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CALL FOR EAST TIMOR DAY OF SOLIDARITY

PUBLIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE IN SYDNEY, JUNE 1996

AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA SECURITY PACT SIGNED

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SEN. ROBB ON EAST TIMOR
**THE INVASION -- TWENTY YEARS LATER**

**AUSTRALIAN NEWS ON BALIBO KILLINGS AND TORTURE VIDEO**

Excerpts from soc.culture.australian. Aussie News from Latrobe

**TIMORESE ALLEGE INDONESIA PLANNED JOURNO KILLINGS 20 YEARS AGO**

Oct 27 Canberra. Former E Timorese soldiers have rejected a Foreign Affairs investigation into the killing of 5 journalists in E Timor 20 years ago. The soldiers, who at the time were assisting Indon forces, have told ABC News the Indon officers had planned to kill the news people all along. They say they have received legal advice and because of fears for their own safety they say they will only give evidence to a full judicial inquiry. A government rep said officials were “considering their options.”

Oct 27 Canberra. There are fresh calls for a Senate Inquiry into the murder of 5 journalists in E Timor 20 years ago. The latest push followed yesterday’s claims by 4 former E Timorese soldiers that the 5 were deliberately killed by Indonesian forces.

In NY the Indon Ambassador was “unmoved” [ABC] claiming an [Indon] investigation into the matter was completed. In Australia the Democrats want to know what the Australian government of the time knew about the killings. The Greens said it “was about time” the Australian government got serious into looking into what happened. ALP Left back-benchers said with the co-operation of the Indon government they might get to the bottom of the matter, but without that co-operation there was no possibility.

For Affairs rep Alex Downer said the Australian Embassy in Indon should do more “forensic work” than has been done to this stage. “Let’s have a look at the material,” he told ABC TV. “Let’s work out where we go from there.”

Australian For Affairs Min Gareth Evans said the Australian government can’t unilaterally mount an investigation in another country. The Dept. of For Affairs said they were making “contact” with the E Timorese soldiers who spoke to ABC TV yesterday, to “find out more details.”

**OFFICER LINKED TO MURDER OF BRITONS WAS TRAINED IN UK**

Independent on Sunday, 5 November 1995.

By Hugh O'Shaughnessy, Christopher Bellamy and Matthew Brace

The first part only, on page 1.

An Indonesian army officer whose men brutally murdered two Britons, two Australians and a New Zealander 20 years ago, has since been given a year’s training at a top British military college, the Independent on Sunday has learned.

Relatives of the dead Britons - both newsmen reporting on Indonesia’s 1975 invasion of East Timor - yesterday expressed shock and anger at the discovery that Mohammad Yunus Yosfiah, now a major-general in the Indonesian Army, was allowed to spend a year at the prestigious Royal College of Defence Studies in 1989.

In 1979 he was a special forces major in the Indonesian marines [sic - this should be red-berets, then called RPKAD] when his troops murdered the group of journalists, working for Australian television sta-
There are two interesting facts seen in Table 1:

1. East Timor solidarity groups in national level have been set up not only in the West, but also in developing countries. Among 75 groups, 56 groups (75%) are in the West, and 4 groups (i.e., ELSAM, INFIGHT, PIJAR, and PPBI) are in Indonesia.

2. With regard to Indonesia’s East Timor solidarity groups, Indonesian activists should IMHO be given high marks, since in their daily activities they really have to risk their lives under the threat of the ruthless Soeharto Regime.

To commemorate the 20th anniversary of East Timor’s independence, I would like to show you how international publications have reacted to the tremendous efforts by the East Timor solidarity groups around the world as mentioned in Table 1 above.

As a matter of fact, several mainstream media still show that East Timor is the 27th province of Indonesia. We also have difficulty to find some maps which do not incorporate East Timor into Indonesia, especially for publishers such as Reader’s Digest, Oxford University Press, Time Magazine, and any other mainstream publishers. However, other international publications do not follow the mainstream ones, but show what East Timor really is, such as the following publications:

2. “Amnesty International Reports” published annually by the Amnesty International have been titled “Indonesia and East Timor” since 1981, which means East Timor is not a part of Indonesia.
In addition, there have been other publications which changed their policy quite recently and now show that East Timor is a separate state, or at least East Timor is an Indonesian colony or still under Portugal. This change is worth noting and will be shown in detail in this article which will be divided into several parts according to the names of the publications as follows:

1. “Third World Guide 1995/96” => see Parts I and II
3. “Political Handbook of the World” => see Part IV
4. “Freedom in the World” => see Part V
5. “Geographical Distribution of Financial Flows to Developing Countries” => see Part VI

Some readers may be surprised, if I raise a question, “Do you know the National Holiday of East Timor??.” The answer can be found in Parts I and III, both of which come from two different sources.

Finally, this article will be closed with Part VII which shows very interesting discussions on East Timor and will be titled “East Timor: An Untold Story.” This part contains several new things which you have not seen in previous publications. For example, one reference in this part comes from the Roman Catholic church in the Vatican City, and, as far as I remember, has never been touched in the study of East Timor. In addition, one of the paragraphs in this part will be filled with my current research on East Timor’s political economy.

Hope you enjoy my article.

Paul Salim

References
[3] Private Communications or recent Internet News.
Third World Guide 1995/96

is the result of documentation, research, writing, editing and design work done by the “Instituto de Tercer Mundo” (Third World Institute) with the following address:

Instituto de Tercer Mundo
Juan D. Jackson 1136, Montevideo 11200, Uruguay
Phone: 598 2 496192 Fax: 598 2 419222
E-mail: item@chasque.apc.org

The country report with regard to East Timor can be found in pages 221 and 222 in “Third World Guide 1995/96” which reads the following:

EAST TIMOR - TIMOR LESTE

Population: 821,000 (1994)
Area: 14,870 Sq. Km
Capital: Dili
PROFILE

Environment:

Located between Australia and Indonesia, East Timor comprises the eastern portion of Timor Island, the dependency of Oecusse, located on the northwestern part of the island, the island of Atauro to the North, and the islet of Yaco to the East. Of volcanic origin, the island is mountainous and covered with dense rainforest. The climate is tropical with heavy rainfall, which accounts for the extensive river system. The southern region is flat and suitable for farming.

