legal experts in dismissing Indonesia's claim that the people of East Timor had voted to integrate with Indonesia.

The so-called People's Assembly that the Indonesians insist voted in favor of integration was described by lawyers as a "sham," he says. Voters were hand-picked by the Indonesian authorities and forced to vote in front of a handful of non-Portuguese speaking foreign observers.

"There should have been a plebiscite, ideally under U.N. supervision, not this hand-picked body of voters," said Marks.

The U.N. immediately responded to Indonesia's invasion with a toughly-worded resolution deploring its action. But lawyers said the tone of the resolution was not backed up by political will.

"The United Nations passed more resolutions in the first week of the Kuwaiti invasion than it has ever done for East Timor, and then it went on to pass another 20 (on Kuwait) in the next few weeks," said Marks.

But over the years, the international community has avoided upsetting Indonesia, close friend and trading partner to many nations worldwide, over the prickly issue of East Timor.

Now Portugal - as U.N. appointed authority in East Timor - has taken Australia to court, claiming that Australia's attempts to do business with Indonesia is in breach of international law.

"The international community certainly has no right to do what Australia has just done. Australia has, in a sense, just reinforced Indonesia's claims to East Timor," said Marks.

Lawyers at the conference this weekend said that Gusmão's case should also be used by the international community to apply pressure on Indonesia.

Gusmão, who leads the Fretilin guerrilla movement, is one of many suspected rebels illegally tried under Indonesian law, they said, adding that political prisoners should either be given a fair trial or immediately released.

*Copies of some of the papers given at the conference are available for copying costs from ETAN/US.*

## CIIR/IPJET CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR

### Indonesia's Occupation of East Timor: Legal Questions

A conference held by the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) and the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor (IPJET) on 5 & 6 December in London

### Letter sent to Secretary General of the United Nations

Lawyers from several countries attending the conference signed a letter to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations. They draw attention to the fact that Indonesia's treatment of East Timor and its people is in violation of non-derogable human rights which appear in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and which are part of customary international law.

The lawyers call for the immediate release of Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the Timorese Resistance, arrested by the Indonesian military on 20 November and since held incommunicado. The lawyers urge the UN to take all necessary measures to bring about the self-determination of the people of East Timor. They ask the UN to make it plain to Indonesia that its actions are in breach of its international obligations and that the individuals responsible for such actions have international criminal liability.

Complete text of the letter follows. For further information contact Catherine Scott or Angela Warren at CIIR. Tel 071 354 0883.

5 December 1992

Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali  
Secretary-General  
The United Nations  
New York

Your Excellency,

We have the honour to write you as lawyers, experts in international law, drawn from several countries of the world, who have gathered in London to examine the questions of law arising from Indonesia's continued occupation of East Timor, in defiance of the acknowledged right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.

We recall that there are certain non-derogable human rights which appear in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and are part of customary international law. Under international humanitarian law and under international human rights law, every East Timorese is entitled to due process and fair trial rights.

We have received reports concerning the arrest and detention of Xanana Gusmão on 20 November 1992 and of many other East Timorese both before and after his arrest, as detailed in Amnesty International's urgent actions nos. 366 and 367/92. The reports strongly suggest that Indonesia has violated the following rights:

1. The right not to be arrested under any legal provision introduced by Indonesia which does not comply with Articles 64 and 65 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, and not to be removed from the territory of East Timor. Indonesia's Anti-Subversion law under which, we understand, he is being held, is not essential to enable Indonesia to fulfill its obligations under the Convention.
2. The right to be promptly informed, in writing, in a language which he understands, of the particulars of the charges preferred against him.
3. The right
  - (a) not to be subjected to physical or moral coercion, in particular to obtain information from him or from third parties; and not to be subjected to any measure of such a character as to cause physical suffering, including torture and any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilian or military agents; and
  - (b) the concomitant right not to be compelled to testify against oneself or to confess guilt.

We are most perturbed that Mr. Gusmão has been presented on television, evidently speaking under duress. Moreover members of his family are being held hostage contrary to Article 34 of the Convention, and subjected to inhumane and degrading treatment.

4. The right to all necessary rights and means of defence, in particular:
  - (a) The right to present evidence necessary to his defence and call witnesses; and
  - (b) The right to be assisted by a qualified advocate or counsel of his own choice, who shall be able to visit him freely and shall enjoy the necessary facilities for preparing the defence.

Mr. Gusmão has been held incommunicado since his arrest.

Given the breaches of the above rights, we demand the immediate release of Mr. Gusmão and all other detained East Timorese. Such breaches make it impossible for any of the individuals detained to receive a fair trial. Therefore any such trials will be unlawful. We are confident that you will continue to urge the relevant organs of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to bring about the self-determination of the people of East Timor, and to ensure that, pending its withdrawal from that territory, Indonesia will abide by its obligations as a belligerent occupant.

We ask you to use your good offices to make it plain to Indonesia that these matters constitute grave breaches of Indonesia's international obligations, and that the individuals responsible for them have corresponding international criminal liability.

Yours respectfully,

Ian Linden, General Secretary, Catholic Institute for International Relations  
Pedro Pinto Leite, Secretary General, International Platform of Jurists for East Timor

Esvão Cabral, Chairman of British Coalition for East Timor

Rosemary White, University of Warwick  
Roger Clark, Rutgers University, School of Law

John Taylor, South Bank University  
Bill Bowring, University of East London  
Susan Marks, University of Cambridge  
Gerry Simpson, University of Melbourne  
Milly de Bruyn, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Netherlands

Alain Carrier, Universit Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

Christine Chinkin, University of Sydney, Australia

Shambhu Chopra, Indian Society for Human Rights, Allahabad, India

Michael Ellman, International Federation of Human Rights

Paula Escarameia, Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, Portugal  
Andy Fry, Jurist, London

Magda Gonzalez, FEDEFAM, Geneva, Switzerland

Lauri Hannikainen, University of Lapland, Finland

Daniel Machover, Solicitor, London  
Antonio Barbedo de Magalhães, University of Porto, Portugal

João Mascarenhas, Lawyer, Macau  
Ana Nunes, A Paz Possível em Timor-Leste, Lisbon, Portugal

Filomena Oliveira, Movimento Cristão para a Paz, Coimbra, Portugal  
José Manuel Pureza, Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal

Vanessa Ramos, Lawyer, New York  
Michel Robert, University of Paris I, France

Iain Scobbie, University of Dundee, Scotland  
 Gaspar Sobral da Costa, Student, Coimbra,  
 Portugal  
 Manuel Tilman, Lawyer, Macau  
 Maureen Davies, Carlton University, Ottawa,  
 Canada  
 Rui Gomes, Council of Europe, Strasbourg,  
 France

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### TRAMPLING THE FLAG: INVASION DEMO IN LONDON

East Timorese exiles living in England trampled on the Indonesian flag in a demonstration outside the Indonesian Embassy in London on Monday, Dec. 7. As they shouted for a free East Timor, they waved the flag of the Democratic Republic of East Timor at the embassy officials who peered through the Embassy net curtains.

Around 30 activists attended the demonstration to mark the day Indonesian troops invaded East Timor as well as to demand the immediate release of Xanana Gusmão and other East Timorese captured by Indonesia troops. José Amorim, the newly elected representative of the CNRM living in Holland, attended the demonstration with 3 other East Timorese and friends from Portugal, Australia and England.

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### EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

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#### OZ FM EVANS HOPES GUSMÃO VIDEO BEGINS RECONCILIATION

*Radio Australia 2 December 1992*

*Here speaks the man whose hands are soaked in the blood and oil of the East Timorese people. He doesn't pause to question the circumstances of the Xanana "statement." Senator Evans never fails to come up with the most despicable remarks, designed to please Jakarta.*

— TAPOL

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has said he hopes Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão's comments on the video broadcast on Indonesian television indicated the start of a "genuine process of reconciliation" between Indonesia and East Timor, Radio Australia reported.

"Senator Evans says he has long argued that it is an unrealistic objective for the East Timorese to sustain a military conflict with the Indonesian forces," the radio reported.

It said that in the video Gusmão told the governor of East Timor he now accepted that the former Portuguese colony now belonged to Indonesia. He also called on his

Fretilin comrades to leave the jungle and surrender.

"East Timor's representative at the UN José Ramos Horta says Gusmão could not have made the videotape statement freely and believes he may have been under the influence of drugs, or been tortured," the radio added.

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### NORTHERN TERRITORY COMMENTS ON EAST TIMOR

*December 3, 1992, SBS-TV News, Melbourne, John Masanauskas.*

*Unauthorized transcript from tonight's SBS-TV News (the Australian government funded ethnic broadcasting network). The following is as close as I could get to an accurate transcript of the report, although the verbal stumbling is a bit hard to convey in writing:*

Newsreader: A former Indonesian government minister says the East Timor issue is not crucial to better trade links between Indonesia and Australia, but Dr. Frans Seda, now a senior Suharto Government adviser, has welcomed the capture of Fretilin resistance leader Xanana Gusmão as a way of settling the long-running Timor issue.

Masanauskas: Since the capture of their leader by Indonesian forces last month, members of the East Timorese community haven't missed a chance to demand Xanana Gusmão's release. So a seminar promoting business links between Australia and Indonesia was a prime target for protest.

For some seminar participants, however, improved trade opportunities mean good news for East Timor.

Steve Hatton - Northern Territory Development Minister: It's important also I think if we're going to promote the, um, improved quality of life and, ah, etcetera people of East Timor that we support industry development, investment, job opportunities..

Masanauskas: Sponsored by the Northern Territory Government, the seminar focused on commercial agreement signed by Darwin [capital city of the Northern Territory] and Eastern Indonesia.

While Indonesia claims the Timor issue is not harming business, Xanana Gusmão's capture, and his apparent endorsement of the former colony's takeover, is seen as a big political breakthrough.

Dr. Frans Seda: If it will be, assist to a fast settlement, international political settlement of East Timor, there's no problem.

Masanauskas: For Gusmão's Melbourne-based son, however, his father's pro-

Indonesian comments during a television interview were made under duress, and even if they weren't, the struggle would continue.

Nito Gusmão: Doesn't matter what, ah, our leader said last night, but we still, we still don't want Indonesian, and we will keep on fighting.

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### LETTERS OF SUPPORT FOR XANANA GUSMÃO

*Comment: These are a few of the dozens of similar letters we have seen from East Timor supporters around the world. — Charlie Scheiner*

PO Box 257  
 Thirroul  
 NSW 2515  
 3 December 1992

The Ambassador  
 Republic of Indonesia  
 Canberra ACT 2600

Dear sir,

WITHOUT DURESS?

How strange!

The bird of freedom  
 sings a different song  
 from its cage.

But you cannot change the singing  
 of the wind  
 in the trees.

Or the singing of the people  
 in the streets.

Oh, Gusmão!

In brotherly solidarity,  
 Bruce Reyburn

Hon Gareth Evans MP  
 Minister for Foreign Affairs  
 Fax 06 2734112  
 Parliament House Canberra ACT 2600

Dear Mr. Evans,

Xanana Gusmão.

It is reported in the media that the London based Indonesian human rights group Tapol consider that the television appearance of Xanana Gusmão was made under extreme duress. This would be consistent with the brutal history which accompanied the rise of the present Indonesian elite.

While the Australian Government may recognise the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia over the lives of the people of East Timor, there is a larger responsibility which transcends the limitations of the recently invented notion of the nation-state.

The well-being of our neighbour's lives is intimately connected with the well-being of life at home. All life is related.

I believe we are failing in our global responsibility when we acquiesce from the challenge of letting others know that aspects of their behaviour are not acceptable. We deprive them of a form of feedback which is necessary for good management of life. We, ourselves, thereby contribute to present and future problems.

The Australian Government, in this case, must make it quite clear to the Indonesian authorities that any abuse of the human rights of Xanana Gusmão, and the peaceful people of East Timor, will cause further and long-lasting damage the Indonesian and Australian relationship.

It would be consistent with the stance taken by the Republic of Indonesia for Australia to support the call for Xanana Gusmão to repeat his statements on reconciliation, in person and without duress, to the United Nations in New York.

I urge you to act urgently on this matter.

Yours truly,  
Bruce Reyburn  
Lionel Murphy Scholar (1990)

### **VOICE OF TIMOR IS NOT EASILY SILENCED**

*Letter in THE AUSTRALIAN  
December 3, 1992, p. 10.*

It was reported in the news that after the interrogation by Indonesian forces of the captured East Timorese Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão, an Indonesian army general branded him a "street criminal."

The major governments – including Australia - of the world had little to say (or do) when Indonesia invaded and overwhelmed East Timor in 1975, an act much akin to the invasion of Poland by Nazi armies in World War II.

It appears that just because Gusmão did not weakly submit to the Indonesians, that he is to be treated as a common criminal, merely for fighting for what he and the East Timorese believed in, and regard as rightfully theirs.

The Indonesian general claimed that only Australia and Portugal opposed the takeover. In fact, Portugal and the United Nations opposed and refused to recognise the takeover. Australia voiced its objection later.

It appears that economic, diplomatic and political interests worldwide supersede the rights of the common people.

With the strong worldwide media interest in the subject, I note that President Suharto of Indonesia has largely declined, presumably through embarrassment, leaving it to his general, and even they have got it wrong!.

What right have these "gun jockeys" to make public comment, any how, on behalf of their government? I would suggest that in many Third World Countries, and dare I suggest first and second, that the generals are the "street criminals" legitimated by governments with dubious intentions, and by external pressure groups with vested interests.

In the world today with its immense economic and social problems, it is the people who must fight and take responsibility - like Gusmão - for reform. We cannot leave it to governments or their simple puppets, the generals. They are not capable!

The need for the public to take responsibility for their country exists even in Australia. Need more be said?.

IAN R. DOUGLAS  
Bateman, WA.

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### **EVANS: PORTUGUESE WEAPONS TO SLORC IN BURMA?**

According to a report by Radio Australia, the Foreign Minister Gareth Evans stated that Portugal may have sold weapons to the military regime in Burma. Evans noted in the same breath that Portugal had been expressing concerns about human rights abuses in East Timor.

– John

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### **AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE MINISTER TO SUE RAMOS HORTA?**

*Agence France Presse  
December 7, 1992*

Australia's Defence Minister Robert Ray said Monday that he is taking legal action over an Australian Broadcasting Corporation interview with an exiled spokesman for the East Timorese resistance, José Ramos Horta.

In the interview broadcast Monday, José Ramos Horta criticised Ray for allegedly accepting statements by the Indonesians that captured East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão had not been tortured.

Ray told the Senate last week that he had been advised by the Australian embassy in Jakarta that Gusmão had appeared in good health when seen on television.

Ramos Horta criticised Ray and other Australian political leaders over their attitude towards Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and massacre of thousands of East Timorese.

"Australia for the past 20 years has bent backwards to please the Indonesians, almost

like a little boy, always eager to please the bully," said Ramos Horta in the interview recorded in London and broadcast here.

He said Indonesia had paraded Gusmão on television as the Iraqis paraded allied airmen captured during the Gulf War and it was now the opinion of everyone that Gusmão was "subjected to horrendous forms of torture" and drugs.

In an interview broadcast by Indonesian television, Gusmão said he recognised Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor and urged his resistance colleagues to surrender.

A spokesman for Ray said the minister had advised the parliament that he was taking legal action against both Ramos Horta and the ABC.

Gusmão, 45, who since 1979 headed Fretilin's armed faction, was captured at his underground hideout on November 20 in Dili, the East Timorese capital.

The Indonesian Embassy in Canberra has said Gusmão's interview "showed that the allegation of possible torture of Gusmão during his detention was baseless and completely fabricated to arouse sympathy and to discredit the Indonesian government."

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### **AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE SUPPORTS TIMOR**

*ABC Radio, Tuesday, 8 December, 1992 - not verbatim.*

The Australian Parliament's Human Rights Committee has called for Australia to push Indonesia to resolve conflicts in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

The report from the bipartisan Committee says Australia should have been much stronger in its condemnation of the military massacre in East Timor last November.

The two-hundred page document also reports on criticism of human rights conditions in Bougainville, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, China and Tibet.

The Parliamentary committee called for the creation of a regional human rights forum covering north and south east Asia, the sub-continent, Australia New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. The first task of the forum would be to develop a suitable human rights charter for the region.

On Indonesia, the report urged the Australian Government to push for a United Nations initiative for consultations about the conflicts in East Timor, Irian Jaya, and Aceh.

The report said the Indonesian massacre in Dili on November 12 last year and what followed deserved much stronger condemnation from Australia. The committee said Australia had softened a strong resolution

on the massacre drafted by the European Community. This lessened Australia's credibility and would hurt future human rights responses.

## AUSTRALIAN HUMAN RIGHTS SHIP SINKING

According to a December 8 Reuter story datelined Sydney, Australia's muted response to the massacre of East Timorese by Indonesian troops last year damaged its credibility as a defender of human rights, a parliamentary committee said on Tuesday.

After a year-long inquiry following the November 1991 massacre in the Indonesian-ruled territory, the committee castigated Foreign Minister Gareth Evans for not being more vocal in condemning the killing.

"Given the situation in East Timor, its proximity to Australia... the scale of the massacre and the injustices done to the victims of that incident, it would seem the incident and its outcome deserved much stronger condemnation," it said in a report.

"By softening, as Australia did, the strongly worded resolution on the massacre which was drafted by the European Community, we have lessened our credibility."

Witnesses say up to 180 people were killed in the firing in the East Timor capital of Dili, while the government puts the toll at 50 dead and 66 missing.

The report was compiled by the all-party parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defence committee.

It urged the government to press for a United Nations' solution to separatist movements in the former Portuguese territory and in the Indonesian provinces of Aceh and Irian Jaya.

The committee criticised Indonesia's lenient treatment of soldiers involved in the massacre, who were jailed for up to 18 months. Timorese arrested after the massacre were sentenced to between a few years and life imprisonment.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year, a move not recognised by the United Nations.

Committee chairman Chris Schacht later criticised ASEAN, the Association of South East Asian Nations which groups Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Brunei. He said its refusal to comment on human rights abuses was in effect condoning them.

"Human rights are unequivocally an international issue. The practice of not commenting on human rights, as is ASEAN's policy, does not solve the problem," Schacht told a press lunch in Canberra.

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International said on Tuesday

there were several reports that Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, one of those arrested with Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão three weeks ago, had died under torture while in detention.

## OZ GOVT. HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT CONDEMNS OZ GOVT. REACTION TO DILI MASSACRE

*Comment: The report, tabled in the Senate today, is called "A Review of Australia's Efforts to Promote and Protect Human Rights," dated December 1992.*

*ABC-TV News, Dec. 8 1992, Canberra, Michael Maher.*

Studio Intro: A major parliamentary report on human rights claims that the Federal Government damaged its credibility by adopting a cautious approach to last year's killings at Dili. The bipartisan report argues that the scale of the massacre warranted a much stronger response.

Maher: The Federal Government did condemn the Dili massacre, but, according to Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, not stridently enough.

The report argues the incident and its outcome deserved much stronger condemnation. It claims that by adopting a softer approach we have lessened our credibility, and this, finally, is counter productive to any future human rights responses we make.

Committee chairman, Labor senator Chris Schacht was ill-disposed towards such tough criticism of the [Labor] Government, but relented for the sake of compromise.

Schacht: I believe that the Government could have been stronger, but that is a matter of degree which we will argue about endlessly uphill and down dale.

Maher: Amnesty International is less equivocal about Canberra's performance on East Timor:

Harris van Beek, A.I: Australia, after years of quiet diplomacy, has to accept that we need to find new ways that will be effective in stopping human rights violations.

Maher: The Government says its response to the Dili massacre was a balanced one, but the report does reinforce a view that Canberra is far more vocal on abuses in distant parts of the world than it is on incidents closer to home.

## INFIGHT CRITICISES MONASH SEMINAR

*Dec. 17, 1992*

*The following are extracts from a three-page Open Letter addressed by activists from Infight, the Indonesian Front for the Defense of Human Rights, to the Participants of the Democracy-in-Indonesia 1950/1992 Conference which is being held this month in Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. The extracts are taken from the English-language original:*

As far as we are concerned, any activity which involves discussion of Democracy in Indonesia is of great value.... Precisely because of this concern, it would appear rather unjust that those invited to attend this Conference have been drawn from the circle of observers/intellectuals only. Who are representing the aspirations of the little people?

Admittedly we are unsure of who exactly the participants in this Conference are. However, it is clear from the program we have received that close to 100% of discussants (particularly those from Indonesia) are observers/intellectuals. Not one practitioner whose daily work involves concrete action in the field has been invited, particularly in the role of discussant....

...in a scholarly program such as this there would be benefits in listening to the 'field perspective' of someone directly involved. In Indonesia, this practitioner/theoretician gap has in practice yet to be bridged.... In theoretical terms, it is only possible to talk about democratic social reform if there is an alliance and cooperation between a number of forces within society who share a common goal....

The problem is that since the appearance of the New Order there has been no significant alliance of opposition forces within society....

Indonesian intellectuals have failed to be outspoken in their criticism of the government's extra-judicial acts... at the time of the events of 1965 and after or during the Tanjung Priok, Talang Sari, Mysterious Killings, Aceh or East Timor incidents. For many years now, authoritarianism and militarism have elicited only a theoretical response from a handful of observers.

Following the Dili Incident of 12 November 1991, the government under pressure from the international community, formed a National Committee of Investigation to look into the events surrounding the Incident. Despite the fact that the credibility and independence of this Commission were highly doubtful, not one of Indonesia's thousands of intellectuals demanded that the government form a truly

independent body to look into the circumstances of the slaughter. Legally such a demand is perfectly justifiable.

[The Open Letter quotes at length from the statement released on Human Rights Day by Pramodya Ananta Toer. The full statement has been posted on [reg.indonesia](http://reg.indonesia).]

...To end our letter, we would like to suggest to the seminar participants that it will be so much better if such a conference is held not in Australia, Europe or the US but in Indonesia, by involving all parties with the same concern. More than that, we need concrete actions. Thank you and have a successful seminar.

The Open Letter is signed by S. Indro Tjahjono, Saleh Abdullah, Roem Topattimasang, Setya Dharma and Agus Edy Santoso.

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## MONASH CONFERENCE IGNORED IN AUSTRALIA

**Whither Indonesia - and do we care?**

**Is Indonesia moving towards democracy?  
We might never know...**

*Melbourne Age, 4 Jan 1993.*

*Comment: This is the title giving by the editors of The Age, an Australian Melbourne-based newspaper which publishes its Sunday issue as The Sunday Age. In today's issue, the commentator Richard Chauvel, refers to a three-day conference which analysed the emergence of democratic symptoms in Suharto's Indonesia in a bid to focus on what is the best way for the Australian intellectuals to deal with this issue at this stage. Richard Chauvel questions whether Australians really care about democracy in Indonesia. He judges this by the fact that although the conference was an important event because of the calibre of the participants, the Australian press did not really care about it - that is, it is not an issue, as far as media is concerned. - Mate-Bian News.*

It was perhaps symptomatic of the lack of maturity in the relationship between Australia and Indonesia that the Australian media simply ignored the most important gathering for years of analysts and commentators on Indonesia affairs. This week's three-day conference at Monash University - 'Democracy in Indonesia: the 1950s and 1990s' - got front page coverage in the Indonesian press. Australian universities area among the major centres in the world for the teaching about and study of Indonesia. The conference also attracted eminent scholars from Indonesia, Europe and the US. Central to the conference debate was the prospects of Indonesia becoming a democracy in the 1990s and what, if any,

lessons could be learnt from the failure of Indonesia's experiment with constitutional democracy in the late 1940s and 1950s. Few speakers were as confident as Ulf Sundhaussen, from the University of Queensland, who declared that the military-dominated Indonesian Government, like all military regimes, would soon end. Most participants agreed that the replacement of Indonesia's long-standing President, Suharto, and the future role of the armed forces will be crucial in any process of democratisation. As one forthright Indonesian participant argued: "The political system has become dependent upon the sole power position of President Suharto. Succession politics is not identical with democratisation. But at this point, with the President overstaying in power, is democratisation possible without dealing first with the problem of succession?" The difficulty of identifying sources of power outside the armed forces presents a problem for those looking to a democratic future in Indonesia. There was much discussion about the nation's growing middle class, born of the success of Suharto's economic development plans. But any observers saw the middle class as dependent on the Government and politically submissive.

Dr. Harold Crouch of the Australian National University, concluded that neither the social structure nor political culture of Indonesia generates strong pressure towards democratisation. The best prospect lay with the elite political level. "As long as the elite remains divided and their rivalries involve mobilising non-elite support, it is possible that the system will become more open and liberal," he said. But it remained to be seen how far the authoritarian foundations of the present system would be permanently undermined and a solid basis laid for democracy. One reason for the Indonesian Government determination to maintain firm control (and the willingness of the middle class to go along with it) is the spectre of a Pandora's Box. There is a long-standing fear in Indonesia that if the Government relaxes its authoritarian grip then ethnic, regional and religious tensions will destabilise the political system in precisely the same fashion as in the 1950s. This fear has been greatly strengthened by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and ethnic conflict in Yugoslavia. Indonesia has developed a highly centralised political and administrative system to govern one of the most heterogeneous populations in the world, yet, with its decentralisation policy the Suharto Government has recognised that development requires community participation and supervision. The questions remain: how far will the Government go towards acknowledging the

needs of the culturally and geographically heterogeneous nature of Indonesia before it feels that its control is threatened? The extreme manifestation of Indonesia's heterogeneous nature is the armed resistance to Jakarta in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh. American political scientist, Bill Liddle, told the conference: "One near-certainty is that East Timor would not long be part of a democratic Indonesia. An implication of democratisation is that the Government could be much more constrained in the use of the army against its own people than it has been during the New Order (Suharto) period." If the Timorese were successful, "the Free Papua Organisation (OPM) in Irian Jaya would certainly take heart and begin to mobilise openly, as would some Acehnese." Other observers were more skeptical, pointing to the example of democratic India's use of force against its rebellious provinces and ethnic groups. As well, there is the memory of the democratic Indonesian governments of the early 1950s not hesitating to use force to suppress challenges to their authority. Whether the scenarios discussed this week in Melbourne come to pass or not, we can be sure that Indonesia's development over the next decade will have great influence on our relations with our immediate neighbors. Continued growth in trade and investment will depend on how the transition to a more open Indonesian political system is managed. More complex and diverse pattern of interaction between the two societies would become possible with the emergence of a democratic Indonesia.

*(Richard Chauvel teaches at Victoria University of Technology) more "open and liberal,"*

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## EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

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### BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE PORTUGUESE TALKS POSITION

**REGARDING THE DETENTION BY  
THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES OF  
MR. XANANA GUSMÃO AND OTHER  
EAST TIMORESE**

*Portuguese Embassy, London 2 Dec. 1992*

Portugal supports a peaceful and negotiated solution for the East Timor problem, the only way forward and likely to spare the East Timorese people additional sacrifices. But Portugal respects fully all those who, subject to an illegal invasion and occupation, and whose fundamental rights

have been violated, have taken up arms in their defence. When captured, their human rights should be fully observed in accordance with the international humanitarian law applicable.

The Indonesian occupation of the East Timor is illegal because it violates blatantly the United Nations Charter (article 2, no.4) and resolutions adopted by the UN, not only by the General Assembly, but also by the Security Council (res. 384 and 389) which demand that Indonesia withdraw from the territory and respect the right to self determination of the East Timorese people.

East Timor is still, in the eyes of the United Nations, a non-autonomous territory. Indonesia is therefore also violating General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), which prohibits the acquisition of territory by force and resolution 3314 (XXIX) which prohibits the recourse to armed force to deprive populations of their rights to self-determination.

East Timor is an occupied territory over which Indonesia's jurisdiction should not be recognized, nor can its criminal law be applicable to an East Timorese. The description of the East Timorese leader as "subversive" or "terrorist" is therefore also unacceptable.

The occupying authorities, in denying the access of the International Red Cross to Mr. Xanana Gusmão and to other East Timorese arrested, are violating the terms of the 4th Geneva Convention (1949), which the International Committee of the Red Cross itself considers applicable to East Timor. The regime of incommunicability under which Mr. Xanana Gusmão has been kept is a particularly serious violation of the above-mentioned Convention, to which Indonesia is legally bound.

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### PORTUGAL CONDEMNS INDONESIA

According to a December 4 IPS story datelined Lisbon, the Indonesian government has been accused of torture and gross misrepresentation in its release of a televised interview of captured Timorese guerrilla leader José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão.

Portuguese television channels yesterday transmitted a film supplied by the high command of the Indonesian army in which Xanana Gusmão appeared visibly dejected, asking for pardon and showing himself to be "repentant" for having resisted Jakarta for 17 years.

"I have reached the conclusion that integration with Indonesia to achieve social progress for the Timorese is a great objective. The truth is that Timor belongs to

Indonesia," explained Xanana Gusmão during the course of a breakfast with Abilio Soares, the governor of the island, and a former sergeant in the Portuguese colonial army.

According to the governor, "The military asked me for authorization to film this conversation with Xanana" in which the guerrilla leader called on combatants in the jungle "to surrender to the military authorities of the nearest detachment."

Xanana Gusmão also advised those expatriate independence-seeking groups and individuals "not to be carried away by Portugal, which has done nothing for Timor in 17 years."

Furthermore, he criticized José Ramos-Horta because "he has always worked more for himself than for the party."

Deeming Indonesia "one of the worst dictatorships in the world," Portuguese President Mario Soares declared that: "Xanana had been tortured, his life was threatened, he did not have a lawyer, nor was he in any condition to defend himself."

The Portuguese president also believed that systematic pressure by the international community would be necessary to make Indonesia respect the human rights of Xanana Gusmão, his family and all captured independence seeking individuals.

Spokesperson for the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, Leonor Ribeiro da Silva, said that his government had appealed to the United Nations, to the international community, "and in a very special way to the Red Cross, to put an end to the violation of the most elementary human rights" in Indonesia.

"Everything indicates he (Gusmão) is the object of pressures and threats against himself, his family and his companions in the struggle."

The television broadcast was assessed at length during a roundtable discussion held here involving politicians, doctors and psychologists. The group concluded that the guerrilla leader had been tortured by the Indonesian army's secret police which had resulted in "a clumsy film."

The doctors and psychologists also concluded that Xanana Gusmão had been drugged and Jakarta "to bring Xanana to the United Nations in New York so he can repeat what he said.

Former governor of the island Mario Carrascalão, who supported Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, said he did not know whether Xanana Gusmão had "repented" or not, "but I cannot believe he made these declarations of his own accord."

Analyst Jeronimo Pimentel drew a parallel with the messages of "repentance" from U.S., British and Italian pilots captured by the Saddam Hussein regime during the Gulf

war of January 1991, and broadcast over Iraqi television.

"The broadcast clumsily sought to show an atmosphere of cordiality between the prisoner and Governor Soares. There was no lack of coffee and plates with cakes, but this time it was Xanana who called on his companions to surrender," said Pimentel.

Another analyst, Adelino Gomez maintained that "Xanana had been transformed into a human rag for the glory of the Indonesian dictatorship and to the shame of the civilized world."

Amnesty International's Geoffrey Robinson noted that Xanana's statements were made "in custody" and in a place where "there were only Indonesian soldiers, who forced him to speak under threats."

Symbols of the anti-Indonesian independence movements making up the NRC, Xanana Gusmão and Ramos-Horta are the only figures who enjoy complete support from the most conservative sector to the most Marxist in East Timor.

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### PORTUGAL DISMISSES TVRI PSYWAR

According to a December 2 Reuter story by Natasha Brown datelined Lisbon, Portugal on Wednesday dismissed a televised statement by captured East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão renouncing his 17-year struggle for independence, saying he was speaking under duress.

A television film of Gusmão accepting the incorporation of the former Portuguese colony into Indonesia and calling on his guerrilla comrades to surrender was shown on Portuguese television on Tuesday night.

"(Xanana) did not have a lawyer or conditions to defend himself and he was certainly tortured and threatened," President Mario Soares said after seeing the film, released by the Indonesian Defence Ministry.

"(His declarations) had nothing to do with the will and determination of the East Timorese people who want self determination and independence," Soares said.

The Foreign Ministry said Xanana's declarations, made in Portuguese in a televised conversation with the Indonesian governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares, were inconsistent with his long struggle for independence.

"Everything seems to indicate that he has been subjected to threats and pressures," a Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said.

The Lisbon newspaper *Publico* and commentators on state television compared Xanana's statements with those made by U.S. and British soldiers captured by Iraq during the Gulf War.

"The strategy has nothing new," *Publico* said.

Xanana said in the statement he regretted his struggle.

He apologised for the events of November 12, 1991, when Indonesian troops fired on a pro-independence demonstration at a cemetery in Dili, killing 180 according to eyewitnesses.

Indonesia, which also showed the conversation on state television on Tuesday night, said 50 were killed.

"I regret having given orders for the demonstration of November 12 (1991). I did not expect it to end in tragedy as it did. I take this opportunity to apologise to the families of all the victims, and also to the troops present there," Xanana said, his eyes downcast.

"I also take this opportunity to call on all those still in the bush ... and on the leaders of clandestine organisations, to reconsider and ... to give themselves up to the nearest military authorities, so that we may seek the best way of building the new Timor within the Indonesian nation," Xanana added.

José Ramos Horta, the official spokesman abroad for the Falantil guerrillas, said Xanana had obviously been subjected to psychological and physical torture and his statements had no credibility whatsoever.

He was unshaven and looked pale during the 10-minute film.

Abilio Soares said in Jakarta in an interview with Portugal's private TSF radio that Xanana had spoken of his own free will and was being treated well.

Falantil (Armed Forces for the Liberation of East Timor) is the official name of the guerrilla movement opposing Indonesian rule.

It includes members of Fretilin (Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor), the left-wing party which briefly ruled the territory before Indonesia's invasions, members of other nationalist groups and independents like Xanana himself.

Xanana abandoned Fretilin in December 1988 after differences with the movement's overseas representatives.

## ROBERT WYATT SPEAKS ABOUT EAST TIMOR

On the 1st December, Robert Wyatt (ex-Soft Machine drum player) gave an interview to a Portuguese musical newspaper called "Blitz" where one of the main issues was East Timor. One of the things he declared was that, in 1985, he taped one of the first songs that spoke about the East Timor invasion and violations. The title of the song is "East Timor." He told the journalist that he got acquainted with the problem some

months earlier in a book (he didn't refer what was the book or the author's name; the only reference he gave was that the author had previously written a book called *The Washington Connection and the Third World Fascism* and was "one of the most important Russian dissidents of our days").

He added that he heard about the East Timor Peace Mission ("...the boat that tried to go to East-Timor but was blocked by the Indonesian army...") and he also said that he saw some images of the Max Stahl's video about the Santa Cruz massacre.

He finished saying that with the video "the governments had to admit that a massacre occurred and should be considered as just one more in the genocide that has been going on."

### Comment from Loren Rytter:

*The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* is a book by Noam Chomsky, the first volume of *The Political Economy of Human Rights*. Chomsky is hardly a "Russian dissident," although he's been called worse.

## EX-GUERRILLA GREGORIO WHO "SURRENDERED" LIKE XANANA

*Publico 10 Dec. 92. By Antonio Marujo*

*Original language: Portuguese; unabridged*

(Lisbon) Gregorio Henriques, 53, has a story to tell similar to that of Xanana Gusmão: when the Indonesians captured him in 1978 he was fighting against the occupiers of Timor. He was obliged to 'go over to the other side.' The soldiers who captured him took him to combat zones and forced him to shout over to his ex-brothers-in-arms of Falantil to give themselves up. But Gregorio Henriques tricked them: at that time, the Indonesians did not yet know Tetum and he in fact was able to tell the guerrillas to carry on fighting.

Because of his background, and that of hundreds of Timorese like him, Gregorio Henriques has a very personal interpretation of Xanana's statements that he has gone over to the Indonesians' side: "It must be so as to not endanger his relatives and friends, arrested at the same time as him, and to not put the resistance and his own life at risk." Doesn't this latter attitude reflect a certain egoism? "To resist, you have to be alive. If he died, he would not be able to fight on."

Donaciano Gomes, 23, who was a member of the Peace Mission in Timor, was also not concerned by the latest news from the territory. "The person they captured was José Alexandre Gusmão (the Timorese leader's real name), not Xanana. Xanana is

already in the soul, the body and the spirit of the Timorese people."

The very latest contacts with the interior of the territory confirm the convictions of those living in exile: "They told us that even with Xanana captured, the people will continue to fight."

On last Tuesday's public holiday, a group of Timorese - who recently organized a street theatre in Rua Augusta in Lisbon to perform a representation of the Santa Cruz massacre - decided to get together to, besides socializing, talk informally about the recent events in Timor.

Two videos set the scene for the discussion. The first, which had been shown on RTP, described the preparations in Timor for the visit of the Portuguese politicians which in the end did not come about. The second juxtaposed Xanana's last statements to RTP - "My country or death, to resist is to win" - with the images that Indonesia presented as being the guerrilla leader's capitulation.

The atmosphere, at first relaxed, became emotionally heavier as the images rolled by. Many of the faces were known by Constancio Pinto, 29, who arrived in Portugal last November 11th and who, in Timor, was secretary to the executive committee of the Frente Clandestina [Underground Network]. As such, he was one of the people responsible for the demonstration which preceded last year's massacre and was occasionally in contact with Xanana Gusmão.

One of the young women present could not contain the tears: "It's the young people who are in the front line." It's the youngest people who are still dying and those exiled in Portugal asked: "What can we do here that will mean anything to the people in Timor?"

Responses to the question were various, but two won the day: the setting up of the street theatre and taking it on tour (Leiria [a city at the north of Lisbon] is a possibility). But it is also important to make the authorities aware of the Timorese people's feelings, that they have not given up just because Xanana Gusmão has been imprisoned: a group will write a letter to be delivered to the foreign Minister (Durão Barroso) before his meeting with Ali Alatas on December 17th in New York.

While the flame is still burning here, CM Radio yesterday announced the visit of Red Cross International representative Pierre Pont to East Timor, beginning today (10 Dec. 92) and for an 'indefinite period,' according to Lopes da Cruz, assistant to the Indonesian President, in a statement to TSF.

At the same time, the Indonesian agency Antara, quoting the military commander of East Timor, General Theo Syafei, an-

nounced the imprisonment of more than a thousand members of the Timorese resistance, "belonging to clandestine groups." It would be the second wave of arrests following Xanana's imprisonment, after the two hundred or so referred to a couple of days ago by the same Indonesian authorities. A phenomenon of multiplying guerrillas if we take into account that for 17 years, Indonesia claimed the existence of no more than 150 or 200 guerrillas.

### PORTUGUESE SURVEY: 'XANANA IS NOT A TRAITOR'

*Expresso, 24 December 1992.*

*Original language Portuguese.*

(Lisbon) Most Portuguese believe that Xanana Gusmão "should not be considered a traitor to the Timor cause," in spite of his statements, made in prison, in support of Indonesia and his appeal for an end to the Resistance's struggle. In fact, over three-quarters of the electorate (76%) say that there has been no betrayal by Xanana, while 12% believe that "he should be considered a traitor," and another 12% do not know, according to a December survey of the *Expresso/Euroexpansion* Panel.

Xanana's attitude, apparently propaganda for Indonesia, is judged more critically by those living in Greater Porto (14% consider him a "traitor") than those in Greater Lisbon (only 9%). Also, PS [Socialist Party] (18%) and CDU [a communist coalition] (14%) voters came down harder on Xanana's behaviour than PSD [Social-Democratic Party] voters (10%). It should be remembered that the attitude of some Resistance leaders was radically opposed to the former Falantil leader, and Mari Alkatiri, in charge of external relations, even said that Xanana "should have saved the last bullet in his gun for himself."

Xanana Gusmão's capitulation is seen far more benevolently by the Portuguese, who say that his statements were more likely the result of "he himself or his family being tortured" (65%) than any lack of convictions or "having abandoned the fight" (6%).

Over 21% believe that both reasons (torture and abandonment of the fight) were behind the guerrilla's complete change of attitude.

Interestingly, and revealing of the sympathy which Xanana has earned himself among the Portuguese, is the fact that, in spite of everything, the majority (42%) say that "Xanana should resume leadership of the Resistance in Timor, if he were released," while 39% say "he should be removed." (The other 19% had no opinion on the matter.)

## EVENTS IN CANADA

### LOBBYING REPORT FROM OTTAWA

*East Timor Alert Network/Canada  
Dec. 4 1992*

ETAN and Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor sent out a joint appeal on 25 November, calling for the immediate and unconditional release of Xanana Gusmão. Supporters were asked to write to Canadian, Indonesian and UN officials making five points:

1. press for Xanana's immediate release
2. ensure that Xanana is afforded the minimum protection provided under relevant UN conventions
3. The ICRC should be granted immediate access
4. a lawyer of Xanana's choice should be present while he is being questioned, as provided under Indonesian law.
5. ensure that Xanana will be able to take part in consultations about East Timor at the UN

#### Canadian House of Commons Debates, Nov. 27

*Statement by Mrs. Beryl Gaffney (Liberal human rights critic, MP for Nepean)*

Madam Speaker, a week ago today the Indonesian news agency Antara reported that Xanana Gusmão was arrested by military forces in Dili, East Timor. He is the leader of East Timor's independence movement and a key player in the negotiations currently under way under the auspices of the United Nations regarding the future of East Timor.

Xanana is currently being held incommunicado in detention and there are fears that he may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment by the Indonesian security forces. They have admitted that Xanana is "undergoing intensive questioning" and have rejected calls for the Red Cross to be allowed to visit him.

The Canadian government should take steps to ensure that Xanana Gusmão is released immediately; that he is afforded the minimum protection provided under the relevant UN conventions; that his lawyer is allowed to be present at all times during questioning; and that he is able to participate in the talks about the future of East Timor with the UN.

As I outlined in a speech at the UN last year -

Madam Deputy Speaker: I am sorry but your time has expired.

#### Summary of comments from Michael Tessier, external affairs desk officer for Indonesia, 2 December:

"Canada supports the ICRC in its attempts to seek access to Mr. Gusmão. Representations were made in Canada through the Indonesian embassy in Ottawa and through the Canadian embassy in Indonesia. Canada has encouraged the Indonesian authorities to maintain humanitarian conditions in regard to Mr. Gusmão's detention. Canada has also urged the Indonesian authorities to conform with internationally accepted standards in dealing with this issue. Not later than this morning, the Minister received a telex from the Canadian embassy in Jakarta informing us that Mr. Gusmão was interviewed on Indonesian national television and he looks well."

### NEWS CONFERENCE, OTTAWA

DECEMBER 7, 1992

SEVENTEEN YEARS SINCE THE  
INVASION OF EAST TIMOR

NEWS CONFERENCE, PARLIAMENT  
HILL, OTTAWA ONT.

ROOM 1305, CENTRE BLOCK

1:30 PM

With:

Barnabé Barreto Soares, representative to Canada for the National Council of Maubere Resistance

Beryl Gaffney MP (Liberal-Nepean)

Bill Blaikie MP (NDP-Winnipeg North)

David Kilgour MP (Liberal-Edmonton South)

Presented by the East Timor Alert Network/Ottawa.

### ETAN/CANADA ALERT: ARREST OF XANANA GUSMÃO

December 7, 1992 - On the 17th anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, Indonesian military forces continue to hold in incommunicado detention Mr. Xanana Gusmão, leader of the East Timorese resistance movement CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance). Xanana has almost certainly been tortured and drugged by his captors since being moved to the headquarters of the Eastern Indonesia military command in Bali. Additionally, at least 20 family members and close associates have been arrested by Indonesian soldiers.