Society:

Peoples: The Maubere people result from the integration between Melanesian and Malay populations. In 1975, there was a Chinese minority of 20,000 as well as 4,000 Portuguese, 3,000 of whom were in the armed forces. 200,000 people are estimated to have died as a result of the Indonesian occupation. There are 6,000 Maubere refugees in Australia and 1,500 in Portugal.

Religions: Most of the population profess traditional religions. 30% are Catholic

Languages: Tetum is the national language. There are several dialects. Indonesian occupation has banned the use of these languages in education, and virtually all the teaching is done in Bahasa, the Indonesian language. A minority also speaks Portuguese.

The State:

Official Name: República de Timor Leste
Capital: Dili, 60,150 inhabitants in 1960

Government: The country has been occupied by Indonesia since its independence. Mario Carrascalão is the governor, named by the government of Indonesia. Xanana Gusmão, head of the National Liberation Armed Forces for Convergence, is responsible for the reorganization of the structures of the revolutionary movement; Currently in prison in Jakarta. He was succeeded at first by Antonio Gomes da Costa; currently Konis Santana is taking his place.

National Holiday: November 28, Independence Day
Demography:

Urban: 13%
Density: 48 inhabitants per sq. km.
Annual growth: 0.7% (1970-86)
Communications: 5 radio receivers per 1,000 inhabitants (1988).

Long before the arrival of Vasco da Gama, the Chinese and Arabs knew Timor as an “exhaustible” source of precious woods which were exchanged for axes, pottery, lead and other goods of use to the local inhabitants.

Timor’s traditional Maubere society consisted of five major categories: the Liurai (kings and chiefs), the Dato (lesser nobles and warriors), the Ema-reino (freemen), the Ata (slaves) and the Lutum (nomadic shepherds).

In 1859, Portugal and the Netherlands agreed to divide the territory between them. The Portuguese kept the Eastern part, under an accord ratified in 1904. Resistance to colonialism included armed insurrections in 1719, 1895 and 1959, all of which were put down. Passive resistance by the Maubere enabled their culture to survive five centuries of colonialism. It fared better than the forests of precious woods: species like sandalwood were exhausted very early, or replaced with coffee plantations, which are still Timor’s economic mainstay.

The independence movement began later than in other Portuguese colonies in Africa, but in the mid-1970s a national liberation front was formed, bringing together nationalist forces and all sectors of society.

In April 1974, when the clandestine struggle against colonial rule had already grown and gained broad support, the “Carnation Revolution” took place in Lisbon. With the fall of the fascist colonial regime in the metropolis, the political scene in Timor changed and the patriotic movement was legalized. In September, the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN) was created.

The new Portuguese government promised independence but the colonial administration favoured the creation of the Timor Democratic Union (UDT), which supported the colonial status quo and “federation” with Portugal. At the same time, the Indonesian Consulate in Dili, Timor’s capital, encouraged a group of Timorese to organize the Timor Popular Democratic Association (APODETI) which wanted full independence from Portugal, and supported integration with Indonesia.

A period of conflict ensued between Portuguese neo-colonialist interests, Indonesian annexationists and the independence movement. In August, the UDT attempted a coup d’état causing FRETILIN to issue a call for general armed insurrection, and the Portuguese administration withdrew from the country. FRETILIN attained territorial control and declared independence on November 28, 1975, proclaiming the Democratic Republic of East Timor. To this day, however, Portugal’s withholding of official recognition continues to have important diplomatic and political implications.

PART II

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded the new republic. A few hours earlier, US president Gerald Ford had visited Jakarta where he had probably learned of, and endorsed, Suharto’s expansionist plans. FRETILIN was forced to withdraw from the capital, Dili, and from the major ports. On June 2, 1976, a so-called “People’s Assembly,” made up of UDT and APODETI members, approved Timor’s annexation as a province of Indonesia. However, this illegal resolution was not recognized by the United Nations Decolonization Committee, which still regards Portugal as the colonial power responsible for Timor.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Republic of East Timor established diplomatic relations with numerous former Portuguese colonies and socialist states.

In December 1978, FRETILIN president Nicolau dos Reis Lobato died in combat. Despite this great loss, the liberation movement reorganized and continued resistance. According to reliable sources, Indonesia has adopted a policy of extermination on the island, to date killing off nearly 20 per cent of the population.

Tactics used in the war have varied. In 1978, in a peculiar decision, the Front organized the massive surrender of civilians, who then moved into the Indonesian-controlled cities. Young men were armed and trained by the Indonesian army in an attempt to “Timorize” the
war and set the Maubere against each other. But acting on FRETILIN instructions, now well-armed and equipped recruits, rebelled and re-joined the revolutionary forces. The Front became active in both the countryside and the cities.

Indonesia’s responses to the war were erratic. In 1983, FRETILIN commander-in-chief, Xanana Gusmão, signed a ceasefire with the chief of the expeditionary force, Colonel Purwanto. However, President Sukarto objected to this agreement, and the guerilla war continued.

The region is well renowned for its mineral reserves, and in April 1985, an international consortium was formed to explore oil and natural gas reserved in Timor territorial waters off the coast of Australia.

In 1988 FRETILIN sought closer ties with the Timor Democratic Union (UDT), and established a coordinating body, the National Convergence. This union helped Portugal to actively resumed its role. The internal structure of the nationalist movement was reorganized, to become politically independent and more locally based. Gusmão was confirmed as commander-in-chief of Timor’s liberation army.

Portugal won an important diplomatic victory when the European Parliament and the European Commission (the executive organ of the European Economic Community) adopted a position on the East Timor issue. They defended the Maubere people’s right to self-determination, recognized the need for a negotiated settlement, and condemned the Indonesian occupation.

In October 1989, the United Nations Human Rights Subcommission passed a motion condemning Indonesian occupation and repression in East Timor. The disturbances had spread throughout the island, above all in Dili where students took to the streets, burned cars and destroyed the houses of several Indonesian officers.

Repression increased after this. The island had long forbidden entrance to foreign correspondents, isolating Dili from the rest of the world. There are no telephone lines out of the country; nor are there any diplomatic representatives in the capital.