On Dec. 2, Indonesian television broadcast what purported to be film of Xanana calling on resistance forces to surrender and apologizing for the Santa Cruz massacre on Nov. 12, 1991 (in which Indonesian soldiers gunned down over 200 unarmed women, men and children at a funeral procession). The broadcast amounted to the opening shot in a campaign of psychological warfare against the East Timorese people, which has expanded to include new arrests in Dili and fabricated reports of "surrenders."

Xanana's voice was unclear and slurred. His speech was translated into Bahasa Indonesian by a voice-over by East Timor puppet governor Abilio Osorio Soares, making it doubly dubious. His left arm was motionless throughout, clear evidence of torture (despite a statement by the Canadian embassy in Indonesia that he "appeared well"). It is clear to any informed viewer that Xanana, if in fact he spoke the words attributed to him, spoke under compulsion, and possibly under the influence of drugs. His mannerisms and delivery recalled the statements of British and American pilots captured by Saddam Hussein in the days leading up to the Gulf war. They certainly evoked none of the style on camera of Xanana in previous film smuggled out of East Timor by Australian and Japanese video crews. Even former East Timor puppet governor Mario Viegas Carrascalão (now resident in Jakarta, Indonesia) called the truth of the "statement" by Xanana "doubtful."

Amnesty International reports that "according to unnamed sources within the police headquarters, he has been beaten and tortured with electrical shocks and subjected to severe psychological pressure while under interrogation. He is said to be in a poor emotional state, speaking in broken sentences and experiencing serious lapses of concentration."

The Red Cross, Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, and Amnesty International have all been denied access to Xanana. He is apparently to be put on trial under Indonesia's sweeping anti-subversion law, although he is not an Indonesian citizen. (Four non-violent independence campaigners were sentenced to jail terms ranging from ten years to life imprisonment earlier this year; Xanana's sentence would almost certainly be death.)

Meanwhile, at least 20 of Xanana's family and friends, ranging in age from 17 to 74, have been arrested since his capture on Nov. 20. One of them, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, has already died as a result of torture. At least two of the women arrested have been raped in front of their families. Many members of the Organization of East Timorese Youth (OJETIL) and others have

been arrested or "disappeared" in the past two weeks.

President Mitterand of France, President Soares of Portugal, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Nobel Peace Prize winner Rigoberta Menchu and many other international figures have called for the release of Xanana. UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros- Ghali is prepared to work for his release and participation in peace talks on East Timor at the UN, which open this month in New York. What is lacking is pressure from Indonesia's major Western supporters – Canada, the United States, Australia, Britain and Japan.

We appeal, once again, for letters calling for Xanana's release and an end to the new campaign of terror against the people of East Timor. Letters need not be long – any expression of concern will go a long way towards putting pressure on our government.

Please write or fax:

- (1) Barbara McDougall, Minister of External Affairs  
House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6 (postage free)  
Fax (613) 996-3443
- (2) Indonesian Embassy  
287 McLaaren St., Ottawa Ont., K2P 0L  
Fax (613) 563-2858
- or Indonesian Consulate  
425 University Ave., Toronto Ont., M5G 1T6  
Fax (416) 591-6613
- (3) Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary General  
United Nations Plaza, New York NY, USA 10017  
Fax (212) 963-4879
- (4) Please send copies to the East Timor Alert Network  
PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto Ont., M5S 2T1  
Fax (416) 531-5850

ETAN will forward copies to the Legal Aid Institute in Indonesia and to the human rights critics of the opposition parties in Ottawa, Beryl Gaffney and Svend Robinson.

### ETAN/CANADA XANANA UPDATE

*December 8, 1992, From East Timor Alert Network/Canada*

On Dec. 6, the International Committee of the Red Cross was finally allowed to see Xanana, who has been moved to Jakarta.

"Yes, I can confirm it that we had a meeting this morning here, in Jakarta," the chief International Committee of the Red

Cross (ICRC) delegate to Indonesia, Pierre Herman Pont, told Agence France Presse, adding "You can assume that this person is alive, that he is not missing, that he has not disappeared."

The ICRC delegate also said he had given the Indonesian authorities a first account of the visit, with remarks and suggestions, but that a complete report would only be handed over to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

This visit is a positive sign and proof that the international campaign for Xanana is starting to have an affect. It is far from being enough, however.

The tendency of western government representatives is to accept the Red Cross visit as evidence that Xanana is fine and leave it at that. It does not address the issue of torture – remember the Red Cross saw Xanana more than two week after his capture, and a week after he was videotaped by Indonesian television – the death of Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, or the torture of others arrested since Nov. 20. And it cannot be allowed to excuse the arrests of hundreds more young Timorese, which the Indonesian press has mis-reported as "surrenders." It only re-emphasis the importance of keeping up the pressure on our government officials for freedom for Xanana and all Timorese prisoners.

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### XANANA CAMPAIGN IN CANADIAN PRESS

*Ottawa Citizen, 8 December 1992*

*Comment: edited version of a much longer article submitted by Citizen foreign affairs writer Louise Crosby.*

Canada supporters of East Timor independence are asking Canada to press the Indonesian government for the release of resistance leader Xanana Gusmão.

Gusmão, leader of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, was arrested by Indonesian troops in the East Timor capital on November 20. He is being held incommunicado, and there are fears he may be tortured.

"For us, Xanana is a symbol of unity, the flame that keeps the nation alive. It is devastating that he has been captured but it doesn't mean the resistance is over," Barnabe Soares, an East Timorese living in Canada, said Monday.

East Timor, the eastern portion of the island of Timor, was ruled by the Portuguese from 1512 to 1974. On Dec. 7, 1975, just nine days after declaring independence from Portugal, it was invaded by Indonesia.

Since then, the Indonesian military has terrorized the East Timorese.

Roughly 200,000 Timorese – one-third of the 1975 population – have died from violence, famine or disease.

## INDONESIAN PROPAGANDA TO CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARIAN

*The following was received by a Canadian Member of Parliament (Beryl Gaffney, MP) (member of PET) on December 14, 1992, and is provided by ETAN/Canada. To date, she is the only Canadian MP to have made a statement in the House of Commons regarding the arrest of Xanana Gusmão. The first article deals with the following: International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) Delegation Visited Xanana Gusmão's Sister and brother-in-law in East Timor on Friday, 11 December 1992.*

The Government once again allowed representative from the the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit Armandina and Gilman Aposto the Sister and brother-in-law of the Arrested Leader of the Fretilin Rebel Movement, José Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmão in Dili on Friday (Dec.11).

ICRC representatives Pierre Pont, Francisco Autero and Aluis Caturioner were allowed to meet the 34 year old Armandina and 38 year old Aposto at the Military detention Center, which is not far from Armandina's home in Dili on Friday morning.

Last week The ICRC representatives were also granted access to Xanana who is being detained at the national police headquarters in Jakarta. Pierre Pont said after the one hour meeting with Xanana's sister and brother-in-law that the Indonesian Military has treated Xanana's relatives humanely.

Pont said that Armandina and her husband Aposto were in good condition and there was no indication they were being treated badly by the military.

Pont said the ICRC representatives were in East Timor to visit people detained in connection with the arrest of Xanana on Nov. 20. Pont said they would visit people detained in Dili as well as those held in 18 other regencies.

Pont said they were not trying to intervene in Indonesia's internal affairs, but were carrying out their humanitarian duty as authorized by mandate of the International Committee for the Red Cross in Geneva.

According to Pont, their visit to Jakarta and East Timor were arranged by the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas and ICRC in Geneva. Earlier, United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali asked Jakarta to allow ICRC officials to visit Xanana. (The Jakarta Post)

*Did I mention earlier that Ms. Gaffney received these three pieces of propaganda from the Indonesian Embassy based here in Ottawa??*

## The Establishment of an Independent National Human Rights Commission

Indonesia will establish an independent national commission to promote human rights, minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas said.

Minister Ali Alatas said on Friday (December 11) that the Commission would have a greater task than just reacting to Western criticism of human rights conditions in Indonesia. "The Commission will carry a lot of weight" he said.

He did not say when the Commission would be set up, but said the ministry would first hold a seminar on human rights involving experts from other Asian countries. "We'll see how it develops from there," Minister Ali Alatas said.

Minister Ali Alatas expects the recommendations from the seminar will lead to the establishment of the Commission.

Minister Ali Alatas said the commission would be independent, unlike the present interdepartmental team on human rights.

Minister Ali Alatas said that the concept of human rights as agreed upon at the Non-Aligned Movement summit addressed the issue in a more balanced perspective.

"The fact that the implementation of human rights must take into account some national characteristics does not diminish its universality," Minister Ali Alatas said.

In his view, it is western countries which put too much emphasis on certain aspects of human rights such as the right of the individual as well as civil and political rights. He said certain western countries ignored other aspects of human rights such as the right to development, the right of the community and cultural rights, thereby violating the principle of indivisibility of human rights.

According to Minister Ali Alatas, the concepts of indivisibility and non-selectivity in addressing human rights issues were not "Indonesian Invention," but internationally agreed principles. (The Jakarta Post).

*The third article was entitled "Captured Former Fretilin Leader Xanana Gusmão Interviewed by Juan Gabriel Duarte of Portuguese Television in Jakarta" (see above)*

## INDONESIAN AND PORTUGUESE MINISTERS MEET AT UN

### INDONESIA AWAITS NEW IDEAS FROM PORTUGAL

*Jakarta Post, 1 December 1992. Abridged*

The outcome of this month's talks on East Timor between Indonesia and Portugal will depend on the latter's ability to come up with new ideas, says Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. He said, Indonesia's position has not changed.

He said Indonesia does not want to reopen discussions on matters such as self-determination for East Timor, a subject Indonesia considers to be settled. He would attend the meeting as a listener because Portugal has twice cancelled the meeting at the last moment.

He did not think Xanana Gusmão's capture would affect the talks in any way. He sees no reason for Portugal to ask for Xanana's extradition "because this is our domestic affair."

He said last month the fact the talks involve only Indonesia and Portugal and not a "representative" of the East Timor people, as earlier demanded by Portugal, represents a victory for Indonesia.

### COMMENT FROM JOHN MACDOUGALL, DECEMBER 8.

Alatas' standard line on the December talks does not mean they have already failed though the odds seem to favor that. He attempts to place the onus for "progress" on Portugal. While Portugal does indeed bear an important burden it has often in the past been unable or unwilling to carry, the real prospect for a breakthrough rests with UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali. It has he who has stirred hopes by an overall more interventionist stance by the UN in crisis spots around the world. It is he who has had made two new assistants mainly responsible for dealing with the East Timor problem. It is he who was written to President Suharto seeking Xanana's release (and who knows what else). It is he who has pushed for some form of East Timorese participation in the talks. And Alatas does not mention him at all. Why? He knows he is not dealing with an uninterested do-nothing Perez de Cuellar bureaucrat but rather an engaged man pledged not to seek a second term so he can feel free to take on the world's governments if need be. In this context, Alatas' willingness to "listen" may in due course acquire a meaning even he cannot anticipate.

– John

## NEW PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER TALKS ABOUT NEXT MEETING WITH ALATAS

*Publico 10 December 1992. Original language: Portuguese, unabridged.*

(Lisbon) Durão Barroso, the new Portuguese Foreign Minister, addressing a meeting of CEAST (the parliamentarian commission set up to accompany the situation in East Timor), was unable to conceal his concern over the awkward situation the recent film of Xanana's Gusmão's capitulation has put him in before his forthcoming head-to-head debut with Ali Alatas, but he declared that he was prepared to fully exploit the lack of credibility of the film. In the meeting, Durão Barroso referred to various editorials in important European and North American newspapers which have cast suspicion on the film shown by the Indonesians. These will be one of the weapons he takes to the U.N. But the main weapon seems to be the involvement of the U.N. Secretary General in the East Timor affair. This point was in fact highlighted by the minister when he stated after the meeting that the East Timor question: "is not a bilateral question, and the talks in New York will not be two-way but three-way talks." Words which pick up where his predecessor left off, and the position he will defend in New York will similarly be no more than a re-affirmation of the one insistently held by Portugal throughout the negotiating process.

For Portugal, it is as if this new round of talks constitutes an effort to prevent the latest events from in any way strengthening Indonesia's position; rather the opposite, if possible. Durão has said in Parliament: "We are not thinking of achieving any success in the short term."

The fact that the round of talks of December 19th is going ahead as planned is seen as a positive thing, especially with confidence high about the involvement of the Secretary General. Portugal does not, however, expect miracles from other quarters. Questioned by the PS deputy, Eduardo Pereira, about whether the forthcoming Edinburgh summit should discuss the latest developments in East Timor, Durão Barroso explained that as Timor is not on the agenda, references to it should not be expected. And he did not hide the fact that some of Portugal's principal EC partners have important commercial links with Indonesia and are even putting pressure on Portugal to ease commercial agreements with ASEAN, which the minister guaranteed will not happen.

On the question of Xanana Gusmão, Durão Barroso remained cautious due to the scarcity of information about his situation and real intentions. He stated that the Foreign Ministry is studying the question of Xanana's nationality but that the scarcity of reliable information is such that it is not known whether the leader of the resistance will claim Portuguese nationality or not.

## INDONESIA'S TALKS POSITION DEPENDS ON U.S.

*Article by Matthew Jardine, ETAN/Los Angeles*

*December 17, 1992*

Today's opening of United Nations-sponsored negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal on East Timor's future comes at a pivotal time, a time marked by brutal repression and growing world interest in the former Portuguese colony. Within a context of increased international pressure on Jakarta, progress might be achieved in the current negotiations. The outcome, however, will depend significantly on the course of action of Indonesia's powerful patrons, especially the United States.

The Indonesian military's recent capture of Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the East Timorese pro-independence army (Falantil) and the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), has refocused world attention on Indonesia's occupation. Gusmão's arrest has also given Indonesia an opportunity to further crack down on those who resist its colonial occupation.

Fearing that an independent country on its border would destabilize the ethnically heterogeneous archipelago, Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975. Human rights monitors estimate that roughly 200,000 East Timorese - about one third of the pre-invasion population - have died as a direct result of the invasion and the ongoing occupation. The Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991, in which the Indonesian military killed over 200 peaceful demonstrators at a cemetery, has forced Western governments to pay more attention to East Timor.

Despite numerous United Nations' resolutions demanding an Indonesian withdrawal and an internationally-supervised act of self-determination, the West has not condemned Indonesia - due to its economic and geopolitical importance. While paying lip service to human rights and the right of self-determination, a series of US administrations has facilitated Jakarta's brutal annexation of East Timor.

For the last seventeen years, the Indonesian military has sought to capture Gusmão; on November 20th they succeeded

when they found him in a safe house in Dili, the East Timorese capital. The Indonesian government has tried to score points on the domestic and international public relations fronts by using Gusmão's capture to illustrate the end of East Timorese resistance - going so far as to televise an "interview" in which Xanana renounced the armed struggle and accepted the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia. Many fear that the Indonesian authorities have severely tortured Gusmão.

At the same time, the military authorities in East Timor have exploited Xanana's arrest and the capture of documents to strike a blow at the internal resistance. Announcing mass "surrenders" of Falantil guerrillas and voluntary disbanding of clandestine youth organizations (whose members number over 1,000), the Indonesian military is, in reality, rounding up East Timorese suspected of harboring pro-independence sympathies.

According to Amnesty International, at least one person arrested in conjunction with Gusmão's capture has died from torture and many others are feared "disappeared." Catholic Church sources in East Timor speak of widespread terror in which "the beatings and torture are out of this world." Church leaders have told their members to prepare for the worst and report that some church sanctuaries have been violated by military authorities.

Despite Indonesian statements that Xanana's capture marks the end of the East Timorese resistance, many feel that his arrest could prove detrimental to Jakarta's efforts to pacify the region. According to José Ramos Horta - official spokesperson of the resistance abroad - the Indonesians "have an explosive situation on their hands. The arrest...is not going to resolve the problem for them. Quite the contrary. For us it can be a big turning point." Gusmão's capture has served to refocus international attention on the plight of East Timor.

For example, prominent individuals such as Nobel Peace Prize laureates Bishop Desmond Tutu and Rigoberta Menchu have publicly called for Xanana's release. National leaders, such as French President François Mitterand, have called upon the Indonesian government to allow Gusmão or representatives of the CNRM to participate in today's talks.

Feigning confidence, the Suharto government has dismissed such requests out of hand. However, it is clear that Jakarta is very sensitive to international opinion. As Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas stated, "Timor is like a sharp piece of gravel in our shoes."

In 17 years of occupation, Indonesia has failed miserably to win the hearts and minds

of the East Timorese. Resistance to the occupation is very widespread. It is only through Western economic, military and diplomatic assistance that the brutality continues. Already, via the World Bank-chaired Consultative Group on Indonesia, Western governments have pledged \$5 billion in assistance to Jakarta for fiscal year 1992-93.

Led by Representative Tony Hall (D-Ohio), Congress eliminated International Military Education and Training funds to Indonesia in October (\$2.3 million). This shows an increasing willingness on the part of some in Congress to address the human rights situation in East Timor. However, given the massive Indonesian presence and investment in the territory, such a reduction, only a fraction of total U.S. aid, is woefully inadequate.

Today's talks (or the recently begun talks between Portugal and Indonesia on the status of East Timor) give the West, and the U.S. in particular, an opportunity to put pressure on Jakarta and to take the steps necessary to end their complicity in one of the great genocides of the late twentieth century. Congress should begin the process by eliminating all non-humanitarian aid to Indonesia. Consistent with its verbal commitment to human rights, the Administration should do its utmost within the United Nations to put an end to Indonesian colonialism. Such actions would give substance to a truly new world order.

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### HORTA CAUTIOUS ON U.N. TALKS

*Remark: It is not clear what impact the inter-necine strife among Timorese resistance leaders abroad will have on the talks. Nor is it clear at this point if some kind of 'putsch' has been attempted by one resistance faction to 'replace' the Horta-Xanana CNRM leadership, a move not likely to gain wide approval among NGOs working for the East Timorese cause. Such a move could carry implications who would be the Timorese interlocutors in any future UN-sponsored discussions. Efforts are being made to try to discover more about this situation. Informed readers are kindly asked to email me with any relevant information. – John*

According to a December 15 Reuter story datelined Sydney, Timorese rebels on Tuesday called on Portugal to walk out of United Nations-sponsored talks with Indonesia if Jakarta does not show good faith over the disputed territory of East Timor.

"The time has come for a total diplomatic confrontation with Indonesia," said José

Ramos Horta, spokesman for the Timorese resistance movement, before leaving Australia on Tuesday to attend the New York talks as a U.N.-invited observer.

"Portugal should abandon the talks if Indonesia does not act in good faith," he said. "They pledged confidence-building measures at the last meeting (with Portugal) in September. Since then they have conducted a campaign of terror in East Timor."

Thursday's talks, chaired by U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, will discuss the former Portuguese territory of East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and later annexed. Its rule is not recognised by the U.N.

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### STATEMENT ON PORTUGAL- INDONESIA TALKS FROM TIMORESE YOUTH

*Original Language: English. Full text.*

*Remark: This statement from three Timorese youth groups was issued in East Timor on December 15, 1992, well after Indonesian authorities claimed that the organizations have been disbanded. The names of the three signatories have been removed to protect their safety. – Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US.*

#### **Comment on Alatas' Statement concerning the legal status of East Timor made in Singapore on 29 October, 1992, as reported in Kompas (30 October, 1992)**

by CANVISTI (Active Committee for Nonviolence and Solidarity), RENETIL (National Resistance of East Timorese Students), and OJETIL (Organization of Young East Timorese Students).

Alatas: "Portugal must be realistic regarding East Timor .... the talks between Portugal and Indonesia will not give any result except if Portugal has a realistic attitude."

#### CANVISTI'S COMMENT

One: The realistic attitude adopted by Portugal on the legal status of East Timor is that it is still recognised by the United Nations as the legitimate Administering Authority over East Timor, based on Resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly and Security Council between 1976 and 1982.

Thus, it is Indonesia who, in the talks to be held in New York beginning December 17, 1992, under the arbitration and good offices of the UN Secretary General, must be accepting of the international legal reality of Portugal's position as legitimate Administering Authority in East Timor and

thus unconditionally surrender the territory to Portugal.

#### CANVISTI'S COMMENT

Two: There are two legitimate and realistic solutions which would be acceptable to the UN in particular, and the international community in general, namely:

1. Indonesia must unconditionally hand East Timor back to Portugal as the legitimate administering power in the territory

2. A plebiscite or referendum must be held in East Timor under UN supervision and based on the UN Charter in order that the people of East Timor can freely decide the legal status of their fatherland by majority vote.

Alatas to Reuter: "You need two hands to clap."

#### CANVISTI'S COMMENT:

Three: Yes, Mr. Alatas, you are quite right. In the international community and according to international law, it takes two hands to clap democratically based on the UN Charter. On the question of East Timor, there are also two international hands involved, namely:

1. The right (de jure) hand which is that of Portugal as the legal Administering Authority, and

2. The left (illegal) hand belonging to Indonesia which is the illegal occupying power in East Timor.

In order to decide the legal status of East Timor in accordance with democratic principles, the right (legal) and left (illegal) hands must indeed clap together to produce a sound that can be heard and recognised by the international community, the UN and the Maubere people.

Four: Mr. Alatas added that the search for a resolution of the East Timor problem will fail if Portugal continues to adhere to the myth that the majority opinion can be represented by a minority who happen to be residing in Portugal. He stressed that this minority view has created unrest and therefore it has been heeded by many people.

#### RENETIL'S COMMENT

One: The Maubere people as the most directly interested party, along with the well-educated and civilised international community and the UN, are well aware that to date no act of self-determination has been conducted in East Timor according to UN procedures stipulated by the Decolonisation Committee for determining the legal status of a territory. If as Indonesia claims, the majority of the East Timorese people have already freely chosen to be integrated into the Republic of Indonesia, then why did the UN General Assembly and Security Council pass Resolutions between 1975 and 1982 stating that Portugal is still recognised as the

Administering Power over East Timor, and demanding the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the territory .

Indonesia has made unashamed attempts over the last 17 years to dupe the international community with its myth of an act of self-determination already having taken place in East Timor and the lie that the East Timorese people have freely chosen to be part of Indonesia.

Thus, in order to determine the true legal status of East Timor by majority vote and in accordance with UN procedures on this matter, an act of self-determination under UN supervision must be immediately conducted. The East Timorese people are anxious to know the position of UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali in this meeting between Portugal and Indonesia.

Alatas has actively resisted discussing the question of a referendum in response to the demands of what he calls a minority voice. 'Is this what is called democracy?' stated Alatas in his Singapore speech.

#### OJETIL'S LEGAL COMMENT

One: Mr. Alatas, the new-born babies of East Timor are laughing loudly at your statement quoted above, because to their surprise, although you hold a law degree, it would appear obvious that you are unaware of the meaning of terminology such as 'majority,' 'minority' and 'democracy' as they are understood by the UN and the international community.

It is indeed extremely childish of Indonesia to shamelessly continue to dare to feed the civilised and well-educated international community, through its Foreign Minister, with the lie that the Indonesian military's occupation by force of East Timor begun in December 1975 represents a democratic, realistic, majority decision of the Maubere people to make East Timor a part of the Republic of Indonesia.

### WORLD LEADERS SIGN URGENT APPEAL FOR EAST TIMOR

*IFET Press Release, 16 December 1992*

Fifty eminent church leaders, politicians and academics, including two Nobel Peace Prize winners, have so far endorsed a joint statement on East Timor. Signatories, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, call on the United Nations Secretary General, the Portuguese and Indonesian governments, and the international community for action to bring to an end the systematic violations of human rights in East Timor.

Illegally annexed by Indonesia in 1975, since which time over one-third of the original population has died at the hands of the Indonesian military, East Timor has been terrorized by the Indonesian forces of occupation. The signatories urge the United Nations to press for access to the occupied territory for humanitarian and human rights organisations, foreign journalists and independent observers. They call on Portugal to press for an internationally supervised referendum and on the international community to support peace initiatives in every way.

The Statement will be handed over by Mr. Kan Akatani (International Federation of East Timor, Japan) and Charles Scheiner (East Timor Action Network, United States) at the United Nations building in New York on 16 December, on the eve of negotiations about occupied East Timor between Portugal and Indonesia under UN auspices.

Those signing this urgent appeal are "acutely conscious that the Indonesian army of occupation has launched a new wave of violence against the people of East Timor, which has led to arbitrary arrests, torture, disappearances and summary executions."

In addition they believe there is no doubt that the statements of the captured East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão, disseminated through the media by the Indonesian armed forces, "were made under duress and in violation of his fundamental rights as a protected person under the terms of the Fourth Geneva Convention."

The delivery of this Statement is the start of a campaign to gather further endorsements, which will culminate in February 1993 when it will be presented to the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

For further information, please contact Charles Scheiner, East Timor Action Network/US...

#### URGENT APPEAL ON THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

*(full text, original English)*

Acutely conscious of the fact that the Indonesian army of occupation has launched a new wave of violence against the people of East Timor, which has led to arbitrary arrests, torture, disappearances and summary executions,

Convinced that statements by the captured East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão, which were disseminated through the media by the Indonesian armed forces, were made under duress and in violation of his fundamental rights as a protected person under the terms of the Fourth Geneva Convention, thereby incriminating himself,

and shocked that the prisoner has even been deprived the services of a lawyer,

Alarmed that human rights abuses and the isolation of the territory have been intensified, in blatant disregard for International Law as well as for the assurances given to international human rights institutions by the Indonesian Government,

Firm in the belief that the question of East Timor can only be solved by negotiations, with the involvement of all parties directly concerned, based on respect for the rights of the people of East Timor, in particular their right to self-determination,

#### WE CALL ON

- the Secretary General of the United Nations, to continue to make every effort to end the systematic violation of human rights in occupied East Timor, to gain access to the territory for humanitarian and human rights organisations, as well as for foreign journalists and independent observers, to work for the release of all political prisoners, and in particular the release of the leader of the East Timorese resistance movement, Xanana Gusmão;
- Portugal, as the internationally-recognised Administering Power of the non-self-governing territory of East Timor, to continue vigorously to defend the rights of the people of East Timor, and in particular to press for an internationally-supervised referendum;
- Indonesia, to end without delay the acts of violence being perpetrated against the people of East Timor, to act in conformity with International Law and the United Nations Charter in East Timor, in compliance with the obligations which it has assumed as a member of the United Nations, and to open up the territory and free all East Timorese political prisoners;
- The international community, to support in every way possible the efforts now under way to resolve the conflict by means of negotiation, strictly respecting the rights and obligations of each party, in accord with international norms.

#### AND WE EXPRESS

To the people of East Timor our heart felt sympathy and support at this moment of profound tribulation and pain. We commit ourselves to doing everything in our power to ensure that the people of East Timor will be guaranteed the right to life, the right to peace and the right to justice, which is their entitlement.

**SIGNATORIES TO THE URGENT  
APPEAL ON THE SITUATION IN EAST  
TIMOR**

*As of 16 December, 1992*

*Additional names will be presented to the  
UN Human Rights Commission in  
February, 1993.*

**Japan:**

Joseph Atsumi Misue, Catholic Bishop of Hiroshima  
Aloisius Nobuo Soma, Bishop of Nagoya, President of Japanese Catholic Council for Justice and Peace  
Hitoshi Motojima, Mayor of Nagasaki  
Giichi Nomura, Chairperson, The Ainu Association of Hokkaido  
Choichi Kaba, Representative, Ainu People's Political Alliance  
Wataru Takeuchi, Ainu Cultural Association  
Komyoji Suzuki, General Secretary, International Network of Engaged Buddhists, Japan  
Kinhide Mushakoji, Professor, Meiji Gakuen University, former Vice Rector of the U.N. University  
Ohtori Kurino, Former Japanese Ambassador to Syria and Cambodia, President of International Federation for East Timor  
Ken Arimitsu, Secretary General of the Foundation for Human Rights in Asia  
Ichiyo Muto, Co-president of Pacific Asia Resource Center (Tokyo)  
Yoko Kitagawa, Co-president of Pacific Asia Resource Center (Tokyo)  
Hideaki Uemura, Director of Citizens' Diplomacy Center  
Reiko Koishi, Coordinator, Akatombo Association  
Ryuichi Matsushita, writer  
Kaoru Okano, Professor, Meiji University  
Masao Yamaguchi, Professor, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, former President of Japan Anthropology Society  
Ikuro Shimada, former Professor of Geology, Shimane University  
Tatsuro Matsumae, House of Councillors, Social Democratic Party  
Yasuko Takemura, House of Councillors, Social Democratic Party  
Takayoshi Wada, House of Councillors, Komeito  
Hyosuke Kujiraoka, House of Representatives, Liberal Democratic Party  
Saneyoshi Furugen, House of Representatives, Communist Party  
Hiromi Okazaki, House of Representatives, Social Democratic Party (SDP)  
Tomiko Okazaki, House of Representatives, SDP  
Torao Takazawa, House of Representatives, SDP  
Shuo Matsubara House of Representatives, SDP

Takako Doi, House of Representatives, SDP  
Satsuki Eda, House of Representatives, President, United Social Democratic Party  
Petrus Shirayanagi, Archbishop of Tokyo  
Francis Xavier K. Shimamoto, Archbishop of Nagasaki

**United States:**

Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr., retired Episcopal Bishop of New York  
Noam Chomsky, Institute Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Benedict Anderson, Aaron L. Binenkorb Professor, Cornell University  
Dave Karp, Mayor, San Leandro (CA), Board member of U.S. Conference of Mayors

**United Kingdom:**

Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Nobel Peace Prize Winner (Northern Ireland)  
Dr. Donald English, Chairman, World Methodist Council.  
Rev. David Deeks, General Secretary, Division of Social Responsibility, Methodist Church (UK)

**Lord Rea**

Lord Avebury, Chair of the Parliamentary Human Rights Committee  
Peter Carey, Professor, Oxford University  
Ken Coates, MEP, Chair, Human Rights Subcommittee of the European Parliament

**Other:**

Desmond Tutu, Archbishop, Nobel Peace Prize Winner, South Africa  
Maria Barroso (the wife of Mario Soares), Honorary Chair of Portuguese UNICEF Committee  
Gordon C. Mwangi, Professor, President of Human Rights in Action, Kenya  
Patalesio P. Finau, S.M.D.D., Bishop, President of Tonga Development Commission  
Dermot O'Mahony, Bishop and President of Pax Christi (Republic of Ireland)  
Kim Myong Shik, poet, Director of Asia, Africa, Latin America Research Institute (Republic of Korea)

**Submitted by**

- Free East Timor Japan Coalition
  - British Coalition for East Timor
  - East Timor Action Network, U.S.
  - Comissão para os Direitos do Povo Maubere, Portugal
- Members of the International Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations for East Timor, c/o Kure YWCA. 1-3 Saiwai-cho, Kure, Hiroshima 737 Japan.

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**DURÃO BARROSO  
PESSIMISTIC**

According to a December 17 AFP story datelined Lisbon, Portuguese Foreign Minister José Durão Barroso said

Wednesday that he was pessimistic about the outcome of talks with his Indonesian counterpart.

"I won't hide from you that the prospects are very negative," he said. According to Barroso, there are "constant and flagrant violations of human rights in East Timor, and the recent arrest of Xanana Gusmão is but one example of these violations."

Ali Alatas, before leaving for New York Tuesday, said that he hoped that Portugal would bring "fresh ideas" instead of insisting again on a referendum in East Timor during the bilateral talks under the auspices of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Meanwhile, Gusmão, in a third broadcast on state-run television Wednesday night, called on the remnants of Fretilin members to surrender to the military posts. "You will be treated well like I am," Gusmão said.

Fears have been expressed that he was tortured after his capture to make him renounce the Fretilin cause.

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**SYAFEI: SURRENDER,  
THEN TALKS**

According to a December 17 AFP story datelined Jakarta, Indonesian authorities pressed their call for the surrender of pro-independence Fretilin guerrillas ahead of ministerial talks between Indonesia and Portugal on East Timor Thursday in New York.

The Antara news agency quoted East Timor Military Operational Commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying that hundreds of East Timorese had started to search for relatives still in the forest as members of the movement to ask them to surrender.

Syafei said residents of Baucau regency had acted on their own initiative to seek their relatives for three days, an act warmly welcomed by the military.

He said that since the capture of Fretilin leader José Xanana Gusmão 1,147 members of the movement had surrendered and hundreds of youths dissolved their illegal anti-Indonesia groups.

Syafei said Jakarta's offer to give amnesty to guerrillas who gave themselves up was still in effect, adding that those who refused to surrender would be arrested and processed under the existing law.

He also denied a report from Fretilin leader-in-exile Ramos Horta that 30 Indonesian soldiers had been killed by Fretilin members, saying the guerilla movement had lost their offensive capabilities.

Syafei, who was awarded Wednesday a citation for the capture of Gusmão, called Horta's statement cheap propaganda.

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## UN SECRETARY-GENERAL HOSTS TIMOR 'TALKS'

According to a December 17 Reuter story datelined the United Nations, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali held talks with the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia on Thursday on the question of East Timor, the formerly Portuguese-ruled territory annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

The annexation is not recognised by the United Nations, which considers Portugal the legal administering power. Portugal and Indonesia agreed in September to hold talks under the Secretary-General's auspices.

Boutros-Ghali met separately on Thursday with Portuguese Foreign Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso and then with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

He later presided over a joint meeting of the two ministers and a working lunch.

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## UN TIMOR "TALKS" FIZZLE

*Remark: The talks yielded no dramatic public initiative by the UN Secretary General, in particular, no public statement asking Indonesia for certain action. There is an unconfirmed report Boutros-Ghali asked that the talks remain strictly confidential, though it is believed he asked Indonesia to allow human rights monitoring NGOs access to East Timor, a request so minimal it is something which surely need not have been kept secret, all the more so since many NGOs and governments has sought this. Instead, the main public accomplishment of the 'talks,' if they even deserve this kind of characterization, seems only an agreement once more to continue to talk under the now time-worn UN framework language. If there were any "proximity talks" involving Timorese representatives, they remain a deep, dark secret. It seems quite unlikely to me that 'secret diplomacy' will solve any of the fundamental problems facing East Timor and its people. In coming days, we may even learn more from the mostly pliant Indonesian press about the December 17 meetings than from these pro forma stories. And from the Portuguese press if anyone can monitor and report on it adequately and routinely. – John MacDougall*

According to a December 17 Reuter story datelined the United Nations, the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia conferred with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Thursday on the question of East Timor and agreed to another round

of talks with him in Rome on April 20, 1993, the United Nations said.

"Prior to this, talks will be held at U.N. headquarters between representatives of the two governments," a U.N. spokesman added.

Boutros-Ghali held separate meetings on Thursday with Portuguese Foreign Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso and Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas before presiding over a joint meeting of the two and hosting a working lunch.

The meetings, which followed preparatory talks at U.N. headquarters in September, were "in the context of the search for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor," the U.N. spokesman said.

"Following today's discussions, it has been agreed to continue the efforts to solve the East Timor question. A further meeting between the two foreign ministers and the Secretary-General will be held on April 20, 1993 in Rome."

The Secretary-General wished to express his appreciation to both sides "for the cooperation which they have shown in the spirit of the continuing process which they agreed to resume during their September meeting," the spokesman added.

According to a December 18 UPI story datelined Lisbon, Foreign Minister José Durão Barroso said Thursday that little progress had been made over East Timor at his latest meeting with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

## UN DAILY HIGHLIGHT PRESS RELEASE

*Official Document, 17 December 1992, excerpts.*

Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, at meeting today at Headquarters with Secretary-General, agree to continue efforts to solve East Timor question; two Foreign Ministers to meet again on 20 April in Rome.

Following meetings at Headquarters today between the Secretary-General and the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, it was agreed that efforts to solve the East Timor question would be continued. According to a statement issued this afternoon, further talks will be held at Headquarters between representatives of the two Governments, followed by a meeting with the Secretary-General and the two Foreign Ministers in Rome on 20 April 1993.

The Secretary-General met separately today with the two Foreign Ministers, as had been agreed at their preparatory talks in

September, in the context of the search for "a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution" to the issue. They then held a joint meeting, and continued their discussions at a working luncheon.

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## INDONESIA, PORTUGAL TALKS MAKE LITTLE HEADWAY

New York, Dec. 17 (ips) – Portugal and Indonesia Thursday reported little progress in their first direct ministerial-level talks on the question of East Timor, but have agreed to meet again in Rome in April.

Although Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas described the encounter Thursday with his Portuguese counterpart José Manuel Durao Barroso as "good and constructive," he admitted their positions "remained diametrically opposed." Barroso said the talks were "very frank, very long, but there was no progress."

The two ministers met following their separate discussions with U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Portugal, as the U.N.-designated administering power of East Timor, wants the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination.

Indonesia, which occupied East Timor in 1975, claims that the people expressed their will in July 1976. "An overwhelming majority decided in favour of integration with Indonesia," Alatas told reporters after the meeting Thursday.

But the United Nations and the international community have asked for a referendum to decide the issue. "We don't believe another referendum is necessary," Alatas said.

According to human rights activists, Indonesia has increased repression in what it calls its 27th province.

On Nov. 12 last year, more than 250 people were killed in the East Timorese capital, Dili, while peacefully demonstrating near a cemetery. And on Nov. 20 this year, Indonesian security forces captured East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão. they reportedly tortured him so he would make a televised statement renouncing his earlier positions.

Barroso said Gusmão's condition was discussed at Thursday's talks, but he declined to give details. He said, however, that Indonesia has been pressed to allow international human rights organisations into East Timor to verify the situation.

Meanwhile, several eminent church leaders, politicians and academics, in a statement Wednesday, called for an internationally supervised referendum and an end

to the systematic violations of human rights in East Timor.

The signatories include archbishop Desmond Tutu of south Africa, professor Noam Chomsky of the United States, and Maria Barroso, chair of Portugal's U.N. children's fund (UNICEF) committee.

### ALATAS READY FOR CONFRONTATION?

*Remark: Are not Suharto and Alatas bluffing about a UN General Assembly vote? With the November 12 massacre, staged interviews of Xanana, an expected show trial, and the UN's new propensity for intervention, would not Indonesia's position in a vote in the General Assembly (or even Security Council) on a well-drawn resolution involving East Timor have eroded from what it was about 10 years ago? If mediation by the Secretary General continues to lead nowhere, perhaps it is time to take diplomatic soundings on a new East Timor resolution and call Indonesia's bluff. The longer Suharto has to consolidate his position as NAM chairman, the more clout he will have in swinging UN votes. — John*

According to a December 28 AFP story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia is fully prepared to settle the East Timor issue at the international level, including a vote in the United Nations, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Monday.

He said after a meeting with President Suharto that Indonesia would continue to respond to efforts by the U.N. secretary general to promote dialogue aimed at a negotiated settlement of the East Timor question.

But he added: "We could also return to the confrontative pattern, with a vote at the United Nations. We are always ready to face that anytime."

The United Nations has since 1983 sponsored dialogues between Indonesia and Portugal to seek an acceptable negotiated settlement.

According to a December 28 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia and Portugal will meet again in April to try to reach a settlement on East Timor, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Monday.

"We are going to meet again in Rome, in April, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General," Alatas told reporters.

The two sides last met in New York on December 17.

Alatas said Xanana's arrest had removed the symbol of resistance to integration with Indonesia.

### HORTA'S "ALL-OUT DIPLOMATIC WAR IN 1993"

*Jakarta Post, 22 December 1992. By Hartoyo Pratiknyo. Abridged*

*The Indonesian press always refers to Horta as the 'Fretilin' representative.*

(Melbourne) The stalemate in the New York talks on East Timor between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers left Portugal and Fretilin with no alternative but to wage an "all-out diplomatic war" against Indonesia, Fretilin ambassador at large, Ramos Horta says.

"As I said before, talks at this stage are meaningless. Indonesia understands only the language of strength and we should go for all-out confrontation," he said, addressing the press after his arrival from New York.

Predicting that more European countries would side with Portugal, Horta said Lisbon would be even firmer on new agreements between the EC and ASEAN and the incoming US administration would have to take a different look at the question of East Timor.

"An international conference on East Timor will be held in the next few months in Europe and we are hoping to work on a seminar on East Timor in the SEAsian region. What Indonesia has achieved with its hard line stand is to allow Portugal to raise the stage [stakes?] to dramatise the problem further, forcing the Americans and Europeans to take sides," he said.

He said that despite the New York debacle, his organisation was willing to sit down at the negotiating table, either directly or indirectly, to find ways and means to resolve the problem.

"But in the final analysis, there has to be an act of self-determination in East Timor. If the result of this process, completely supervised by the UN, should choose to join with Indonesia, then we all should applaud the verdict of the people."

He indicated that he would consider as an act of self-determination a process that was "supervised by the UN or another international agency such as the British Commonwealth or the Non-Aligned Movement."

### ALI ALATAS TELLS PORTUGAL TO GO FISH

Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 4 - Indonesia's foreign minister on Monday said Jakarta would not agree to a referendum on independence for East Timor and that former ruler Portugal could "go fish" if it pressed the demand.

"It's not that we doubt what the results will be but it's simply a matter of principle," Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told a news conference.

Portugal, which ruled the territory for 300 years, insists the East Timorese should be allowed to determine their own future.

But Indonesia, whose 17-year rule there is still not internationally recognised, says the choice has already been made.

The two countries are due to hold more talks on the issue in April to try to reach a settlement.

"Too much blood has been sacrificed, too much water has gone under the bridge and too much indignity has been suffered by Indonesia for the past 17 years. Now you can go fish if you want to ask (for a referendum)," Alatas said.

He accused Portugal of asking now for something they had tried to prevent 17 years ago.

Political analysts say that even if East Timorese were to opt for Indonesian rule, a referendum would be extremely divisive and lead to more bloodshed.

They estimate up to 200,000 East Timorese have died from famine, disease and fighting since Indonesia invaded in 1975 shortly after the Portuguese pulled out.

Indonesia's rule there, already subject to widespread charges of human rights abuses, came under the international spotlight again following an army massacre in Dili, the provincial capital, just over a year ago when up to 180 people were killed.

Alatas said Portugal was wrong if it thought Indonesia was frightened by a possible United Nations vote on its rule there.

Jakarta has for a number of years successfully lobbied to postpone a vote in the U.N. on the issue.

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The following is a transcript of ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) Radio program "AM" early edition dated Sydney, 5 January 1993.*

Reader: The prospect of united international action over East Timor remains as bleak as ever with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas dismissing the suggestion the Timorese be allowed to vote in a referendum on their future. Jakarta has rejected such calls in the past claiming that the East Timorese opted for integration with Indonesia in the year after its 1975 invasion of the territory. And, as Ian McIntosh reports from Jakarta, the tone of Mr. Alatas' latest remark appear to have dashed any chances of some compromise been found on the referendum question.

Reporter: Ian MacIntosh: The Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers last month resumed their on again off again

dialogue on East Timor which it founded shortly before 1991 Dili massacre. That meeting at the United Nations in New York made no progress but another round of talks is planned for Rome in April. Now foreign Minister Ali Alatas has made it clear that Jakarta won't budge on Lisbon's calls for a referendum as part of any international settlement of the East Timor problem.

During his annual new year press conference Mr. Alatas said demands from Portugal and East Timor's pro-independence FRETILIN movement for a referendum were too late. He claimed the Portuguese have refused to return to East Timor in November 1975 after Jakarta, in his words, "have begged them to do so." And, he said, Lisbon had declined an invitation to send representatives to observe the 1987 elections in its former territory. The Indonesian Foreign Minister accused Portugal and FRETILIN of now asking for something they've tried to prevent in 1975.