When Pope John Paul II visited Dili in October 1989, a group of young people unfurled a FRETILIN banner twenty meters from the altar where mass was celebrated. Of the 80,000 people who attended the ceremony, 13,000 are calculated to have been members of the Indonesian security forces. The young protesters shouted independence slogans while the army waded in to prevent them. Reporters accompanying the Pope, some of whom had their cameras confiscated, witnessed at first hand the political oppression operating in East Timor, and were able to inform the rest of the world.

Repression has however continued: every family is required to hang a list on their door naming the family members living in the house, and the list can be checked at any time by occupation forces. Thousands of Maubere women have been compulsorily sterilized, and Tetum, the national language, is banned from schools. The transmigration policy enforced by the Indonesian authorities is reducing the Maubere people to the status of a minority in their own country. Also mass graves have been discovered in different parts of the country, containing corpses which showed signs of having suffered mass execution at the hands of the occupation forces.

In early November, during a massive peaceful funeral procession accompanying the body of a young man who had been murdered, the army opened fire on the crowd, 200 people were killed, and countless more were injured. Media coverage in this event caused the Portuguese government to appeal to the EEC countries to break trading relations with Indonesia. Indonesia has a preferential trading agreement with the EEC, being a member of the six countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Portugal also requested a meeting of the UN Security Council, criticizing them harshly because they did not react to Indonesia as they had to Iraq on the invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

A visit to the island by Portuguese members of parliament, scheduled for the first days of November 1991, was cancelled after the Indonesians refused to allow entry an Australian journalist accompanying the delegation.

Opposition leaders accused the US, Australia, the Netherlands, Japan and other countries with important economic interests in Indonesia, of cooperating with Jakarta in its attempt to play down the genocide and silence the international press.

Late in 1991, Portugal reported that Jakarta and Canberra had signed a contract with twelve companies to extract around a billion barrels of oil from the sea around Timor. The list of companies is led by Royal Dutch Shell (British and Dutch capital), and Chevron (US). They are followed by six Australian companies, Nippon Oil (Japan), and transnational corporations; Phillips Petroleum, Marathon, and the Enterprise Oil Company. Meanwhile, representatives of the Australian government have announced that they will not support the sanctions against Jakarta.

In Timor, the leaders of Nationalist Convergence urged Portugal to break negotiations with Indonesia and to take the harsher measures needed for a diplomatic solution to the conflict, through UN intervention. Nationalist Convergence expects that conditions to put pressure on the Indonesian government will be more favourable in 1992, when Portugal takes up the EEC Presidency, both at EEC, and UN, level.

The Timorese demand compliance with the UN resolutions: the withdrawal of occupation troops, and a referendum to decide on the country’s political future.

In March 1992, the ship “Lusitania Express” left Port Darwin, in Australia. On board were human rights activists from over 23 countries, and well-known Portuguese politicians, including president Ramalho Eanes. “The Peace Boat,” left with the aim of commemorating the Dili massacre of November 1991. The Indonesians authorities immediately announced that the ship would be diverted from the island to a nearby island; where the government would decide which members of the committee would be authorized to enter Timor.

According to reports published in early 1994, every Saturday the mothers of the dead, imprisoned without trial or “disappeared” gather in Dili’s main square to pray and voice their protest.

On March 11, 1993, the United Nations Human Rights Commission reported continuous violations of basic human rights and requested permission to enter the country the country to investigate denunciations of torture, summary executions and religious discriminations; the request was denied. In the meantime, since April 1992, Australia has replaced the United States as the country’s main military training partner. Portugal, in turn, adopted a more dynamic role during the trials of FRETILIN commander José “Xanana” Gusmão, and his successor, Antonio Gomes da Costa, who was given a life sentence in 1993.

In August 1993, after much international pressure, Gomes da Costa’s sentence was reduced to 20 years. The Jakarta government also agreed to the creation of an independent Human Rights Commission responsible to the Supreme Court, as well as opening the country to a visit from 25 foreign journalists in April 1994.

Part III

“The International Yearbook and Statesmen’s Who’s Who: 1995/96” was published by Reed Information Services with the following address:

Reed Information Services,
Windsor Court, East Grinstead House, East Grinstead,
West Sussex RH19 1X, England
Tel (01342) 326972, Fax (01342) 335720,
ET's Independence Day - Part IV

“Political Handbook of the World” is published for the Centre for Social Analysis (CSA) of the University of New York at Binghamton, New York 13902-6000. The CSA has been regarding East Timor as an annexed territory of Indonesia since its publication of “Political Handbook of the World: 1977” in page 182. The most recent “Political Handbook of the World: 1994-1995” touches East Timor in pages 399-400, and reads as follows:

**EAST TIMOR - AN ANNEXED TERRITORY OF INDONESIA**

Administered by Portugal for nearly four centuries, East Timor occupies approximately half of the island of Timor, at the eastern tip of the Malay Archipelago; the western half, with the exception of the former Portuguese enclave of Oecussi Ambeno, has historically been Indonesian. The area of East Timor is 5,763 square miles (14,925 sq. km) and its population numbers 778,000 (1991 estimate). Principal exports are coffee, copra, rubber and wax.

After the 1974 coup in Portugal, Australia and Indonesia announced that they favoured annexation of the territory by Indonesia but that they would respect the desires of the Timorese people. In September 1974, Dr. Mario Soares, the Portuguese foreign minister, met his Indonesian counterpart, Adam Malik, at New York, and the two agreed that the Timorese should decide their own future, Portugal offering to conduct a referendum on the subject in 1975.

Within East Timor, the Timorese Democratic People’s Association (“Associação da Populaca Comunitária de Timor” - APODETI) had campaigned for autonomous status within Indonesia, while the Democratic Union of Timor (“União Democrática de Timor” - UDT) had advocated closer ties to Portugal and eventual independence. In January 1975, the UDT and the left-wing Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (“Fronte Revolucionário de Timor Leste Independente - FRETLIN”) agreed to unite in opposition to integration with Indonesia, but the alliance broke up four months later. On August 11, the UDT launched a coup against the colonial administration at Dili, the capital, while FRETLIN mounted an insurrection of its own four days later. On November 28, FRETLIN declared the formation of a “Democratic Republic of East Timor,” but on December 7, an invasion by Indonesia, in support of a pro-Jakarta alliance that included APODETI, the UDT, and several smaller parties, drove FRETLIN from Dili. By the end of the year, Indonesia had annexed Oecussi Ambeno and had occupied virtually all of East Timor, which was formally absorbed on July 17, 1976. The action was not recognized by Portugal, which remained committed to self-determination for the Timorese, and was repeatedly condemned by the UN General Assembly. At the May 1982 election, East Timor for the first time chose four DPR representatives, all of whom ran as Golkar candidates.