(Ali Alatas) "But its simply a matter of principle - we give you that opportunity 17 years ago now too much blood has been sacrificed, too much water have gone under the bridge, too much indignity have suffered by Indonesia for the past 17 years, now you can go fish if you want ask that."

#### COMMENTS FROM TAPOL:

Here are further details, as reported in *Jakarta Post* on 5 January 1993, of what Alatas said about East Timor at his press conference held to review developments in 1992. He comes out with some extraordinary fabrications about events in the months following the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. He must surely know that this is all a pack of lies. *Jakarta Post* illustrates the item with a photograph of Alatas not only looking drawn and haggard but with harshness and malice in his face. The question of East Timor appears to have hardened his facial features, or is this all my imagination?

Explaining why Indonesia would refuse to hold a referendum in East Timor, Alatas said: "We provided that opportunity 17 years ago." He said that in 1976 the UN Security Council, under pressure from Portugal, refused to witness the referendum held in East Timor. "We begged them to come." [This refers of course to the so-called 'People's Assembly' of hand-picked East Timorese which met in Dili on 31 May 1976 and addressed a petition to Suharto asking for integration. Nothing remotely resembling a referendum ever took place then, before or after, and Alatas knows this very well.]

He said that in November 1975, Indonesia asked Portugal to return to East Timor when the process of self-determination was about to take place [what's all this

about?]. He blamed Fretilin for refusing to cooperate with a special envoy of the UN Secretary-General to settle the matter.

[Perhaps Alatas will explain whose armed forces refused to allow the envoy, Winspeare Guicciardi, to enter Fretilin-held territory in February 1976 and what role Canberra played in sabotaging his mission.]

He said that because of the above events, Indonesia had to conduct the referendum itself.

He said Indonesia would continue to work with the UN Secretary-General to find an honourable solution to the question of East Timor, short of holding a referendum.

He claimed that in 1983, Indonesia made a strategic decision to work with the UN through dialogue and not to take a combative approach or force the matter to a vote.

He said that in 1987 the UN Secretary-General had worked out a plan, to which Indonesia agreed but which Portugal rejected. Under this plan, a delegation from countries appointed by the UN would visit East Timor for 3 weeks to make an assessment of the situation. They would then submit an independent report to the UN to be followed by a fully-fledged debate and a vote to settle the matter once and for all. [What Alatas omits to mention is that the event that the mission was supposed to have assessed was the general election held in April 1987; Indonesia's intention was to claim that by participating in the election in droves, the East Timorese would be shown to be fully in support of integration. Of course, they had no option but to vote and the event itself was a violation of Portugal's position as the UN-recognised administering power.]

#### COMMENTS FROM MATE-BIAN NEWS:

1. Alatas lately have adopted a hard line approach outside UN negotiating table. It seems he is feeling just like a puppet of the military hardliners in Jakarta and he is desperately trying to save face. The fact that Alatas went to the negotiating table in UN on the 17 of December last without an agenda showed that the military hardliners in Jakarta have ignored his diplomacy and urged him to be quite while the "once and for all clean-up" approach adopted by Theo Syafei in East Timor is being implemented. Theo Syafei has declared that he is going to turn all the villages in East Timor into a "meraputi" - red and white (Indonesianisation).

2. Alatas is loosing either way. If he turns to diplomatic argument he can not camouflage the fact that the current negotiation process is not like that in the past. Unlike the talks in the past 8 years (1982-1990) where all the issue was Portuguese

public servants and relatives to return to Portugal, this time it is about the fundamental issue - the rights of the Timorese people to self-determination according to UN charter. Therefore, whether Alatas wants Portugal to go "fishing" or not, he can not prove that the Timorese have been invaded, illegally occupied and forced to live under a non-democratic and military dictatorship. If adopts a hardline he hurts his prestige as a credible diplomat and reduces his chances of becoming a powerful figure in the diplomatic arena (perhaps a future SG of UN - who knows!!!).

3. As far as diplomacy is concerned, East Timor is gaining some vital advantages over Indonesian government. It is to become a territory covered by the European Community itself in the same line as New Caledonia (Kanaky) and Malvinas (Falklands). It is also accepted as an occupied territory just like Gaza and West Bank. Although these advantages have not been fully explored in the International arena, they are potential key aspects which can influence outcome in favor of ET.

4. In East Timor itself, the Catholic Church is becoming more aggressive in its approach to a referendum and social justice. This is particularly positive in the light of the imprisonment of Timorese National Leader, Xanana Gusmão. Bishop Belo's recent interview to *Jawa Post* reflects this. On the other hand, news from East Timor also suggest that FALANTIL have taken initiative in attacking the occupationist forces, taken advantage of this rainy season which does not favor the enemies mobility.

5. The fact that Theo Syafei himself have played misinformation beyond belief, such as 1000 Timorese surrendering and hundreds in Baucau trying to "kill" the leaders of East Timor, is also a clear sign of lack of control of the situation. The massive arrest of suspected activists in East Timor only reflects weakness in the military strategy. They do not know who is who in the clandestine front. Therefore, they are "fishing!"

6. In short, time is on the Timorese people's side! Alatas hardline approach simply means he is "begging" the international community to "beg" him to leave East Timor because he knows too well that, sooner or later, he will have too!!!

## U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCES

### WHOSE UN HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE?

*Remark: The Vienna meeting agenda seems to reflect broadly the NAM and Indonesian approach to human rights issues. How it all will come out is another story. – John*

According to a December 10 IPS story datelined New York, U.N. member states have at last decided on a provisional agenda for the World Conference on Human Rights despite sharp North-South differences over how the principles of human rights should be embraced and implemented.

The Third Committee of the U.N. General Assembly which deals with social, humanitarian and cultural affairs, late last week approved by consensus the provisional agenda for the World Conference scheduled to take place June 14-25 in Vienna.

Austria's Florian Krenkel, chairman of the Third Committee, told IPS today that the agenda generally reflected the concerns of the developing countries rather than those of the industrialized nations.

"It's not a Western agenda ... because it does not mention things specifically, like disappearances, torture, country situations, and because it has no reference to existing procedures that are used" in evaluating human rights, he said.

"The result is very good because it covers a very wide range and yet is very specific," he added.

For example, Krenkel pointed to the agenda item which calls for consideration of the relationship between development, democracy and human rights, "keeping in view the inter-relationship and indivisibility of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights."

Another "crucial" agenda item, according to Krenkel, is one which calls for "enhancing the effectiveness of U.N. activities and mechanisms" in the human rights field.

Krenkel pointed out that human rights activities received less than one percent of the total U.N. budget and that this reflected "a certain discrepancy between the importance of human rights and the resources that are allocated to those activities."

Prior to the Dec. 4 consensus approval, divisions over the proposed agenda that had plagued the Conference's September Preparatory Committee meeting in Geneva resurfaced.

Key among the concerns expressed by developing countries during the Committee

debate here was "the attempt" by industrialized countries "to impose their values on developing countries" which were still struggling over the question of poverty and the need for political stability.

"There is no argument over the need for human rights and fundamental freedoms ... but over how acceptable standards for human rights would be achieved and who would set those standards," Malaysia's Yahya Baba told the Committee.

To this end, Baba warned the gathering: "It would be a mistake if the Conference was used to pressure developing countries to adopt Western standards of human rights."

And Uganda's Rosemary Semafulu reiterated another major grievance of developing countries when she noted that collective rights had been made subordinate to individual rights and freedoms.

"Political and civil rights are higher in the hierarchy than economic, social and cultural rights," Semafulu observed, adding, "the violation of individual rights to food, shelter, primary health care, safe water and sanitation threaten the right to life as surely as torture, enforced disappearance, or the denial of freedom of thought and expression."

Developing countries also lamented the trend of industrialized countries who, they say, "employ a single category of human rights as a condition for development assistance."

In fact, since last year, the United States, the European Community and the Scandinavian countries have been gradually linking development aid to multi-party democracy and human rights abuses. As a result, development aid to countries like Indonesia, Zaire, Ethiopia, Sudan, Syria, Peru, Somalia and Burma have either been cut or drastically reduced by some Western Nations.

The Committee's general debate on human rights was further marred by a degeneration of arguments which saw one country after another making accusations of double-standards on human rights records and for dispensing with unsolicited "free advice" and "democracy lessons."

China's Zhang Yishan last week denounced Canada's "vicious" attack of Beijing's human rights record and complained that "the protection of human rights has been reduced to the level of making accusations against others."

"The unique feature of Canada is that its eyes are wide open when talking about others, but are closed when looking at its own situation," China's representative said.

Krenkel noted that the Morocco-sponsored provisional agenda was especially important after the Geneva meeting

"because it got people to start talking to each other again and to negotiate on the substance" of the Conference rather than "hiding behind group positions."

But with one more potentially explosive Preparatory Committee meeting to be held in Geneva next April, Krenkel conceded that "anything can happen."

### COMMENT FROM DAVID WEBSTER, ETAN/CANADA

*Dec. 9, 1992*

The Chinese delegate's comment that Canada complains only about human rights violation in other countries while ignoring its own (land theft from first nations, etc.), is a fair one. But Canada's "vicious" attack on China's record is little more than rhetoric. A few examples: – In 1991, Canada gave China \$73.5 million in aid, second only to Bangladesh (Indonesia, Egypt and Morocco rounded out the top five, which doesn't say much for our government's commitment to linking aid and human rights). – Canada is a primary funding source for the Three Gorges dam, a megaproject that will displace hundreds of thousands from the Yangtze valley – After Tiananmen, Chinese students studying in Canada were allowed to remain. In many cases, their families have been prevented from joining them because of an increasingly restrictive immigration law. – When HH the Dalai Lama visited Ottawa, government ministers refused to meet with him. All efforts by the parliamentary Friends of Tibet group to change Ottawa's solid support for the Chinese occupation of Tibet are stonewalled. – The government's Export Development Corporation continues to push for Canadian companies to invest in China. EDC-facilitated projects are immune from normal environmental assessments. – Canada refuses to halt the sale of toys made in China using (predominantly Tibetan) forced labour in prisons, despite Canadian policy and law that forbids such goods. (The Canada Tibet Committee has launched a "boycott" of Chinese-made toys to expose this.)

Canadian policy towards China and Indonesia is virtually identical: strong words, from time to time, on human rights, tempered by a refusal to discuss self-determination issues and a refusal to impose any meaningful sanctions that would back up our government's words. Why? They're massive untapped markets for our coddled multinationals.

A campaign linking Indonesia and China, East Timor and Tibet, might be something to look at.

## ANGER ERUPTS OVER U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS MEETING REPORT

Lisbon, Dec. 18 (ips) – a report that the U.N. secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali has accepted a request from the Indonesian government to host a meeting of the U.N. committee on human rights in Jakarta has angered many observers here.

“Portugal must protest vigorously to the U.N. against this decision,” said Paul Moore, the Bishop of New York, in an interview with the Lisbon ‘TSF’ radio station monitored here.

“It is difficult to believe that Boutros-Ghali would have accepted a similar request from another country which had been denounced as the most cruel violator of human rights in the world,” he added

Also, in a statement from new York made to the same radio station, a spokesman for the national council of Timorese resistance (CNRM) José Ramos Horta said it was “incredible that the news might be true.”

He added that “a meeting of this kind by the committee of human rights cannot be held in any form in Indonesia because it would be hypocrisy.”

A former Portuguese foreign minister, Pedro Pires de Miranda, said “negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia on the East Timor question have always been complicated and delicate, and the situation has been made worse with the arrest of a Timorese guerrilla leader by Indonesian soldiers.”

He was citing the arrest of Xanana Gusmão in Dili, capital of East Timor, and his subsequent declarations over Indonesian TV which called on his resistance comrades to lay down their arms and join the Indonesians.

In Lisbon it is believed that the arrest of Gusmão weakened Portugal’s position in Thursday’s U.N. brokered talks in new York. It is believed Jakarta was able to take advantage of this to strongly express its own point of view concerning the 17-year dispute.

The differences between the two countries were highlighted in the meeting of the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia, José Manuel Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas respectively.

“There has been no progress,” said Durão Barroso at the end of the four-hour talks. “I haven’t seen any sign of flexibility in Alatas’ position of the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination,” he added.

The only new matter to emerge Thursday was that another round of bilateral talks would be held in Rome on Apr. 20. next year.

The meeting served to demonstrate the inflexibility of the positions of both parties over the Timor question. Indonesia considers “irreversible” its annexation and sees itself as a “liberator of a territory colonised for 450 years by the Portuguese.”

In the meantime Portugal claims it is continuing its role of “adminstrating power over the territory” until the holding of a referendum on its independence as conferred by the U.N. security council resolution of December 22, 1975.

Independence supporters of all political factions, who are united in the national resistance council (CNRM), maintain that the Timorese, of Polynesian origin, have nothing to do ethnically with the Indonesians, whom they consider their “new colonisers.”

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony in the Java archipelago, was invaded by Indonesia in December 1975 and annexed in 1976. according to figures compiled by independent humanitarian organisations like Amnesty International and Asia Watch, the annexation caused more than 200,000 deaths in an original population totalling some 650,000 inhabitants.

On November 12, 1991, the Indonesian army opened fire in the cemetery of the capital city of Dili against a funeral procession accompanying the casket of a student who died during a police interrogation.

Information released last year by amnesty international revealed that the repression caused “between 150 and 200 deaths” thus supporting the figures compiled by the anti-Indonesian resistance movement.

The Franco-Portuguese humanitarian organisation “Peace in Timor,” however, has concluded a wide-ranging investigation “quarter by quarter” in Dili, and in November in Lisbon published a list of 271 dead with names and ages supplied.

In addition, the list included 382 wounded and 250 missing. it also denounced the existence of “hundreds of prisoners, mostly young people.”

Jakarta initially admitted there had been 19 victims, then accepted a figure of 50 deaths “under pressure from the U.S. state department in Washington,” according to a resistance source.

Since then, after insistent diplomatic demands last September, Indonesia agreed to a high-level meeting with Portugal to debate a solution on East Timor.

## ALERT ON UPCOMING UN JAKARTA CONFERENCE

to: Human rights and solidarity groups  
from: José Ramos-Horta

re: Protest UN “Human Rights” seminar in Jakarta!

date: December 17, 1992

The UN Human Rights Center in Geneva has decided to accept Indonesia’s outrageous invitation to host an Asia-Pacific human rights workshop in Jakarta on January 26-28, 1993!

Invitations have already been sent to governments and human rights experts.

I am appealing to every solidarity group and every non-governmental organization around the world to launch a campaign of protest and a denunciation of this decision by the United Nations.

Such a seminar was to have been held in December 1991, but it was delayed because of the November massacre in Dili. The human rights situation in East Timor and Indonesia has not improved.

I make a special appeal to NGOs of the Asia-Pacific region, including Indonesians, to oppose this bizarre gathering which makes a mockery of human rights in Indonesia and in East Timor.

Ask the U.N. Human Rights Center in Geneva if they are planning to hold human rights seminars in Yangon, Myanmar (Rangoon, Burma), Tienanmen Square, Guatemala City, and Belgrade.

Protest notes must be in the strongest possible language. Human rights experts who accept the invitation to Jakarta must also be denounced publicly.

Please fax letters of protest immediately to: Center for Human Rights, United Nations Office at Geneva; fax: 41-22-917-0123 Fax copies to Alvaro De Soto, Special Assistant to the Secretary General in New York; fax: 1-212-963-4879

If we cannot prevent the seminar, every government and expert who attends must be urged to condemn the human rights situation in East Timor and in Indonesia, and to distribute the report of the Special Rapporteur on Torture, the latest UN Human Rights Subcommission report on East Timor and information from Asia Watch and Amnesty International.

Thank you for your quick and energetic response. Time is of the essence.

*Alert distributed by the East Timor Action Network/US,*

## LETTER FROM AGIR POUR TIMOR

Paris, Dec. 18, 1992  
Centre des Droits de l’Homme

Bureau des Nations Unies a Geneve

fax: 19-41-22-917-0123

Monsieur ou Madame,

M. José Ramos Horta nous a averti que votre Centre a decide d’accepter l’invitation indonesienne a tenir un seminaire sur les

droits de l'homme dans la region Asie-Pacifique a Jakarta, du 26 au 28 janvier 1993. Des invitations, parait-il, ont deja ete envoyees aux gouvernements et aux experts des droits de l'homme.

Nous sommes plus que surpris d'apprendre que vous avez accepte la tenue d'un tel seminaire sous les auspices d'un gouvernement connu comme l'un des plus grands violateurs des droits de l'homme de la planete. Nous tenons par la presente a denoncer cette decision, et a vous demander de la rappeler.

L'Indonesie viole systematiquement les droits elementaires de la personne humaine a Timor-Est, depuis son invasion il y a 17 ans. Mais elle commet des violations aussi graves - mauvais traitements, tortures, disparitions - dans des regions internationalement reconnues comme territoire indonesien, telles que Aceh et la partie occidentale de l'ile de Nouvelle Guinee.

Nous avons, tout particulierement, du mal a saisir la coherence de la politique des Nations Unies en matiere de droits de l'homme, dans la mesure ou:

- Le rapporteur special des Nations Unies sur la Torture, M. Pieter H. Kooijmans, a fait un rapport tres explicite sur la situation en Indonesie a la Commission des Droits de l'Homme, en janvier dernier.

- L'Indonesie viole ses propres engagements et ne laissant pas les organisations de defense des droits de l'homme acceder a Timor-Est, ce a quoi elle s'etait engagee dans la declaration par consensus sur Timor-Est de la Commission, en mars dernier. Le 27 novembre, Amnesty International a vu, une nouvelle fois, sa demande d'acces au territoire rejete.

Nous notons d'ailleurs que la tenue d'un seminaire analogue en decembre 1991 avait ete repousse a la suite du massacre de Dili, le 12 novembre 1991.

L'acceptation d'une telle invitation ne tourne pas seulement en derision le concept de defense des droits de l'homme. Elle donne une caution a un regime violateur et l'encourage a perpetuer ses violations, en toute impunie. Ceci est particulierement preoccupant a un moment ou la repression a Timor-Est, a la suite de l'arrestation de Xanana Gusmao, est extremement violente selon les informations que nous recevons.

Veuillez agreer, Monsieur ou Madame, l'expression de notre consideration distinguee.

Le secretaire,  
Bruno Kahn

## LETTER FROM INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF NGOS FOR EAST TIMOR

Kure, Japan  
December 22, 1992

Mr. Antoine Blanca  
Center for Human Rights  
United Nations Office  
Geneva, Switzerland  
Dear Sir:

I understand that the Center for Human Rights is planning a Asia-Pacific human rights workshop in Jakarta on January 26-28.

On behalf of the International Federation for East Timor, an organization of NGOs working to contribute to a just solution to the East Timor issue, I urge that you reconsider this plan.

As you must be aware, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights considered the issue of East Timor at its forty-seventh session. The result of intense debate on the issue was a Consensus Declaration on March 3 which, *inter alia*, calls on the Indonesian Government to treat "humanely" all civilians arrested in connection with the Santa Cruz massacre of November 12, 1991 and to release without delay all those not involved. The Consensus Declaration further "urges the Government of Indonesia to improve the human rights situation in East Timor" and to facilitate access to East Timor for humanitarian and human rights organizations.

Regrettably, nine months after this declaration there is no indication that Indonesia has complied with any of these stipulations. On the contrary, the military commander in charge of the territory has publicly stated that he is carrying out policies much harsher than those of his predecessor (during whose tenure the Santa Cruz massacre took place), and reports from the territory indicate that this is indeed so. Humanitarian and human rights organizations continue to be denied access to the territory, and journalists other than those working closely with the Indonesian authorities continue to be banned. By Commander Syafei's own admission, over a thousand people in Dili were rounded up in late October in nighttime raids on homes, and reports by Amnesty International and other reliable sources indicate that since the November 20 arrest of resistance leader Xanana Gusmao arbitrary arrests and torture are being carried out on a daily basis in many parts of the territory.

Against this background, the decision to convene the human rights workshop in Jakarta would seem to confer the Center's "stamp of approval" on Indonesia's non-compliance with the Consensus Declaration.

Likewise, it suggests a very low regard on the part of the Center for the deliberations of the Commission and the painstakingly achieved (and very minimal, one must say) Declaration.

Again, I strongly urge that the Center not go ahead with the workshop in Jakarta.

Yours truly,  
Jean Inglis (In the absence of general secretary, Kawagoe Yoshiko)

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## TIMOR GAP OIL EXPLORATIONS CONTINUE

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### HIGH NOON AT TIMOR GAP

According to a December 25 Reuter story by Wilson da Silva datelined Sydney, the arrival of the drilling rig Falcon off East Timor earlier this month has raised the economic and diplomatic stakes surrounding the politically sensitive but potentially oil-rich area.

Seven of the world's biggest oil firms are to plough hundreds of millions of dollars into exploring the Timor Gap between Australia and Indonesia.

Yet the Australia-Indonesia treaty permitting drilling may be invalidated by a case against Australia in the World Court.

Portugal, colonial ruler of East Timor before Indonesia's 1975 invasion, earlier this month lodged final papers in its challenge against Australia before the court in The Hague, seeking to have the treaty declared void and demanding compensation.

"Australia is in a sticky situation if it loses," said Barry Connell, an international law specialist at Melbourne's Monash University. "Whatever the ruling of the court, Australia would have to abide by it." Australia now has until late 1993 to submit its case against Portugal before the United Nations body, after which a hearing date would be set, probably for late 1994.

"It's very difficult to predict what the International Court of Justice (ICJ) will do," said Dr. Rafiqul Islam, a lecturer in international law at Sydney's Macquarie University.

"But I think it will be very difficult for Portugal to persuade the ICJ of its case," he said.