While major guerrilla activity persisted through 1977, resistance by remaining FRETLIN elements has since been restricted to remote areas. Meanwhile, a major international relief effort, financed largely by the United States and administered by the Red Cross and the Catholic Relief Services, was initiated in the fall of 1979 to avert mass starvation. The effort was terminated at Indonesia’s request in December 1980, by which time the crisis had abated. Estimates placed the death toll during 1975-1979 at 100,000 or more, although lack of access by the outside world made it difficult to verify not only the number of fatalities but allegations that Indonesia had engaged in genocide and the systematic destruction of croplands in order to starve the islanders into submission. In August 1983 a new anti-FRETLIN offensive was launched involving 20,000 Indonesian troops, with continued fighting reported through mid-1984; by 1985, however, the guerrillas appeared to have retreated, and Jakarta’s primary goals in East Timor focused on education, agriculture, and infrastructural development.

During 1987, Lisbon was reported to have adopted a more flexible attitude toward negotiations over East Timor in an effort to achieve a settlement that would lead to the reestablishment of diplomatic rela-
tions with Jakarta. It indicated, however, that it would continue to oppose Indonesian claims to sovereignty over the territory. In December 1988, Jakarta acceded East Timor “open territory” status after it was determined that FRETILIN was “no longer a security threat.” Nevertheless, in October 1989, the government cracked down on anti-Indonesian protesters during a visit by Pope John Paul II, the subsequent detention and alleged torture of 40 people elicits strong US condemnation and a renewed Portuguese call for an independent referendum.

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops fired on an estimated 3,500 demonstrators who had assembled peacefully at Dili to pay homage to a student killed in a clash with police two weeks earlier. Between 60 and 180 persons were slaughtered before the troops moved in to beat up the survivors, with some 300-400 subsequently reported to have been tortured and/or executed. The massacre having drawn worldwide condemnation, President Suharto appointed a seven-member commission, headed by the chief justice of the Supreme Court, to investigate the incident. A month later, in a preliminary report that was uncharacteristically critical of the armed forces, several officers were charged with having gone “beyond the limit of propriety” and Suharto ordered dismissal of East Timor’s two principal commanders. In February 1992, as Portugal moved to bring the matter before the Geneva-based Human Rights Commission, the Indonesian military discharged three senior officers for “mistakes” and “negligence” in the province, with others receiving lesser penalties. The following November, Fretilin’s former military commander, José Alexandre (“Xanana”) Gusmão, was captured in a western suburb of Dili and in May 1993 was sentenced to life imprisonment for a variety of offences that included leadership of a separatist rebellion. On November 2, 1993, Konis Santana was reported to have taken over as Fretilin’s military commander.

On April 14, 1994, in the first reported public expression of dissent since the 1991 massacre, a small group of protesters calling for Gusmão’s release and freedom for East Timor mounted a demonstration at Dili that was quickly dispersed by security forces.

Part V

“Freedom in the World” is an annual publication of the Freedom House with the following address:

Freedom House, 120 Wall Street, New York, NY 10005.

Although FREITILN proclaimed an independent East Timor on November 28, 1975, the Freedom House had not yet recognized East Timor as a colony until its publication in 1991 titled “Freedom in the World: Political Rights and Civil Liberties 1990-91.” Probably the Freedom House opened its eyes and have regarded East Timor as Indonesian colony since the visit of Pope John Paul II there in October 1989, when East Timor was an “open territory” for the first time since the 1975 invasion and several foreign journalists witnessed Indonesian atrocities there.

The most recent publication of the Freedom House titled “Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties 1994-95” explains East Timor in pages 640-641 and reads as follows:

Related Territories Reports of Indonesia

EAST TIMOR
Polity: Dominant party (military-dominated)
Economy: Capitalist-statist
Population: 778,000
Ethnic Groups: Timorese, Javanese, others
Political Rights: 7 (lowest rating)
Civil Liberties: 7 (lowest rating)

Status: Not Free

OVERVIEW:

Tensions in East Timor in late June 1994 after two Indonesian soldiers trampled on a sacred wafer being used in a church service in the village of Remeksio, near Dili, the capital.

This, and continued clashes between the 5,000 Indonesian troops and the remnants of the FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) guerrillas, who are estimated to number less than 200, underscored the persistent resistance to Indonesia’s annexation of this former Portuguese colony in 1976.

During the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit held in Bogor, Indonesia in November 1994, a week of anti-Indonesian demonstrations rocked Dili. Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the territory’s religious leader, said police detained and beat some 135 demonstrators. Police conducted house-to-house searches to find anyone suspected of involvement. Meanwhile, a group of twenty-nine Timorese held a twelve day sit in at the American embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, to raise international awareness of the territory’s plight.

POLITICAL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES:

Since 1976 Indonesian annexation of East Timor, the government and military have committed widespread rights abuses against dissidents and ordinary citizens. Up to 200,000 Timorese died from 1975-1979, when FRETILIN fought for independence. Freedoms of speech, press, assembly and association are nonexistent. Police continue to carry out arbitrary detentions and arrests. In May 1984 police arrested two East Timorese for staging protests in front of a hotel housing twenty-eight foreign journalists. On 23 June a court sentenced three activists to twenty months each for staging a demonstration coinciding with a conference on East Timor being held in Manila. On 27 June a court jailed two East Timorese for three years each for raising the FRETILIN flag the previous July.

There are credible reports that dissidents are tortured and held incommunicado. In February 1994 the government denied imprisoned FREITILN leader José Gusmão permission to meet with the independent Legal Aid Foundation. The authorities occasionally detain people without charge and then require them to report to police on a regular basis. Foreign journalists must obtain special passes to enter East Timor, which are granted infrequently, and kept under constant surveillance. The government allowed foreign journalists greater access during the November APEC summit, although police briefly detained two American reporters.