Australia has said it considers Lisbon's action regrettable and without basis in international law.

But the United Nations considers Portugal to be the administering power in East Timor, which was annexed by Jakarta in 1976.

The long-festering issue burst into world headlines in November 1991 when Indonesian troops killed dozens of civilians who had gathered at a cemetery in East Timor capital, Dili.

International law specialists say the case is complex and unpredictable because it breaks new ground. Australian experts say Australia probably has the upper hand, while many Americans believe Portugal stands a good chance of winning.

A lot hangs on the treaty, signed between Canberra and Jakarta in late 1989.

Oil industry analysts say output from the area could reach 200,000 barrels per day by 1995. Eleven exploration contracts have been awarded. They require the companies complete 52,000 km of seismic surveys over the next six years.

The companies have agreed to drill 45 wells at an estimated cost of Australian \$500 million.

USX-Marathon Oil Co of the United States became the first of the companies to start drilling on December 7 in the Zone A prospect jointly controlled by Australia and Indonesia, a company spokesman said from Perth.

Marathon's lease is on the flank of a huge geological structure, known as Kelp High, thought to be one of the best prospects for oil, said Stuart Cave of the Darwin-based Joint Zone Authority which controls the dual-nation area.

A spokesman for Marathon's Australian subsidiary said the semi-submersible Falcon had taken up position under a production sharing deal with the authority.

Once oil production begins, tax and revenue from the jointly-managed Zone A will be split between Australia, Indonesia and the oil company.

Zone B is controlled by Australia and Zone C by Indonesia. But Zone A is where the bonanza is expected, being surrounded as it is by the existing fields of Challis, Jabiru and Skua.

Marathon operates the well and has a 70 pct stake, while Australia's Santos Ltd and Korea Petroleum each have 15 pct.

The companies are reluctant to talk. "East Timor is a sensitive issue, companies would rather get on with their activities," said Don Norton of the Broken Hill Pty Co Ltd's petroleum unit, one of the explorers.

Companies have coveted the site since studies in 1974 found the impressive geology. But exploration was halted after Indonesia's invasion, and oil executives say privately that they dread a return to the 14-year stalemate that followed.

Australia, keen for good relations with Indonesia, avoided the prickly issue of the invasion until 1985 when it recognised the

takeover as a prior step to signing the Timor Gap treaty.

Representatives of the 10,000 exiled Timorese in Australia and their supporters say it was a case of blood for oil, and have promised protests against the oil companies.

#### **TIMOR GAP: 'STICKY' SITUATION**

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Representatives of the 10,000 exiled Timorese in Australia and their supporters say it was a case of blood for oil, and have promised protests against the oil companies.

Marathon will be followed in 1993 by Broken Hill, Phillips Petroleum Co, Woodside Petroleum Ltd, Petroz NL, Enterprise Oil Plc and the Royal Dutch/Shell Group.

**COMMENT FROM BRIAN BRUNTON,  
4 JAN 1993:**

If the World Court rules completely against Portugal it will not do its legitimacy any good. Portugal has the substantial merits; the Australian case depends upon arguments of form. The ICJ may well have a bet each way.

In the event of a decision that goes against Australia, Australia will enact domestic legislation to protect the multinational and BHP.

**TIMOR GAP WELL PLUGGED**

Reuter, Adelaide, Jan 7 - Australian oil company Santos Ltd said on Thursday it had plugged and abandoned the first oil well in the jointly managed Timor Gap exploration zone between Australia and Indonesia after only one month of drilling.

The Hydra-1 well was the first of a planned programme of three wells to be drilled in the prospect by the venture partners, USX-Marathon Oil Co of the United States with 70% and Santos and Korea Petroleum with 15% each.

The zone is managed under the contentious Timor Gap treaty between Australia and Indonesia which is being challenged by Portugal in the World Court.

Portugal is recognised by the United Nations as the administering power in East Timor, the nearby territory invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

Reuter, Adelaide, Jan 7 - Santos Ltd said the Hydra-1 oil well, the first well in the jointly-managed Timor Gap exploration zone, has been plugged and abandoned.

The well, in Permit ZOCA 91-11, is operated and 70% owned by USX-Marathon Oil Co <MRO.N> of the United States. Santos and Korea Petroleum each have 15%. It is in the Zone A prospect jointly controlled by Australia and Indonesia.

Santos said the Hydra-1 well was abandoned at a total depth of 2,685 metres.

Hydra-1 was the first of a planned programme of three wells to be drilled in the prospect.

Santos said the rig has moved on to the next well, Basilisk 1 in permit ZOCA 91-10. That well was due to be spudded on Sunday and was programmed to reach 3,022 metres. It was expected to take 45 days to drill.

Marathon owns 50% of Basilisk 1, while Santos and Korea Petroleum each have 25%.

In its weekly drilling report, Santos said also that development drilling had identified a structural extension to the Merrimelia oil field in the South Australian section of the Cooper Basin.

As a result, oil reserves in the Jurassic Hutton, Namur and Mid Birkhead sands had

been upgraded by 40% or more than two million barrels.

"Santos, as operator for the Merrimelia Block joint venture, is currently undertaking a major facilities upgrade which will almost double previous production capacity from the Merrimelia to about 5,100 barrels of oil per day," it said.

"In light of this result Santos is currently evaluating the potential for additional development drilling of the field in 1993," Santos said.

Santos holds 80 pct of the Merrimelia oil field, while Delhi Petroleum has 15% and Sagasco Holdings Ltd <SAG.AX> has 5%.

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**WORKER ISSUES IN  
INDONESIA AND  
EAST TIMOR**

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**REEBOK RIGHTS AWARDS  
PRESENTED**

According to a December 9 UPI story datelined Boston, the Reebok sportswear manufacturer Wednesday presented its 1992 Human Rights awards to four people, including one jailed in Indonesia, for their work to win human rights for others against great odds.

Winners of Reebok's 5th annual awards were Stacey Kabat, 29, of Boston, Martin O'Brien, 28, of Northern Ireland, Fernando de Araujo, 26, of East Timor, and Floribert Cherbeya Bahizire, 29, of Zaire.

De Araujo received his award in absentia. He is in prison for subversion in Indonesia because he is the founder and leader of an organization that brought human rights abuses in East Timor to the world's attention as it opposes its integration with Indonesia.

The other recipients received their awards Wednesday in ceremonies in Boston.

The Reebok Foundation said the award "recognizes people on the front lines of human rights work who, early in their lives and against great odds, have significantly improved the human rights conditions of the people in their communities."

The foundation gave each recipient a check for \$25,000 for their human rights organizations.

Bahizire was honored for his clandestine work to alert the world to the poor human rights conditions in Zaire and helped form a group known as Voice of the Voiceless.

Bahizire said there's a world of difference between Zaire and Boston.

"From here, I can see roads," he said. "In Zaire, roads hardly exist. Nothing works in Zaire. In 27 years (dictator) Mobutu (Sese

Seko) has ruined the country. There is no food, no transportation. Most people, except for those who support Mobutu, are poor."

Kabat, a Detroit native, was recognized for her work on behalf of battered women.

"People don't understand the severity of the violence women and children face," said Kabat, who founded the organization Battered Women Fighting Back! She said their stories "are stories of torture and terror that in any other part of the world would be considered human-rights violations."

O'Brien, a Belfast Catholic, has been working in Northern Ireland for 16 years to improve the relationship between Protestant and Catholics. He is a founding member of the Irish Network for Nonviolent Action Training and director of the Committee on the Administration of Justice.

He said what both groups try to do is "tackle some of the structural problems that fuel the conflict in Northern Ireland, but also the interpersonal problems and how people actually get on with each other." O'Brien said much of the work of his organizations is to get people from both religious groups to "come together and learn about each other and try to work on the prejudices, the fears and the myths about the other side."

Paul Fireman, chairman and chief executive officer of Reebok International Ltd., a sportswear manufacturer based in Stoughton, Mass., said the recipients show that "one person can make an enormous difference."

## ALLAN NAIRN QUESTIONS REEBOK PRACTICES IN INDONESIA

*Original Document, December 9, 1992.*

*Reebok International Ltd., a multinational shoe company, gives out annual \$25,000 human rights awards. One of the four young 1992 recipients was Fernando de Araujo, an East Timorese student activist. Fernando, who chairs RENETIL, is serving nine years in prison for organizing a nonviolent protest in Jakarta on November 19, 1991, a week after Indonesian troops killed at least 273 Timorese demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.*

*Indonesian authorities did not allow Fernando to attend the ceremony, which was held in Boston on December 9, 1992. Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, the two American journalists who witnessed and were beaten at the Santa Cruz massacre on November 12, 1991, were asked to speak to the assembled thousands of human rights activists, media stars, and Reebok officials about East Timor. Amy gave some historical background and told of her and Allan's experience there, as well as that of the East Timorese. Allan's talk is excerpted below. Although many of the attendees and media were interested in what he said, Reebok officials, including CEO Paul Fireman who chaired the event, had no comment.*

Indonesia's slaughter or one-third of the Timorese ranks as one of the greatest genocides of this century.

Though few Americans know it, that crime has been carried out in direct collaboration with the US government.

President Ford and Henry Kissinger approved the 1975 invasion, and then prevented the United Nations from taking effective action even though the Security Council has twice called on Indonesia to withdraw its troops without delay. The Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations continued to arm Indonesia through every year of the Timorese genocide.

But now, in Congress there is a serious, bipartisan move to reverse the course of US policy ...

And Americans who sincerely care about standing up for human rights have to be honest about another fact.

The US has for years supported such repressive regimes in large part on behalf of US corporations.

Inside Indonesia, the government suppresses independent unions, which allows companies to pay near-starvation wages.

That helps Reebok, Nike, and others who make huge profits in Indonesia, paying the workers who make their shoes – many of them young women from the countryside – wages of about a dollar a day.

Such companies have an obligation to – at the very least – call on Washington to stop shipping arms to the brutal Indonesian regime.

Right now in occupied Timor, on the other side of the world, it is about 11 o'clock at night. Chances are that at this moment a Timorese is in excruciating pain, being sliced with razor blades or ravaged by electric shock at the hands of a soldier armed by our own government.

The latest report, last week, from Timor is of a young taxi driver who had all his toenails and fingernails pulled out because the army suspected he was a friend of Xanana Gusmão, the recently captured Timorese resistance leader. The East Timorese are doing all they can. Like Fernando de Araujo, they have shown inexpressible courage in standing up; for their right to self-determination and a free and decent life.

But Timorese cannot vote in American elections, they cannot demonstrate on American streets. They cannot lobby the US Congress.

Only we Americans can bring an end to US support for the running slaughter in East Timor.

### COMMENT FROM BRUNO KAHN, AGIR POUR TIMOR:

It happens that I know a French woman who is doing shoe business in Indonesia. More precisely, she makes deals with shoe factories based in Indonesia, acting as an intermediary with companies mostly in the West. She told me the following on slave wages:

For a reason that I have forgotten, no Western company runs a shoe factory in Indonesia. They only buy production of local factories. This applies to Reebok, Nike and of course her small business, which is different since she is an intermediary. I think she said foreign shoe factory owners are mainly Taiwanese and South Koreans. The reason why Westerners do not run such businesses may be that they do not invest as boldly as the Asians, and/or don't have the clout or will to deal with local "administrative expenses."

According to this, it is incorrect to say that Western multinationals pay slave wages to Indonesian workers. This may seem hypocritical; but she added that Western buyers actually favoured higher wages to be paid to workers, as well as better working conditions. Not on generous or humanitarian grounds, but because experimentally production is of a better quality when there are better pay and better working conditions. They were trying to have local factory owners understand this, but had

difficulties, especially with Korean owners, reportedly the worst.

I understand that this view is controversial and is perhaps incorrect. So if some of you have further information comforting or contradicting it, it might be interesting. I asked her if he could write a note on what she told me orally, because if it is true I think it is important not to be unfair with people who take care to give human rights awards to East Timorese. But I don't know when and if she will write it up.

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## INDONESIAN FREE TRADE UNIONS PLEA

According to a December 10 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia's leading human rights group urged authorities on Thursday to let workers exercise their political rights, including setting up trade unions.

Indonesia has only one state-sponsored labour union, which analysts say is ineffective in protecting workers' interests. It is illegal to set up other unions.

"Workers do not have the chance to exercise their political rights like setting up a union.... It is necessary for the people to have political equality which enables them to participate in decision-making," Abdul Hakim Nusantara, head of the Indonesian Human Rights Foundation, told reporters.

Hakim blamed the lack of rights for a spate of strikes across Indonesia in the past year. He said there were 177 strikes involving about 88,000 workers in the first 10 months of this year compared to 130 involving 65,000 people last year.

The minimum daily wage is 2,600 rupiah (\$1.26) but even this is not observed in many factories, established by regional investors attracted to Indonesia by low labour costs and relative industrial peace.

"The government's attempts to raise the minimum daily wage are not enough because there are still abuses in its implementation," Hakim said.

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## LABOUR CONDITIONS IN TIMOR SCRUTINISED

*Summarised from Jakarta Post, 30 December 1992 & 2 January 1993*

Labour issues have risen to the surface once more after Asia Watch and International Labour Rights Education reported evidence of forcible employment of East Timorese in Java and Kalimantan, child labour and military intervention to end industrial action. The United States Trade Representative on the Generalised System of Trade Preference recently questioned Cosmas Batubara, the Indonesian Minister

of Manpower, on the findings of these reports.

On the issue of the young East Timorese workers, Cosmas admitted that East Timorese youths were being trained in government workshops in Java and Kalimantan "at the invitation of the ministry." He however stated that they were not forcibly registered. He said that a thousand East Timorese who were trained in workshops had subsequently chosen to work in those areas.

Meanwhile in East Timor, local legislator Antonio Freitas Parada claimed that it was Indonesia's own fault that it is now under a "barrage of criticism" from foreign institutions. He spoke of favouritism in East Timor. "Some government offices here have even imported people from outside East Timor to work as cleaners. Aren't there any East Timorese good enough to become cleaners?"

And it is not only in the menial government jobs that East Timorese find themselves discriminated against. Martino also claimed that "If the head of an office is a person from outside East Timor, then all his employees, except for the drivers will come from the outside as well." His statement ends with the comment "But if one criticises the government about this practice, one is labelled an opponent of the integration or even a member of Fretilin."

According to the Chief of the provincial office of the Manpower Ministry, Anton Pujiono, there are around 5,000 unemployed East Timorese in the province and only 293 Timorese were employed in government offices during 1991/92. Most of the provincial ministerial offices are headed by people from outside East Timor. Cosmas defended Indonesia's record on child labour by quoting studies carried out by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) which indicated that the existence of child labour was predominantly in the informal sector. He claimed that the studies showed very few children employed in the formal sector and that, in any event, the government was doing its utmost to eradicate all child labour.

Cosmas denied that military interfered in industrial disputes. He did acknowledge that there was police involvement in the law and order aspect, such as when workers took to the streets to air their grievances. "And when the strikers start stoning the factories and burn things, the police will ask for help from the military" he said. Cosmas stressed that military did not get involved in workers demands.

The US representative also questioned the minister on the fact that Indonesia only sanctioned one "trade union," the All Indonesia Labour Union (SPSI), to represent

its workers. Cosmas' explanation was that Indonesia encouraged its workers to form a union but discouraged outside interference. "We disagree with outsiders going into factories," he said, "because what we want is for the workers to form their unions." He stated that President Suharto was strongly committed to the formation of labour unions.

After the meeting, Cosmas said that the US representative had a better understanding of the labour issue in Indonesia but "some doubts persisted."

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## RESOURCES

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### BOOK REVIEW: DEATH IN DILI

*In Green Left Weekly, #82 Dec. 2, 1992*

*By Andrew McMillan, Hodder & Stoughton, 235pp \$14.95*

*Reviewed by Nick Everett*

Death in Dili is a remarkable account of 17 years of struggle by the East Timorese for national self-determination. It pieces together events from 1975, when Indonesia invaded East Timor and Australia turned its back on Indonesia's killing field, to the violent crackdown at Santa Cruz last November and the controversial peace mission on the Lusitania Expresso earlier this year.

Andrew McMillan, author of *Death in Dili*, was holidaying in Dili in January 1990 when he was caught in the middle of a pro-independence demonstration that was ruthlessly suppressed by Indonesian soldiers. McMillan recalls these events filling in the historical background behind the situation in East Timor.

McMillan accurately and concisely puts forward evidence of the complicity of consecutive Australian governments in the repression in East Timor. This is made clear in a cable from the Whitlam government's ambassador in Indonesia in 1975 which says:

"It would seem to me that this Department (of minerals & energy) might well have an interest in closing the present gap in the agreed sea border (between Australia and East Timor), and this could be much more readily negotiated with Indonesia than with Portugal or an independent Portuguese Timor. I know I am recommending a pragmatic rather than principled stand but that is what national interest and foreign policy are all about."

Summing up Australia's role, McMillan says: "Back in 1974-75, when Australia could've played a major role in East Timor's

peaceful transition to independence, Prime Minister Whitlam argued that an independent East Timor wasn't an economically viable proposition, that it was a backwater devoid of natural resources worthy of exploitation. So the deal was done, Australia accepted the Indonesian invasion and then, after a suitable time had elapsed, set about carving up the oil deposits in the seabed off East Timor and sharing them with the invaders. And in the meantime, a third of the East Timorese population had been killed. That's no way for a respectable government to behave."

In reflecting on the Whitlam Labor government's role, McMillan points to its reluctance to voice condemnation of the Indonesian government's murder of three Australian journalists during the invasion. McMillan carefully traces the efforts of others, following in their footsteps to get information out of East Timor on the violation of human rights in the territory and the strength of the resistance movement.

One such journalist, Robert Domm, who is interviewed with the recently captured Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão in 1990, is quoted by McMillan. Xanana affirms the strength of the Maubere (Timorese) resistance, describing Dili as "the centre of clandestine activities, the engine of underground activities. The level of the underground organisation enables us to affirm once again that if Jakarta continues to be inflexible, the war will not end soon."

The courage of East Timorese youth in protesting the Indonesian occupation during the Papal visit, and again last year in anticipation of a planned visit by a Portuguese delegation, is described vividly by McMillan. The huge disappointment at the cancellation of the Portuguese visit and the anger at the death of 18 year old Sebastião Gomez in October last year, led to a public display of resistance at Gomez's funeral on November 12 last year. McMillan states:

"As the funeral procession left the church early on that Tuesday morning, scores, hundreds and then thousands of people joined the procession as it wound through the streets of Dili en route to Santa Cruz Cemetery. By the time the procession wound past the Governor's office, numbers had swelled to an impossible six thousand people, this vast throng buoyed by thunderous chants of Viva Independencia! and Viva Xanana!"

McMillan goes on to describe the military mobilisation in response to this demonstration and the mass killings that occurred both inside and outside Santa Cruz cemetery that day. In his description of the events that followed, the jailing of participants in the demonstration and the National Commission of Inquiry called by Suharto,

McMillan notes that, while a handful of military officers were either dismissed or court-martialled, student activists faced prison terms of up to seven years.

Angered by these injustices, McMillan decided to join the peace mission on board the Lusitania Expresso in March of this year. Accompanying him were students from around the world and an Australian delegation that included Shirley Shackleton, widow of one of the Australian journalists killed in 1975, and a variety of journalists.

McMillan, in his typically dry humour, says of his decision: "Hell, what could be sweeter than a tropical cruise into the old Spice Islands with a bunch of crazy journos and a boatload of nubile young students with delightful accents? I signed on and got the Wild Turkey and Chivas duty free."

Underlying this humour is a sense of gravity of the predicament of the East Timorese people: a recognition that after four hundred years of Portuguese colonialism the East Timorese are not about to give up their struggle for freedom. This is a book well worth reading.

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## NEW DOCUMENTARY ON NOAM CHOMSKY AND THE MEDIA

*Film Review by David Peterson, Insight Features*

*"They who have put out the people's eyes reproach them for their blindness."*

—John Milton

Mark Achbar and Peter Wintonock use this line from the great English poet as the inscription to their new documentary, 'Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media.' The same quote was also used to inscribe the 1988 book by Chomsky and Edward Herman, 'Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media.'

The quote captures one of Chomsky's basic themes: in the relatively freer, formally democratic societies, particularly the more powerful ones, the role of the media is to blind people to their real interests in truth, freedom, authenticity, fellowship and justice. As a component of an ideological system, the role of media is to "manufacture the consent" (the phrase penned by Walter Lippmann in his 1922 book 'Public Opinion') of these same people to policies and to a way of life that is typically not in their best interest and often self-destructive as well.

This unhappy fact of life also has a more optimistic concomitant: the native capacity of people to escape from these doctrinal constraints. We all feel the need to move in the direction of something more truly hu-

man, providing we are willing and able to make the effort.

Hence ruling elites of every stripe have always found themselves forced to resort to forms of thought control and deception. They have done so more or less to the same extent that their social structures were unjust or their governments behaved unjustly, whether against their own citizens or other countries.

In Chomsky's perspective, the human species is not without its emancipatory potential. Thus, as opposed to the political insider, the activist's ideal is to help people discover their decent instincts, as well as to provide them with the moral, intellectual and political tools they need to act on these instincts in a positive and constructive fashion.

The film's general approach is to portray Chomsky's legendary and uncompromising labors toward this end. More important, it succeeds - impressively. Achbar and Wintonock have managed to match many of Chomsky's theoretical points with helpful footage concretely representing the point he's making.

One good example: Chomsky is shown quoting Reinhold Neibuhr's infamous line about the need for "necessary illusions," i.e., "emotionally potent over-simplifications" to keep the great mass of people in check and on the proper course. The filmmakers then cut in with a Reaganesque PR film on the glories of the Strategic Defense Initiative, complete with space-based lasers zapping incoming Soviet ICBMs. It's a riot - you'll love it.

The film also has some excellent vintage footage of Chomsky appearing on Dutch TV, in a 1971 debate with the French historian Michel Foucault. There are clips of a debate with William Buckley on 'Firing Line' and of Chomsky speaking outside MIT, denouncing the technocrats who created the Indochina wars. There is a powerful treatment of the comparative U.S. media coverage of the Cambodian and East Timorese bloodbaths, which serves as a classic example of the media's subservience to power.

There are also interviews with people who think the Chomsky - Herman Propaganda Model is a lot of crap. From my seat in the balcony, the film does have one boring lapse. The work is in two parts; first is "Thought Control" (95 minutes), second is "Activating Dissent" (72 minutes). About two-thirds of the way through part one, the filmmakers travel to Media, Pa. Who knows why the footage is there, except maybe they invested a lot of time and couldn't bring themselves to cut it?

Most average, everyday people know little or nothing about Noam Chomsky. Yet

I think they are the people who would most enjoy and have their eyes opened by this film. As Chomsky puts it toward the end of part two:

"The question is whether privileged elites should dominate mass communication, and should use this power as they tell us they must - namely, to impose 'necessary illusions.' ...Either the general population will take control of its own destiny and will concern itself with community interests, guided by values of solidarity, and sympathy, and concern for others. Or alternatively, there will be no destiny for anyone to control.

*David Peterson is a free lance writer living in Chicago.*

## CHOMSKY FILM BEGINS U.S. DISTRIBUTION

*Memo to local organizers from Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US. December 30, 1992*

Last week, I received a call from Mark Achbar, co-producer of the new full-length documentary "Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media." Although the film opened in Canada last summer and has been distributed there, it will begin its US showings early in 1993. Mark is very cooperative and eager to work with East Timor activists to promote the film and energize people on Timor. He is willing to hold benefits for ETAN in various cities, and would like us to help let people know about the movie.

Two reviews of the movie are on page 75-76 of Volume 16 of the East Timor Documents, if you want to know more about it. I haven't seen it yet.

The section on East Timor is just before the intermission in the 165-minute film, and people will be motivated to sign up. ETAN/US will provide some materials to be distributed when it is shown; I hope that local activists can set up tables and collect petitions as well.

Although the US run, which will cover all major cities, is yet to be scheduled, a few special showings are already set:

January 8, Palm Springs Film Festival, CA

January 30-31, February 11. Boston

Museum of Fine Arts. Chomsky will

speak in person at a follow-up program February 18.

February 5-7, 12-14. Chicago.

For more information, contact me or

Mark Achbar

Necessary Illusions

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## LONELY PLANET REPLIES

*This is an answer to a letter which was printed in Timor Documents #18, page 82. Bruno Kahn wrote Tony Wheeler, editor of Southeast Asia on a Shoestring to critique the book's treatment of East Timor.*

Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd  
A.C.N. 005 607 983  
PO Box 617, Hawthorn, Victoria 3122,  
Australia  
18 December 1992

Bruno Kahn  
Agir pour Timor  
22 bis, rue Jouvenet  
75016 Paris, France

Dear Bruno

Thanks for your letter of 22 November concerning Timor and our *South-East Asia on a Shoestring* guide. I should make two things clear:

1. putting a place in one of our books does not in any way imply approval of the government concerned.
2. nor does it mean we're suggesting it's necessarily a nice place for tourists.

So we are certainly not going to leave Timor out of our book just because the Portuguese were bloody stupid and the Indonesians have not been very nice. Nor are we going to treat it as a separate country when the reality is that to an unobservant visitor it would appear to be just another part of Indonesia.

The material you included is interesting but I would include a few of my own observations:

1. There certainly is a contrast between Dili's quiet, even subdued atmosphere, and the raucous atmosphere of Kupang. But that is exactly the same contrast which existed during the Portuguese period prior to the Indonesian invasion.
2. Saying the roads in Timor are very poor compared to Java is pretty meaning- less. The roads in other Nusa Tenggara islands, Flores for example, are also very poor compared to Java. During the Portuguese period the roads in East Timor were very much worse than very poor, believe it or not they are now much better.
3. Admittedly my last visit to East Timor was prior to the Dili massacre but I was subjected to absolutely no checking, question asking, form filling, photographing or other untoward attention.

After my visit another of our researchers also went to East Timor and there is a little more material in the new edition of our Indonesia guide. We certainly don't approve of Indonesia's policies in Timor and I hope that is made clear in our books. On the other

hand we also have to accept that as far as human rights go there are much worse governments in the region - Burma, China and North Korea for three examples.

Yours sincerely  
(signed)  
Tony Wheeler

### Comment from Mate-Bian News: Jan 10, 1993

... that "as far as human rights go (i.e. in East Timor), there are much worse governments in the region - Burma, China and North Korea, etc." It seems Tony Wheeler has no idea about the methods the Indonesian military use to suppress the people of East Timor. Of course human rights abuse no matter where they are committed must be severely condemned. Be it in China or Australia, in Burma or North Korea. One can not be fool by good (better?) and worse, by good roads; and/or use smart comparisons to say that the abuse of human rights in ET is less worse that somewhere else. Why? Simply because Mr. Tony Wheeler was not searched when he went there prior to the massacre? Or, because Mr. Tony Wheeler does not see it as often on the news as he sees those of Burma, etc?

Firstly, may I stress that the fact that the Indonesian military, by force and barbarous methods have invaded and since occupied East Timor against the Timorese free will, is in itself, a profound abuse of basic Human Rights. No matter how much the Portuguese colonial rulers have done wrong, nothing can dilute this basic fact; no matter how long the Indonesian military is going to occupy East Timor, time can not make wrong right; no matter how many Timorese are going to be killed by the Indonesian military government to make East Timor "just like Mr. Wheeler's other parts of Indonesia," the Indonesian army still is occupying East Timor. Even if they make beautiful or better roads or cover the entire East Timor with gold, the Indonesian military government is still illegally occupying East Timor; or, even if the Indonesian military government sacrifices hundreds of thousands of innocent Indonesian soldiers, forced by their government to die in East Timor to feed their relatives, it still does not give the Indonesian military government the right to be in East Timor. As an Indonesian intellectual and lawyer recently put it: Indonesia has no historical or cultural rights to be in East Timor. Let alone legal rights...

1. The fact that Indonesian military managed to hide the crimes committed daily in East Timor against a defenceless people from the rest of the world, contrary from suggesting that there is "less abuse of Human Rights," one should try to see

whether this means you are dealing with a sophisticated repressive machine. YES, Mr. Wheeler, even the former Bishop of New York, Paul Moore who went to East Timor recently and spoke to many senior leaders of the Catholic Church came out and said: when you arrive in ET, your first impression is that you are in a peaceful place; however, if you stay a bit longer and keep your eyes and ears open, you will realise that you are in a place where people are oppressed by a very sophisticated repressive machine.

2. The report by a UN expert in torture, now Foreign Affairs Minister of Netherlands, also said that "in East Timor, torture is a matter of routine."

3. Furthermore, if one wants to compare "as far as human rights go" one must ask why is it that dictatorships like those in the region e.g. Burma, Thailand (remember last year's massacre of Bangkok?), or even Philippines during Marcos, the Press was able to, regularly, cover the events showing military repression against civilians, but in Indonesia and East Timor one can not see that? Why is that the press is not allowed in East Timor to cover the situation there so that the world can start to "agree" with the Indonesian military occupationist forces in East Timor? Why is that that the generals of Jakarta keep on saying that East Timor is so happy with them but they consistently refuse any international observer/s or free press to go there in a normal fashion and tell their story? Why so many arrest everyday? Why the current operation is called turning all the villages "meraputi"? Is that because none of them are after 17 years?

4. For Mr. Wheeler's "unobservant visitors," East Timor is just like any other part of Indonesia. If that so, why going to East Timor in the first place. Why not going to "other parts" and avoid going to East Timor and returning with these "expert" comments?

5. On the line of Human Rights, may I remind the Indonesian apologists that about 200,000 East Timorese have been killed since the Indonesian invasion of the 7 of December 1975 and its consequent occupation. Most of these people are either said to have "disappeared" or dead but no one can say where they are. Where are they? Can Mr. Wheeler ask his Indonesian friends where are these people?

6. Last year, the so-called Indonesian general's "investigative commission supposedly set to "investigate" the massacre of Santa Cruz, after bending the truth to its limit, came up with a figure saying that 50 people were killed and 90 disappear. BUT, they only found 19 bodies. Where are the other 31 bodies? If you could not find them how do you know they were killed? If you

know they were killed, where are they? Who will answer the relatives of these killed and disappeared people?

East Timor may be is a fool's paradise; but, after 17 years under Indonesian occupation, it can be anything but paradise.

7. No wonder the roads are better, Mr. Wheeler!!!

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## BOOK REVIEW: TIMOR, THE FORGOTTEN GENOCIDE

*Liberation, 1 Dec. 1992*

By Caroline Puel. Original language: French. Scope: Unabridged

### IN THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONY, JAKARTA'S POLICY REDUCED THE POPULATION BY 40%.

*Comment: to my knowledge, the first time an account of the extent of East Timor's catastrophe appears so clearly in a major French newspaper. - Bruno*

The genocide Indonesia has perpetrated for 17 years in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor is one of the most forgotten conflicts in History. Yet recent news attracted the attention of human rights organisations on this small island, about 500 km North of Australia, where 40% of the population has been exterminated by Indonesian military since 1975. On November 20th, the leader of Fretilin [sic] (Front for Liberation of East Timor), José Xanana Gusmão, 46, who organised clandestinely the struggle against the Indonesian occupation, was arrested in Dili, the capital of East Timor, and transferred to Denpasar (Bali). Gusmão might be judged for 'subversion,' an act carrying a possible death sentence in Indonesia. Five days later, Amnesty International revealed that several members of the family of the independence leader, among whom two children, had also been arrested, and the organisation fears "that they are submitted to ill-treatment during interrogation."

This is the context in which L'Harmattan publishes Gabriel Defert's book, *East Timor, the Forgotten Genocide* (1). The author, a young researcher, specialist of South-East Asia, who lived for a long time in Indonesia, voluntarily observed "an academic and non-militant approach." The result is a clear, very accessible book, full of testimonies, report extracts, numerous charts, graphics and an important bibliography, which takes stock, for the first time in French, of the situation prevailing in East Timor (the former French work on this question dates back to 1980 [sic: in fact, 1976]).

A history of the Portuguese colonisation and an independence that lasted just three

months, a relation of sixteen years of resistance, a description of the Indonesian occupation and an explanation of international passivity... the last part of the book is even devoted to precolonial history of the island (the first European settlements date back to 1514).

There were about 696,000 East Timorese on the island at the time of the Indonesian invasion, at the end of 1975. In 1981, Indonesian officials claimed to have counted 567,000 inhabitants, but the Catholic Church, whose estimates turned out to be very reliable, counted only 425,000. Taking demographic increase into account, it means that 35 to 40% of the original population had already disappeared, then, in the camps. Since then, forced draft and the great famine of 1982 caused new hecatombs, but it is very difficult to get any figure estimate. "Never, since the Second World War, did a population suffer so much of a foreign invasion," Gabriel Defert concludes.

Talking too much of genocide caused the term to progressively lose its strength, but even if in this case there was no deliberate will to eliminate the Timorese, one has to observe that Jakarta's policy had similar consequences."

Gabriel Defert demonstrates how the Indonesian administration organised a real "ethnocide." A very important part of the budget allocated to East Timor is for example devoted to education, "a process aiming to Indonesianise the Timorese," and family planning "while it seems obvious that a country that lost one third of its population in ten years of war does not need to drastically reduce its natality rate."

According to a group of Indonesian doctors quoted by Gabriel Defert, contraceptive injections presented as "vaccines against tetanus" of a product (Depo-provera) that has not yet been agreed by WHO, were practiced in 1987 on 57% of the women involved in family planning in East Timor, compared to only 5% in Indonesia.

The author also insists on the migration of Indonesians (maybe 200,000) who come to enjoy in East Timor a quasi-colonial situation. Timorese peasants are expelled from their land if they refuse to become Indonesians. Exploitations then go to the military, who have a monopoly on coffee exports.

Gabriel Defert gave his book the subtitle "Right of a people and reasons of States." Indeed a whole part [of the book] explains international immobilism (including that of Vatican) in front of the massacres of Timor. From the general apathy of the first years (1975/1980), in a Cold War climate when the West feared to see Fretilin transform itself into a Marxist movement, to the present coolness explained by economic interests of

neighbouring countries (Australia) and Western countries in Indonesia.

Today, in spite of reassuring statements by Indonesian officials, the situation in East Timor is far from becoming better. One year after the Dili massacre (Indonesian military had opened fire on an unarmed crowd, causing officially 50 deaths), a crushing report of the Portuguese Ecumenical association "Peace is Possible" reveals that 271 persons were killed and 250 disappeared (79% of the victims were less than 25) on Nov. 12, 1991 and during the six days following the massacre, some Timorese having been finished in the hospital.

"Human rights in East Timor cannot be dissociated from self-determination, Gabriel Defert estimates. There is need for an internationally controlled process, as already required in an - unapplied - UN resolution."

(1) *East Timor: the Forgotten Genocide* by Gabriel Defert, Ed. L'Harmattan, 323 pages, 180 francs.

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## TFI.INTERNAL CONFERENCE E-MAIL FEEDS

### A New Private Computer Conference on Indonesia

Task Force Indonesia has set up a private store-and-forward conference called [tfi.internal](http://tfi.internal) for its own use.

Portions of [tfi.internal](http://tfi.internal) may be made available through a gratis email feed to co-operating organizations, groups, and individuals. Others may also receive feeds from it on a fee-for-service basis. This shared information will mainly, but not exclusively, consist of current news.

TFI's own project information will continue only to be available to TFI members engaged in those projects.

[tfi.internal](http://tfi.internal) is stored on the Digital Express system and may not be accessed directly. Your access to [tfi.internal](http://tfi.internal) is possible solely through these email feeds.

### You May Need This Material

For many online, various existing public conferences will carry an adequate amount of information.

However, for others seriously interested in Indonesia or East Timor, you may need the additional material from the [tfi.internal](http://tfi.internal) conference.

### Use of [tfi.internal](http://tfi.internal) Email Feeds

The supplementary material in [tfi.internal](http://tfi.internal) may only be used in agreed ways.

Recipients of [tfi.internal](http://tfi.internal) material may not disseminate it further electronically through cross-posting in other conferences, lists, newsgroups, bulletin boards, or

emailed announcements or correspondence unless specific agreements have been reached.

Breach of these principles will result in immediate termination of the feed.

Typical permitted uses of tfi.internal feeds might include organizational, group, or individual activist work or research (excluding online mass mailing to members of an organization or group) and release through organizational periodicals (excluding electronic publishing), leaflets, press releases, and print/broadcast media.

... Arranging a tfi.internal Feed ...

To discuss and arrange an email feed, please email apakabar@access.digex.com (John MacDougall, TFI Coordinator). Relevant feeds can be quickly arranged for organizations, informal groups, and individuals cooperating in some meaningful and sustained way with Task Force Indonesia. This cooperation might take such forms as pursuing minimum common goals, sharing private information, translating, monitoring media, or coordinating public posting.

Getting a feed should be quite easy for any organization, group, or individual willing to make a modest effort at reciprocity.

Others who would like a feed but who for various reasons cannot make such an effort may obtain a relevant feed on a negotiated fee-for-service basis. TFI reserves the right to select recipients of fee-for-service feeds.

#### Phasing in the Feeds

Over the coming weeks, tfi.internal feeds will be automatically set up for organizations, groups, and individuals with whom TFI has had some sort of formal or informal cooperation. In these cases, just watch your mailbox. Some omissions will inadvertently occur, so please be in early email contact if there has been mutual aid and cooperation.

Others seeking a feed but who may not fall in this category should email apakabar@access.digex.com at any convenient opportunity.

This is a new TFI project with potential significant benefits for many with access to Internet resources, but as in all new projects unanticipated circumstances may require special handling. Your patient discussion of these through email will be greatly appreciated.

John A. MacDougall

Coordinator, Task Force Indonesia

Email: apakabar@access.digex.com

*Material from tfi.internal is and will be included in this document compilation, thanks to John MacDougall.*

## MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

### FORGOTTEN GENOCIDE - A LITTLE ATTENTION, AT LAST, FOR EAST TIMOR

*"The Progressive," December 1992,  
Volume 56, Number 12*

*by Matthew Jardine*

Francisco, a teenager, approaches me and asks nervously whether it's true that the U.S. government is cutting off aid to Indonesia. Sister Maria, a Catholic nun, grabs my hand as she pleads with me to tell people in the U.S. to pray for East Timor. João, a farmer whose twenty-one-year old brother was gunned down in cold blood by the Indonesian military at the Santa Cruz massacre last November, asks me to explain why the U.S. has done nothing to help East Timor.

Such scenes were repeated over and over during my recent visit to the former Portuguese colony. Many East Timorese simply could not understand why the West has not stopped aid to Indonesia in the aftermath of the massacre. Given what the West had done in the case of Kuwait, many asked, how could it ignore the plight of East Timor victim of one of the major genocides of the late Twentieth Century?

For some East Timorese, the reasons for such seemingly inconsistent behavior posed no mystery: In George Bush's New World Order, the human rights of the East Timorese were subordinate to U.S. geopolitical and corporate interests. However, U.S. citizens and some members of Congress have begun to challenge American complicity in the oppression of East Timor.

On October 2nd, Congress cut \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training funding for Indonesia from the Foreign Aid appropriations bill for fiscal 1993. It was the first time in seventeen years that Congress has reduced aid to Indonesia over the issue of East Timor. The cutback was imposed despite strong opposition from such major corporations such as AT&T and from the State and Defense Departments.

East Timor lies 400 miles north of Darwin, Australia. For centuries, Portugal and the Netherlands fought over it to gain control of the global spice trade. Before World War II, the Dutch held the western half of the island of Timor; after decolonization, it became part of the Republic of Indonesia along with the rest of the Dutch East Indies. East Timor, a Portuguese col-

ony, followed a different course: When the Portuguese military dictatorship fell in 1974 and its successor government began divesting itself of its overseas territories, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) emerged victorious from a brief civil war (during which the Portuguese administrators fled the island) and began setting up a national government in East Timor.

A few months later, menaced by threatening rhetoric and military incursions from West Timor, FRETILIN formally declared independence. Indonesia's ruling generals, fearing that an independent country on its borders would destabilize the ethnically heterogeneous archipelago, launched a full-scale invasion one week later on the pretense that they were saving East Timor from leftist tyranny. Human rights monitors estimate that since the Indonesian invasion of December 1975 over 200,000 East Timorese almost one third of the 1975 population have died as a direct result of the invasion, the ongoing occupation, and politically created famine.

Until 1989, Indonesian authorities kept East Timor off limits to the outside world. The few reports that did emerge suggested massive repression and suffering. However, the silence of most Western governments and of mainstream Western news media meant that most people had never even heard of East Timor.

It took the presence of a handful of Western journalists at last year's Santa Cruz Massacre to bring the plight of East Timor back to the world's attention. On 12 November 1991, during a memorial march in Dili for a pro-independence activist killed by the Indonesian military, the Indonesian army fired upon thousands of mourners at Santa Cruz Cemetery killing more than 200 defenseless East Timorese. (Recent reports from East Timor suggest that the death toll might have been considerably higher.)

Two American journalists, Amy Goodman of WBAI radio in New York City and Allan Nairn of "The New Yorker," witnessed the massacre and were badly beaten by Indonesian soldiers. Nairn, who was struck repeatedly by soldiers wielding the butts of U.S.-made M16 rifles, suffered a fractured skull.

Photos and videos of the massacre smuggled out of Dili brought swift international reaction. Resolutions in the European Parliament and the U.S. Congress quickly condemned Indonesia. The Netherlands, Denmark, and Canada announced that they were suspending aid. Newspapers throughout the West editorialized in favor of East Timorese self-determination. Demonstrations in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe plagued

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas wherever he travelled in a tour aimed at damage control. The Lusitania Express tried to sail from Darwin, Australia to Dili to lay flowers at the Santa Cruz Cemetery (see "A Voice for Timor," On the Line, June issue).

But while the U.S. State Department officially deplored the "overreaction" of Indonesian troops at Santa Cruz, it rejected any attempts to cut military assistance such as the funds under the International Military and Education Training Act. According to State Dept. spokesperson Richard Boucher, "These kinds of programs expose the trainee to democratic ideas and humanitarian standards." In support of its argument, the State Department pointed out that none of the Indonesian military officers present at Santa Cruz had received U.S. training.

The State Department said the report of Indonesian President Suharto's hand-picked official investigation committee (which acknowledged only 50 deaths) was "serious and responsible." In a January visit to Indonesia, Senators Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) and Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) said they were "impressed" with Jakarta's handling of the incident.

With the help of Hill & Knowlton, the high-powered Washington public relations firm that had been retained by the Kuwaiti government to sell the Persian Gulf war to the American people, the Indonesian government has successfully presented the Santa Cruz "incident" as a breach of military discipline rather than as part of an occupation declared illegal by the United Nations. By sentencing a few low ranking soldiers to prison terms of not more than 18 months (while East Timorese who participated in the Santa Cruz march and a demonstration in Jakarta to protest the massacre received sentences ranging from 5 years to life imprisonment) and by relieving a few military commanders of their duties in East Timor, President Suharto has effectively mollified Western governments.

The two top military commanders at the time of the massacre have been "punished" by being sent away for study. Major General Sintong Panjaitan until recently was pursuing a course of study at Harvard University. Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw is reportedly studying English somewhere in Indonesia and will either go to Harvard as well or pursue his studies elsewhere in the United States.

The hollowness of Jakarta's "regrets" was exposed by some of its top military officials. General Try Sutrisno, the commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces and one of the leading candidates for the next vice-president of Indonesia, said the East Timorese who had gathered at the cemetery were "disrupters" who "must be crushed."

He added "delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them." And General Mantiri, the new regional commander for East Timor, declared that the massacre was "proper," and added: "We don't regret anything."