The government has closed schools that refuse to use the national Bahasa Indonesia as their primary language. According to José Ramos Horta, an exile-based Timorese leader, the Indonesian government is moving as many as 1,000 Indonesians from other parts of the archipelago into East Timor each week. A New Zealand parliamentarians delegation that visited the territory in November reported that over the past five years upwards of 100,000 Indonesians had been encouraged by financial inducements to move to East Timor. The majority Roman Catholic population faces frequent harassment on religious grounds. In July 1994 Bishop Belo told Reuters that “Christians are constantly being arrested, beaten and intimidated by police.”

ET’s Independence Day - Part VI

“Geographical Distribution of Financial Flows to Developing Countries” is an annual publication of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris. It is interesting to note that the OECD never published East Timor as a separate country from 1975 to 1991. But, after the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991, the OECD published East Timor as a separate country under the name “Timor” in its 1992 publication and repeated in its 1993 publication under a slightly different name “Geographical Distribution of Financial Flows to Aid Recipients.” The contents of
The 1993 publication for “Timor” can be found in page 185 and read as follows:

“TIMOR”

Nomenclature:

CEC = Commission of the European Communities
DAC = Development Assistance Committee
ODA = Official Development Assistance
TC = Technical Co-operation

Definitions:

ODA is financial flow to developing countries and multilateral institutions, and meets the following tests:

1. it is administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective, and
2. it is concessional in character and conveys a grant element (i.e., interest rate, maturity [interval to final repayment] and grace period [interval to first repayment]) of at least 25 per cent.

Grants is transfers, in money or in kind, of which no repayment is required.

TC Grants is grants involving the supply of human resources (teachers, volunteers, and experts) or actions targeted on human resources (education, training, advice).

Direct Investment is the purchase of a physical operating unit, such as newly built houses, plant, equipment, and inventories (note: the investor may actually operate the business).

Portfolio Investment is the purchase of securities, such as stocks and bonds (note: the investor helps finance a business and simply holds pieces of paper that represent a share of ownership or the debt of the firm).

**Table 2 - Total Receipts Net (Millions of US$)**

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Note: Total Receipts Net = Total ODA Net in Table 3 below + Private Sector Net in the 3rd row of Table 5 below.

**Table 3 - Total ODA Net (Millions of US$)**

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Note: Total ODA Net = Total Grants in Table 4 below.

**Table 4 - Total Grants (Millions of US$)**

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Note: Total Grants from DAC Countries = Total TC (Technical Co-operation) Grants in the 8th row of Table 5 below.

**Table 5 - Disbursements (Millions of US$)**

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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRIVATE SECTOR NET</td>
<td>-5.4</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>-11.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Investment</td>
<td></td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portfolio Investment</td>
<td></td>
<td>-11.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Export Credit</td>
<td>-5.4</td>
<td>-7.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL DONORS COMBINED</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC GRANTS</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODA COMMITMENTS</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Total Receipts Net = Total ODA Net in Table 3 below + Private Sector Net in the 3rd row of Table 5 below.

ET's Independence Day - Part VII (END)

**EAST TIMOR: AN UNTOLD STORY**

written by Paul H. Salim

This part will hopefully be the climax of my seven-part article, and will be divided into 4 (four) interesting paragraphs on East Timor:

1. a discussion on 200,000 people killed in East Timor since Indonesian invasion on 7th December 1975,
2. forced profession of faith,
3. harrassments towards the Catholics,
4. the political economy of East Timor with a subject on the comparison of East Timorese prosperity during the Portuguese and Indonesian rules.

**Regarding 200,000 victims**

Amnesty International reported that the number of people who have died in East Timor since Indonesian invasion directly as a result of the armed conflict are as high as 200,000, about a third of the pre-invasion population [4]. The figure could come from a discrepancy between the 1970 Portuguese census (which recorded a population of 609,477) and the 1980 Indonesian census (which recorded a population of 555,350).

A closer look of the number of East Timorese victims shows the facts that:

1. in February 1976, 60,000 persons had been killed in East Timor since August 1975, as reported by the UDT's chair-person, Lopez da Cruz [5],
2. in April 1977 (before the worst bombardment and famine had begun), the then Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, admitted between 50,000 and 80,000 East Timorese people had died [4].

So, by April 1977, I can say that 80,000 East Timorese had been killed. But, how can 80,000 change to 200,000? This is an interesting question to be addressed here.

The Roman Catholic church in the Vatican City publishes a yearbook of the church around the world. The title of the yearbook is...
“Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae.” The yearbook contains several information such as total population of a region, catholic population, number of priests and so on.

First, the reliability of population recorded in the yearbook should be tested with the World Bank’s record, as shown in Appendix I. The reliability check shows that population in the Vatican yearbook is very reliable within an error of plus-minus 1.6%.

Second, let’s compare East Timor populations recorded by the Vatican yearbook, the Portuguese government, and the Indonesian government (see Table 6). It is interesting to see that the Vatican yearbook gave an estimate of 720,000 people in 1978 and 790,000 people in 1982, even after the Indonesian census reported a population of 555,350 in 1980. This discrepancy of around 200,000 people is worth noting because of two reasons:

1. the Indonesian census was not precise, since 200,000 people probably remained in the jungle in 1980 and were not reached by Indonesian census officials.
2. the killings of 80,000 people (or over) since 1975 did not appear in the census, probably because the killings had been conducted in a slow rate from 1975 to 1977.

However, Table 6 shows a surprising figure that East Timor population has slumped from 790,000 recorded on 31st December 1982, to 620,000 recorded on 31st December 1983. This means that East Timorese population has been reduced by 170,000 by only a SINGLE year. Is this information believable?

The Vatican yearbook is unable to answer this question, since it contains only statistical data. But, if one carefully sees Indonesian offensives against Fretilin laid out by the Amnesty International [4], one will know the real horror. In August 1983, a cease-fire established the previous March between Indonesian and Fretilin forces broke down. Many troops were called into the territory as the Indonesian forces began an offensive - Operation Clean-Sweep (“Operasi Sapu Bersih”) - aimed at eliminating Fretilin as a fighting force. Announcing the new operation in August 1983, the commander of the Indonesian armed forces, General Benjamin Moerdani, stated: “This time, no fooling around. We are going to hit them without mercy.”