Many human rights activists have decried the West's acceptance of Jakarta's moves in reaction to the Santa Cruz massacre. As Liem Soei Liong of Tapol, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, stated in his recent testimony to the UN Decolonization Committee: "The massacre in Santa Cruz was not an 'incident,' as the Indonesian authorities claim, but part of a history of mass killings in East Timor."

In the year that has passed since Santa Cruz, business between Indonesia and the West has largely returned to normal. Canada has resumed its bilateral assistance and most Western governments such as the US have willingly accepted Jakarta's regrets and subsequent actions as sufficient.

But critics charge that the human rights of the East Timorese are being sold for the great profits that multinationals are able to reap in Indonesia the 4th most populous country in the world. Coca-Cola President Donald R. Keough gushed about Indonesia's market potential: "When I think of Indonesia a country on the equator with 180 million people, a median age of 18, and a Muslim ban on alcohol I feel like I know what heaven looks like."

Meeting in Paris in mid July, the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), a World Bank-chaired consortium of donor countries to Indonesia refused to attach any human rights conditions to aid. The CGI pledged approximately US\$5 billion in aid for FY 1992-93, a 4% increase over the previous year. World Bank Vice President Gautam Kaji, who chaired the Paris meetings, called Indonesia "a model among developing countries" and reported that the donor community was "unanimous in their appreciation of the quality of macro-economic management" there.

The CGI replaced the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, chaired by the Netherlands and disbanded by Jakarta last March in reaction to what Indonesia called Dutch interference in Indonesian internal affairs. Indonesia now rejects all Dutch aid. The move by Jakarta was an effort to detach human rights issues from the question of aid.

At the CGI meeting the U.S. pledged \$94 million (Japan was the top donor at \$1.3 billion). Santa Cruz eyewitness Amy Goodman says such assistance is rendered because "the U.S. State Department and the President want to maintain a stable relationship with Indonesia. They (Indonesia) buy U.S. weapons and Suharto follows U.S.

interests." Goodman says the Bush administration's position on East Timor is virtually the same as Jakarta's; when Indonesian government officials are invited to speak on East Timor at public forums in the U.S., she notes, they decline and suggest that the U.S. State Department be asked to provide a speaker instead.

Western and, more importantly, U.S. support for Indonesia has deep roots. American elites have long assigned high geopolitical and economic importance to the nation. In 1967, Richard Nixon called it "the greatest prize in the South-East Asian area." In 1978, Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Advisor, named Indonesia as one of seven 3rd world countries with which the U.S. should "develop new and wider relationships."

President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were in Jakarta visiting Suharto the day before Indonesia launched its invasion of Dili, and it is widely thought that Ford and Kissinger gave Indonesia the green light to annex East Timor. While in Jakarta, Kissinger told reporters at a press conference that, in regards to East Timor, "the United States understands Indonesia's position on the question."

In 1976, for example, a U.S. State Department official explained why the U.S. condoned the Indonesian invasion of East Timor: "(T)he United States wants to keep its relations with Indonesia close and friendly. We regard Indonesia as a friendly, nonaligned nation a nation we do a lot of business with." Despite Indonesia's long history of gross human rights abuses such as in such places as Irian Jaya (the former West Papua) and the 1965-67 slaughter of 500,000 to 1,000,000 alleged members of the Indonesian Communist Party, U.S. economic interests have translated into strong military ties between the United States and Indonesia. According to the State Department, approximately 90 per cent of the weapons used by Indonesia during the 1975 invasion of East Timor were U.S.-supplied.

But despite the best efforts of Jakarta and its allies, the Santa Cruz massacre has focused media and governmental attention on Indonesia's occupation, and it has revitalized a once strong international solidarity movement for East Timor.

Last April, Senators Claiborne Pell, chair of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and David Boren, chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, visited Indonesia. Pell and Borne attempted to visit East Timor, but President Suharto denied their request. Pell's call for a plebiscite on self-determination to take place in East Timor embarrassed Jakarta.

In May, Representative Tony Hall, Ohio Democrat, introduced a bill to terminate all U.S. economic and military assistance to Indonesia until Jakarta complies with United Nations resolutions calling on it to withdraw from East Timor and permit a U.N.-supervised referendum on self-determination. The bill is likely to be voted on next year.

In a letter to its members last July, the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce (AICC) urged opposition to any attempt to cut off aid to Indonesia. The AICC, according to Executive Director Wayne Forrest, sees the United States in "a global dogfight" in which "Indonesia is a battleground." At stake are US jobs and, of course, huge profits. To eliminate aid would not only damage American economic interests but would also greatly reduce the US government's capacity to bring about positive change in Indonesia.

Forrest asserts that it is "a little naive" to think that the U.S., by taking unilateral action, can influence Indonesian behavior in regards to East Timor, but many East Timor observers challenge this view.

While the actions taken up until this point are far from what is required to get Jakarta to pull out of East Timor, Indonesia is clearly bothered by all the attention and pressure. As Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was quoted as saying in March, "Timor is like a sharp piece of gravel in our shoes." And that is unlikely to change soon.

Last September, 150 members of the US Congress and a contingent of the Japanese Diet sent a joint appeal to U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali calling for concrete measures by the United Nations to achieve a referendum on self-determination for East Timor.

Also in September, Indonesian General Panjaitan was sued in a U.S. Federal district court in Boston by Helen Todd, the mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, a New Zealand citizen killed at the Santa Cruz massacre. The suit, filed by the Center for Constitutional Rights, charges Panjaitan with responsibility for Kamal's death. According to a recent report, Panjaitan has returned to Indonesia.

Portugal and Indonesia recently opened the first negotiations in many years on the status of East Timor, and this is seen as a positive development. But Indonesia will not permit any East Timorese nationalists to take part in the talks, and repression in East Timor has intensified.

The East Timorese look to the West for help with their quest for self-determination. One leader of the resistance observed, "Politically, we have won. However, it is a question of force something we do not have." Given the massive Indonesian presence and investment in East Timor, the re-

cent cutback in U.S. military aid is but a small, though important, step in what is bound to be a long process.

*Matthew Jardine is the pseudonym of a writer who works with the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles. He recently returned from a one month trip to East Timor.*

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## HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH: ASIA 1992

According to a December 9 Kyodo story datelined Washington, a U.S. human rights group accused Asian governments and businesses Wednesday of fueling human rights abuses through arms deals, trade, or political pressure.

The complicity of Asian governments in human rights abuses in places beyond their own borders "gave a new twist" to the human rights picture in the region, Human Rights Watch said in a report.

The privately funded group said most of the human rights problems in Asia otherwise remained largely the same as in 1991.

The report cited continued harassment of dissidents in China, political persecution of ethnic minorities in Myanmar, and alleged repression by the Indonesian government in East Timor as among the major features of human rights abuses in the region.

The fall of President Najibullah in Afghanistan in March threw the country into a state of chaos and factional fighting, raising the specter of an "Asian Somalia," the report said.

One bright spot was Taiwan, where it said there is "continued progress toward a more open society."

The group said many of Asia's human rights problems involve more than one Asian government.

By way of example, it accused China and Thailand of compounding human rights abuses in Myanmar, where it said the military government is "kept afloat" by trade with the two countries.

Arms sales from China also help prop up the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council in Myanmar, the report said.

It criticized Japan for taking a largely hands-off stance on human rights abuses in Asia by not flexing its economic muscle.

"Japan, as the region's largest donor and investor, had enormous financial interests in countries with the worst human rights records in Asia, but it chose not to exert its economic leverage," the report said.

Investors from South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan were also faulted. It cited reports that workers' rights were particularly abused in Indonesia in plants owned or managed by South Koreans.

The group said similar allegations were made about ill treatment of workers in factories in China that were financed with Hong Kong or Taiwanese capital.

Hong Kong is itself a victim of "cross-border" political pressure in its exercise of human rights as China attempts to prevent democratization in the British colony before its return to Chinese rule in 1997, the report said.

Apart from the involvement of governments and business in human rights problems in the region, it said 1992 was marked by a growing trend in Asia to set up formal human rights bodies.

Cited as examples were moves within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to set up a governmental human rights forum for the region, and the establishment of a parliamentary committee on human rights in Indonesia.

Dismissing such moves as largely cosmetic, the report said they "appeared to be more an effort to fend off international criticism than a genuine attempt to ameliorate human rights abuses."

In 1992, "the underlying message of Asian governments was that while discussion of human rights issues was legitimate, control over the interpretation and implementation of international human rights standards should rest with the governments in question," it said.

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## EUROPEAN REPORT

*December 15, 1992, Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor*

1. It was just announced in Holland that the Dutch Foreign Minister has been replaced by Pieter Kooijmans.

2. About two weeks ago, during a press conference in Madeira for a Luso-Hispanic summit, the Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez supported a statement of the Portuguese Prime minister condemning the detention of Xanana Gusmão.

3. There is an East Timor solidarity group in Luxembourg; they feel isolated and welcome any contacts by other solidarity groups:

Association Timor-Luxembourg  
72 route d'Arlon  
L-1150 Luxembourg  
tel. +352/455 871 or 333 491

They wrote a letter to Jacques Delors, arguing that in terms of Maastricht East Timor is considered as a part of Portugal, and therefore asking him to apply Maastricht literally to protect the Timorese as Portuguese citizens.

4. A campaign by the Federation of Portuguese Associations in France is in progress to have "500 associations for East

Timor.” At the moment there are about 50 signatories. They also launched a campaign to demand the release of Xanana Gusmão.

Bruno

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## HELP FLORES EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS

### IN THE NAME OF EAST TIMOR

Flores is the island just west of Timor, and shares its Catholic religion and some of its Portuguese colonial history. The earthquake and tidal waves this week killed many times as many people as the massacre at Santa Cruz Cemetery last year. Reports put the earthquake death toll at up to 4,000. We need to support the survivors of both tragedies.

The East Timor Action Network/US is encouraging people to donate to the victims of the earthquake to show that although we oppose Indonesian government policy, we support the people of Indonesia. ETAN/US will accept contributions and forward them to an appropriate Indonesian non-governmental organization for the victims of the Flores catastrophe.

Tax-deductible checks to “WESPAC Foundation/Flores” should be mailed to East Timor Action Network/US  
P.O. Box 1182  
White Plains, NY 10602 USA  
Phone 914-428-7299 Fax 914-428-7383  
Email cscheiner@igc.apc.org

We also encourage contributions directly to relief organizations, but by channeling it through ETAN (we will not take any of this money), you can help the people of East Timor as well as those of Flores.

*In the first few weeks of this appeal, over \$300 has been collected.*

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## CIP REPORTS ON THE TORTURERS LOBBY

According to a December 16 IPS story datelined Washington, DC, some of Washington’s top lobbying groups receive millions of dollars from foreign governments that are among the world’s worst abusers of human rights, according to a new report released here today.

Released by the Center for Public Integrity (CPI), an investigative group based here, the 79-page report says U.S. taxpayers are indirectly subsidizing these lobbyists’ fees by providing tens of millions of dollars in aid to the abusive governments.

The report, entitled “The Torturers’ Lobby,” selected 15 countries which have been identified as major human rights abusers by the State Department and independent human rights groups and which also receive U.S. aid or trade benefits or were

given major U.S. military support during last year’s Gulf War.

Among those receiving U.S. aid, the countries chosen for the study were Turkey, Nigeria, Morocco, Kenya, the Philippines, Indonesia, Egypt, Israel, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru, and the rebel group, UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

China, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait – all of which receive no U.S. aid – were also selected because of their close political or commercial ties with the United States.

All of those countries hired well-connected lobbyists to press their cases with the U.S. Congress and administration, the report found. Human rights activists have long complained that high-powered lobbyists have made it more difficult for U.S. lawmakers to link aid to human rights concerns.

The firm which received the most money – more than \$14 million – from abusive regimes in the early 1990s, according to the report, was “Hill and Knowlton” some of whose top officers are currently working on behalf of President-elect Bill Clinton on the transition between administrations.

The firm received more than three million dollars from Indonesia, more than one million dollars each from Israel and Turkey, and also did work for Kuwait, China, Peru, Egypt, and UNITA.

Abusive governments were helped by another top-flight lobby firm with close ties to the Republican administration of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush. “Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly” received \$3.3 million during the last 18 months from Kenya, Nigeria and UNITA, according to the report.

Kuwait, whose six-month occupation by Iraq was ended by U.S. armed forces, paid the most to foreign lobbyists of any of the 16 – \$12.5 billion.

Among U.S. aid recipients, Indonesia placed first – sending \$6.8 million to Washington lobbyists since mid-1991, according to the report.

In return, it received \$98.9 million in U.S. economic aid, according to the report. Despite efforts by both the Bush administration and Jakarta lobbyists, military aid to Indonesia was cut off by Congress last fall to protest the Nov. 1991 massacre of more than 100 civilians in East Timor.

Turkey paid \$3.8 million to its lobbyists here in exchange for some \$804 million in U.S. aid and major new trade benefits rewarded in part for its support during the Gulf War.

Colombia paid the most in lobbyists’ fees of Latin American governments charged with widespread abuses. It spent \$3.2 million for which it received \$93.8 million in

aid, while Nigeria placed first among Sub-Saharan recipients at \$2.6 million.

UNITA, the only non-governmental subject in the study, paid out almost two million dollars to lobbyists since mid-1991. The rebel group, which repudiated U.N.-monitored elections in Angola in September, received an estimated \$250 million in covert aid between 1986 and 1991.

Charles Lewis, the CPI’s director, also noted to reporters Tuesday that Clinton’s Commerce Secretary-designate, Democratic Party chair Ron Brown, represented Haiti’s government under Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier, while his law firm – “Patton, Boggs and Blow” – received \$220,000 from Guatemala last year.

Lewis also stressed that the figures cited in the report were “very conservative,” since many lobbyists do not actually disclose their activities on behalf of foreign governments.

The report itself was based on the records of the Justice Department’s Foreign Agent Registration Act which has been widely assailed as ineffective by lawmakers and critics concerned about lobbying activities on behalf of foreign governments and corporations.

Clinton himself took note of that concern last week when he issued new regulations for senior officers of his administration forbidding them from ever representing foreign governments before the agencies to which they will be assigned.

In many cases, said Lewis, governments could not afford to pay for lobbyists if they did not receive U.S. aid. “Should the U.S. taxpayer in effect subsidize lobbyists hired by some of the world’s most persistent abusers of human rights,” he asked.

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## ‘ROB WES(T)LEY SMITH’ SAGA

Reuter, Sydney, Jan 7 - An Australian tourist barred from entering Indonesia after being mistaken for a rebel sympathiser is demanding an apology and compensation.

Robert Westley Smith, 36, along with his fiancée and two children, was detained by Indonesian officials and interrogated on his arrival in Bali on December 28.

When his name was entered into the immigration computer, officials told him it matched the name of the Darwin-based Australian activist for East Timor’s independence, Robert Wesley-Smith, who was on an official black list, Smith said.

He said he tried to convince officials of the mistake and pointed out the different spelling but they denied him entry.

Smith and his family were escorted onto a plane back to Australia after eight hours in Bali's Denpasar airport.

"Our holiday was wrecked and I've spent hundreds of dollars in telephone calls around Australia trying to sort this thing out," Smith told Reuters from Adelaide on Thursday. "The Indonesians have continually passed the buck.

"I want the Indonesians to apologise to me and my family, and we want compensation. My kids wonder what daddy has done wrong."

The Indonesian embassy in Canberra directed enquiries about the case to Jakarta.

An Indonesian army massacre of Timorese civilians in November 1991 galvanised many Australians to demonstrate against Jakarta's rule, including Wesley-Smith.

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## JAPANESE PM ASKED TO RAISE EAST TIMOR

*The following is a summary of a Press Release dated 8 January issued in Tokyo in advance of the departure from Japan on 11 January of the Japanese Prime Minister, Miyazawa Kiichi, on a tour of SE Asian countries including Indonesia:*

The supra-partisan Diet Forum on East Timor, the Free East Timor Japan Coalition and the Japanese Section of Amnesty International, in separate actions have reflected concern over the worsening human rights situation in East Timor following the arrest on 20 November of the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão and the failure of the UN-brokered talks in New York.

Lower House member, Eda Satsuki, in a meeting with the PM's cabinet, listed topics which Miyazawa should raise with Suharto: the return to the bereaved families of the remains of some 200 victims of the 12 November massacre in 1991, to refrain from torture of Xanana Gusmão to obtain confessions, to allow access by lawyers and continued access by the ICRC, to comply with the Consensus Declaration of the chair of the UN Human Rights Commission last March calling for access for international human rights organisations and to accept a referendum in East Timor.

The letter from the East Timor Coalition, representing 11 grassroots organisations, calls attention to Japan's historical responsibility to a territory it occupied in the Pacific War and to Indonesia now as the largest recipient of Japanese economic aid. The Coalition called on the PM "to earn for Japan the respect of the international community" by using his talks in Jakarta "to contribute to a peaceful solution of the East Timor issue." The PM should also intervene

on behalf of the Santa Cruz victims and the current crackdown and urge Jakarta's compliance with UN initiatives. He is also urged to use his visit to make contact with Indonesian NGOs. A number of them working "under difficult circumstances" on East Timor and other human rights issues, have requested a meeting with him.

Miyazawa is also urged to ask Jakarta not to use for military purposes short-wave radio transmission monitoring facilities installed in Dili in August 1991 with official Japanese funds.

The Coalition also asked Miyazawa to urge Indonesia "to set a good example" by refraining from the development, with Australia, of the oil resources in the Timor Gap, at least until the World Court hands down its decision on the case before it.

Japanese Amnesty submitted a dossier on the mounting human rights abuses in East Timor, saying it believes that at least one of the 60 persons known to have been arrested (recently) has died of torture. There are also unconfirmed reports of as many as 650 arrests in East Timor, including relatives and close associates of Xanana.

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## CORRECTION

The two interviews with Xanana Gusmão taken from the Portuguese media, reprinted on pages 38-42 in *East Timor Documents* Issue #17 were translated and made available by *East Timor News*, R. Pinheiro Chagas, 77-2 E. 1000, Lisbon Portugal. ET Documents had erroneously credited TAPOL. Apologies to all concerned.

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## TOUGH QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NEW WORLD ORDER

*From the year-end column by Norman Webster, editor of the Montreal Gazette (text abridged), 19 December 1992.*

*Comment: East Timor is being mentioned more and more often in this type of "whither-the-UN, whither-the-world" commentary, at least in Canada. The following is an example, offered for everybody's information.*

*It seems to me that East Timor can't be considered in isolation from the bigger UN/US "liberal intervention" picture. The UN has changed so much that calls for military intervention in East Timor wouldn't be laughed off the world stage anymore - at least not in the North American press. Meanwhile, leaders like the Portuguese foreign minister (for all his honesty) are still caught in the incrementalist diplomacy of the 80s - can't say anything too radical, can't rock the boat against a big country. But the*

*new reality is that no country except the United States is safe from concerted international action any more. (A recent Toronto Star column, for instance, warned that Canada could easily face UN sanction over its treatment of Mohawks and other native peoples, as it did back in 1923 when it was trying to wipe out the Iroquois confederacy.) Last month, the Prime Minister of Canada called for an invasion of Haiti. When "inoffensive" little countries like ours that trade on "peace" and blandness can get away with statements like that, literally anything can happen.*

*I wouldn't suggest calling for military intervention against Indonesia, of course. But the case for making Indonesia an international pariah like Iraq, Serbia/Montenegro, Libya etc. seems to be an easy one to make. Sanctions, South Africa-style, seem a minimal goal; UN peace-keeping troops too. Why are our friends at the UN so timid to confront Indonesia?*

*- David Webster, East Timor Alert Network/Toronto*

(story starts; opening section omitted)

Clearly, the real story of the year has been the unraveling of the so-called new world order. What we are getting is neither orderly nor new. With the end of the Soviet empire and the Cold War, nations are fragmenting and people are striking out on their own, with often chaotic results.

This is not all bad. For literally hundreds of millions of people, the old order was a horror. The slaughters committed in the name of that ideal, communism, rival anything Genghis Khan ever perpetrated, and the East-West nuclear rivalry really did threaten the globe with destruction. We are, by any objective measure, safer now than we were in the 1960s, 1970s or 1980s.

Unfortunately, that safety is not evenly allocated. In more and more places, atavistic rivalries are leading again to atrocities. People who for years loved peacefully, side by side, are turning on each other with a frenzy. In Bosnia and Somalia, India and Liberia, warriors are killing for their gods or their clans in the time-honored way.

Strategic nuclear weapons might not be in play, but you could excuse ordinary people for not cheering. What terrifies them is that every hard-eyed young thug, every bullying soldier, every zealot has become a killing machine. The firepower available to almost everyone has revolutionized slaughter in our time. For human beings beyond number, the Kalashnikov is a far more fearsome weapon than the ICBM.

How will the world react? Are we destined to revert to the good old days of histo-

ry in which 142,000,000 people lost their lives in 589 wars between 1500 and 1990? That figure, once again: 142 million (taken from Ruth Leger Sivard's magisterial survey out of Washington, World Military and Social Expenditures).

Or will the UN begin to fill its real role, which is not to provide a strutting place for nations in the building on New York's East River, but to protect and succor the peoples of the world. Somalia is a promising start; sometimes, the prospect of megadeaths actually does get leaders off their duffs.

Great difficulties lie ahead. Feeding starving Somalis is easy. Restoring order in the society, allowing the foreign forces to withdraw, will be much harder. Somalia might for a time have to become a protectorate of the UN, perhaps just the first of several such states in which order has broken down and whole populations are in peril.

What's next? Will the UN hang tough against Pol Pot's killers in Cambodia? Will it, with the necessary involvement of the United States, try to stop the "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia? Might it eventually mobilize itself against the suffering in East Timor?

These are hard questions, fiendishly difficult questions. It's time the UN, and the world, had to answer them.