### Table 6. Population of East Timor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population (in Thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>609.477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>704.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>720.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>555.350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>790.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>620.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>640.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>660.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>680.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>690.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>710.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>720.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>750. 747.957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>744.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>799.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Human rights records in East Timor during that time also speak for themselves [4]:

1. Since August 1983, 34 people had been arrested in Viqueque, 125 in Baucau, 600 in Dili. Many of those arrested are reported to have been “disappeared.” They included Father Domingos Soares, a priest from Ossu, Viqueque.
2. On August 8, 1983, 200 people in the village of Kraras, Viqueque, had been killed by Indonesian soldiers reportedly in reprisal for the killing of 16 Indonesian soldiers. The surviving villagers fled to the mountains near Babilreu, and were pursued by Indonesian soldiers. Many of those captured are said to have been executed. The rest of the villagers were “re-settled” in Klaterek Mutin, where they were ordered to stay but not permitted to build shelter or grow food.
3. In March 1984, approximately 100 men living near the village of Hauba, near Bobonaro, were executed by Indonesian troops.

Since arbitrary killings indeed occurred in East Timor as part of the Operation Clean-Sweep, the “disappearance” of 170,000 people in 1983 as shown in Vatican’s yearbook is probably correct, and deserves further investigation. If this number is correct, the number of East Timorese killed since 1975 is not 200,000, but at least 250,000 (= 80,000 as stated by Adam Malik in 1977 + 170,000 as reported by Vatican in 1983).

**Forced Profession of Faith**

According to the Portuguese census in 1970 (see Table 7 below), the Catholic population was only 153,280 out of total 609,477 population (see Table 6 above). It means that in 1970 only 25 per cent population was Catholic, while the majority professed indigenous East Timorese religions - animism.

Illegal integration of East Timor into Indonesia on July 17, 1976, deserves attention, because the Soeharto regime in Jakarta was established after the so-called Gestapu “coup” in the evening of 30 September 1965. The Soeharto regime’s official statement with regard to the “coup” is that the Communist Party and its alleged followers, along with the People’s Republic of China, were behind it. Although the involvement of the aforementioned parties is still open to question, General Soeharto in a hurry banned the Communist Party and other “communist” activities in Indonesia. Since 1966, though no law was written, all Indonesian citizens have been required to declare their religion (i.e., they are not allowed to be atheists !). In addition, the permitted religions have been selected by the government, as follows: Islam, Catholics, Protestant, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism.

Therefore, indigenous East Timorese religions are illegal, and since 17th July 1976 the East Timorese people have been forced to choose one of the permitted religions. The proof of this can be seen in the Indonesian census (see Source C in Table 7) in 1980 for Catholic population in East Timor.
Table 7 - Catholic Population in East Timor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Catholic Population (in Thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>153.280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>446.444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>676</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources A, B, and C are explained under Table 6.

Although Vatican recorded around 226,000 as Catholics in 1980 (see Source B in Table 7), the Indonesian official figure showed 446,444, or almost double the real number. Why did it happen? It happened NOT because the Vatican record was incorrect, but because the East Timorese were forced to lie in front of the Indonesian census officers, or otherwise they would be called communists and would be arrested or even executed by the Indonesian military.

In Indonesia, these incidents occur everywhere. There are Indonesian terms such as “Islam KTP” or “Katholik KTP,” each of which means that one “professes” Islam or Catholic ONLY in his identity card (note: KTP = identity card), and that one never actually practices his religion declared in his KTP.

The Indonesian census datum in 1980 was repeated in 1990 where once again the number of the Catholics in East Timorese was recorded as high as 676,402, compared to only 632,000 according to Vatican (see Table 7). The misleading census data were merely intended by the Soeharto Regime to convince the world that there have never been any harassment against the Catholics in East Timor. In fact, harassment against the Catholics in East Timor have been widespread as shown in the following paragraph.

Harassment against the Catholics

One example of harassment against the Catholics in East Timor is the number of churches. As you know, there are two kinds of churches, one called parish churches where there was residence of priests, and the other called chapels where there was no such residence. The distinction between the two is that the Catholics usually go to parish churches to meet priests for whatever reasons, but they cannot go to chapels for the same purposes except for Sundays during the masses.

So, the Vatican data on the number of parish churches since 1977 are very disturbing, because the number of parish churches in East Timor only increased from 19 (in 1978) to 25 (in 1992). This situation gives three evidences:

1. that it is difficult to build parish churches in East Timor,
2. that the East Timorese priests have been isolated in a small number of parish churches; the reason is that the Indonesian military does not want to see the priests in contact with their own people (note: the East Timorese priests have so far been vocal on the human rights abuses by the Indonesian military and on the illegal integration of East Timor on 17th July 1976).

3. that, because of two points above, only chapels were permitted to be built since 1976, and the number has swelled from 68 (in 1978) to 275 (in 1992); of course, the reason is that the East Timorese Catholics are permitted to practice their religions, but DISCOURAGED to see their priests.

Meanwhile, the Soeharto regime through the Central Bureau of Statistics in Dili has made numerous false propaganda that parish churches in East Timor has increased from 25 (in 1981) to 55 (in 1990). For clarity, please see Table 8 below.

Table 8. Pastoral Centres in East Timor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Parish Church</th>
<th>Chapel</th>
<th>Total Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>19 68 87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>25 28 53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>21 165 186</td>
<td>25 64 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>21 181 202</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>21 155 176</td>
<td>26 30 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>21 179 200</td>
<td>38 119 157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>21 220 241</td>
<td>41 132 173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>21 220 241</td>
<td>41 132 173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>24 205 229</td>
<td>44 178 222</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>24 206 230</td>
<td>46 197 243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>24 229 253</td>
<td>55 300 356</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>24 229 253</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>25 275 301</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources B and C are explained under Table 6.

Another example of harassment against the Catholics in East Timor is the number of priests per Catholic population. Table 9 shows once again that there is no problem for the East Timorese to go to church. In fact, there are more churches for one Catholic in East Timor than for one Catholic in the Philippines, whose majority of population is also Catholics like East Timor. Please check Table 9 below that one church in East Timor is built for roughly 2500 Catholics, while one church in the Philippines for 9000 Catholics.

Table 9. Statistical Indices in Catholic Churches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Catholics per 1 church</th>
<th>Catholics per 1 priest</th>
<th>Catholics per 1 church</th>
<th>Catholics per 1 priest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>2287</td>
<td>6030</td>
<td>9793</td>
<td>8041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2380</td>
<td>6303</td>
<td>7938</td>
<td>7776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>9583</td>
<td>12099</td>
<td>8639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>11228</td>
<td>11190</td>
<td>8692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>2676</td>
<td>12730</td>
<td>11113</td>
<td>8804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>2565</td>
<td>13500</td>
<td>10417</td>
<td>8859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>2220</td>
<td>10288</td>
<td>9270</td>
<td>8877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>2220</td>
<td>10288</td>
<td>9557</td>
<td>8847</td>
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<td>2472</td>
<td>10291</td>
<td>8168</td>
<td>8995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>2355</td>
<td>9264</td>
<td>10694</td>
<td>9174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2498</td>
<td>9575</td>
<td>9236</td>
<td>9157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2498</td>
<td>9575</td>
<td>8475</td>
<td>9014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>2246</td>
<td>10400</td>
<td>7777</td>
<td>8812</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 Sources B as explained under Table 6.

On the contrary, one priest in East Timor should serve roughly 10,000 Catholics, while their counterparts in Philippines serve only
9000 Catholics. This means that the Soeharto regime has been trying to limit the number of priests in East Timor so that the East Timorese people can hardly pay a visit to them who have been critical to the Indonesian rule in East Timor.

**The Political Economy of East Timor**

The Soeharto regime of Indonesia has also made propaganda on the amount of central government allocations to East Timor. For example, in 1985 US$ 16.66 million was injected by Jakarta to East Timor, and it amounted to US$ 18.45 million in 1990 [6]. Also, the US was reported to have quadrupled its aid to East Timor to US$ 4.1 million in 1994 and US$ 4.5 million in 1995; the Australian government also poured US$ 2.21 million in 1993-94 [7].

The question to be answered here is whether this financial aid has contributed prosperity to the East Timorese people. Usually, the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita is used to show the prosperity of a nation. The GDP per capita for East Timor during Portuguese and Indonesian rules is presented in Appendix II. However, IMHO, the GDP per capita cannot give a clear picture whether or not a nation has improved its prosperity. Because of that reason, I propose a slightly different economic analysis which will be based on the purchasing power of East Timorese GDP per capita. Appendix III shows the price history of rice in East Timor from 1959 to 1990. I choose rice because it is the staple food of the East Timorese people.

Taking the ratio between the GDP per capita in Appendix II and the price of rice in Appendix III, I find the amount of rice equivalent to East Timorese GDP per capita which is presented in Table 10 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>The GDP per capita (Kg of Rice)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 shows that the GDP per capita of the East Timorese was equivalent to 573 kg of rice in 1959, and increased to 588 kg of rice in 1960, and finally reached 725 kg of rice in 1972 (3 years before Indonesia launched an invasion). So, I can say that, had Indonesian invasion not occurred, East Timor could have raised its prosperity beyond 1000 kg of rice per capita per year in years ahead.

Since 1975, the East Timorese have been far from being prosperous. In fact, they have been made LESS prosperous under the Indonesian colonialism than under the Portuguese rule. Let’s examine that average East Timorese earnings were only 476 kg of rice in 1983, and then increased to 606 kg of rice in 1990. These figures show that:

1. the East Timorese were LESS prosperous from 1975 to 1990 during the Indonesian rule, than from 1959 to 1975 during the Portuguese rule.

2. the pouring of financial aid to East Timor by the Soeharto regime of Indonesia, USA, Australia, and any other countries in the world has been useless in improving the prosperity of the East Timorese since 1975.

With regard to point 2 above, it seems to me that the pouring of financial aid to East Timor never reaches the majority of the East Timorese, but probably it only benefits the owners of the capital. Who benefits from the financial aid, and how much benefits have they withdrawn from East Timor since 1975? I cannot answer these questions now, but I leave them for future research. Nevertheless, it is clear that today the East Timorese are not so prosperous as when they were colonized by the Portuguese before the Independence Day on 28th November 1975.

**References**


**APPENDIX I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population in 1992 from &quot;Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae&quot; (1)</th>
<th>Population in 1992 from &quot;World Development Report&quot; (2)</th>
<th>Difference, % = 100{(1)/(2) - 1}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>119.23</td>
<td>114.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. R. C.</td>
<td>1166.28</td>
<td>1162.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>870.</td>
<td>883.6</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>191.17</td>
<td>184.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>124.34</td>
<td>124.5</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rep. Korea</td>
<td>43.66</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lao PDR</td>
<td>4.47</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>18.79</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>119.11</td>
<td>119.3</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>64.26</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>15.92</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>-5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>57.76</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>12.53</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>-3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Indonesians claimed the men had been caught in crossfire during a battle with rebel Fretilin fighters.

But last month, a former East Timorese Governor revealed that two soldiers who were part of the raiding force said the journalists, who had appeared on the veranda with hands above their heads, were ordered inside and then shot.

**NEW AUSTRALIAN INQUIRY INTO TIMOR KILLINGS**

The *New Zealand Herald*, 30 Nov 1995, by Greg Ansley

CANBERRA - The Australian Government has set up a new inquiry into the killing of a New Zealander and five other journalists in East Timor 20 years ago.

New allegations from within Indonesia said the men were killed deliberately by Indonesian troops during the annexation of the former Portuguese colony.

The decision announced yesterday by the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, has the potential to further strain relations with Jakarta.

A New Zealand cameraman, Gary Cunningham, was working with an Australian television crew when Indonesian soldiers raided the village of Balibo on October 1975.

With two Australians, Greg Shackleton, aged 27, and Tony Stewart, 21, and two Australian-based British journalists, Malcolm Rennie, 28, and Brian Peters, 29, Cunningham had taken refuge inside the house in which they were staying.

The enquiry will highlight the extent of Australian complicity in Indonesia’s infiltration and later full-scale invasion of East Timor - the international scandal that has been described as the ‘big wink.’ New Zealand won’t escape scrutiny - Gary Cunningham...
ham was a New Zealander - and New Zea-
land like Australia has acquiesced in Indone-
sian genocide. New Zealand should face its 
failures and past betrayal of the East 
Timorese and at least two of its own citi-
zens (Gary Cunningham and Kamal Bmad-
haj) - and join the enquiry with resources, 
information and documentation.

The East Timor Independence Commit-
tee is conveying these views by letter to Mr 
McKinnon - and no doubt the matter will 
be high on the agenda of José Ramos-Horta 
(CNRM Special Representative and resis-
tance leader) when he meets with Mr 
McKinnon on the 8th of December.

For further information: Maire Lead-
beater, +09 849 3890 or day +09 828 5100.

NEW STRAINS OVER EAST TIMOR

DEATHS

By Geoffrey Barker, Australian Financial 
Review. 30 November 1995

The Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator 
Evans, has risked new strains in Australian-
Indonesian relations by announcing a limited 
independent inquiry into the deaths of five 
Australian journalists in East Timor 20 years 
ago, in a pre-election bid to boost 
support for Government foreign policy.

Senator Evans’s decision to appoint the 
retiring National Crime Authority chairman, 
Mr Tom Sherman, to evaluate alleged new 
evidence about the deaths was taken with-
out reference to the Department of Foreign 
Affairs and Trade, which distanced itself 
from the move last night.

The inquiry is part of a pre-election 
campaign by the Government to project 
"popular" foreign policy.

Last Sunday the Prime Minister, Mr 
Keating, announced the so-called Canberra 
Commission of international statesmen to 
campaign against nuclear weapons. On 
Tuesday Senator Evans’s office confirmed 
he would not make a controversial visit to 
the military regime in Burma.

For Senator Evans the East Timor in-
quiry might also have been driven by the 
fact that one of his opponents in the outer 
Melbourne electorate of Holt will be De-
ocratic Mr Jim Aubrey, a long-time East 
Timor activist.

Although Holt is a safe Labor seat, it has 
a small East Timorese community and Sena-
tor Evans is campaigning hard to maintain 
the winning margin of the retiring member, 
Mr Michael Duffy.

Indonesian authorities, who insist the 
journalists died accidentally in cross-fire 
during the invasion of East Timor, said in 
Jakarta last night that Senator Evans’s in-
quiry was not welcomed.

East Timorese living in Australia and 
Portugal claim to have new evidence that 
journalists Gary Cunningham, Brian Peters, 
Malcolm Rennie, Greg Shackleton, Tony 
Stewart and Roger East were in fact mur-
dered by the invading Indonesian forces.

The Sherman inquiry is supported by the 
shadow Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Alex-
ander Downer, who said it was incumbent 
on the Government to ensure there was a 
full and independent investigation of the 
new evidence, and by Democrat Senator 
Vicki Bourne, a long-time campaigner for a 
full judicial inquiry.

But Mrs Shirley Shackleton, the widow 
of one of the journalists, said she feared the 
inquiry would become part of the continuing 
cover-up over the deaths.

Announcing the decision, Senator Evans 
anticipated claims that he had abandoned his 
earlier resistance to an inquiry.

Senator Evans said East Timorese inside 
and outside of Australia claimed to have 
new evidence about the deaths, and the 
Government had said it would follow up the 
claims if they were compelling and credible.

Senator Evans said Mr Sherman would 
start his inquiry in February and report to 
the Government no later than the end of 
May. He would gather any new evidence 
and the Government would decide whether 
further action was required.

A spokesman for the Department of For-
eign Affairs referred all questions about Mr 
Sherman’s inquiry to Senator Evans’ office. 
The Department reportedly knew little 
about the initiative.

TIMOR VICTIM ROGER EAST:
‘ONE KILLED WAS AN 
AUSTRALIAN’

MELBOURNE, Dec 1 AAP - He was 
dragged to his death, his hands bound with 
wire, shouting that he was an Australian. In 
a last act of defiance, he refused to turn his 
back and instead faced his captors as they 
shot him.

This, according to eyewitness accounts, 
is how Roger East met his death on the Dili 
waterfront on December 8, 1975.

Twenty years after the Indonesian inva-
sion of East Timor, Roger East – adventurer 
and knoboutjournalist – remains the for-
gotten Australian victim of the takeover.

“IT does hurt,” says his sister Glenise 
Bowie. “It’s almost as if he’s the man who 
never was.”

Much of Australia’s interest in East 
Timor stems from the deaths of five Austra-
lian television journalists killed in Balibo on 
October 16, 1975.

East, aged 52, was the sixth victim, killed 
just a month after he left Darwin for East 
Timor, partly motivated by the desire to 
uncover what happened in Balibo.

“When those five young fellows went 
missing he tried very hard to get in (to East 
Timor),” recalls Mrs Bowie, 69.

“He said those people have been be-
trayed. Those were his exact words. He said 
they were AJA (Australian Journalists’ As-
sociation) members and nobody’s doing 
anything.”

On November 9, 1975, he filed a story 
from Dili on how the five TV journalists 
died, based on an interview with Fretilin 
soldiers who’d abandoned Balibo as Indone-
sian forces moved in. A cameraman was 
shot and wounded, he wrote. The other four 
were lined up outside a house and were 
screaming “Australians! Australians!” be-
fore they too were shot.

A month later, East was killed in similar 
circumstances. He was last seen by Austra-
lians at Dili’s Turismo Hotel on December 
6, the eve of the Indonesian invasion. The 
remaining Australians evacuated that day 
but East stayed on – something he’d told his 
family and friends he’d do before he left 
Darwin.

“We’d say what are you going to do 
when the Indonesians invade, as it was ob-
vious that they would,” recalls Ken White, a 
former Northern Territory News journalist 
who knew East as press officer for the 
Darwin Reconstruction Authority.

“He’d say, ‘I’ll go up to the hills with 
Fretilin and try to get the story of what 
happens out to Australia.’”

For whatever reason, he did not leave Dili 
before December 7, when Indonesian troops 
landed by sea and air.

“He chose to stay; he planned to go 
bush, but they dropped out of the sky, it 
was so quick, what could he do?,” says Mrs 
Bowie. According to former diplomat Jim 
Dunn, author of an authoritative account of 
the Indonesian takeover. East was inter-
cepted by Indonesian troops possibly after 
trying to send a final dispatch to Australia. 
A squad of Fretilin soldiers who came into 
Dili in an attempt to get East out, was 
wiped out in a skirmish with Indonesian 
troops.

According to witnesses interviewed in 
Portugal in 1980 by Dunn and the Austra-
lian journalist Jill Jolliffe, East was captured 
and taken to the Dili wharf, where Indone-
sian forces moved in. A cameraman was 
shot and wounded, he wrote. The other four 
were lined up outside a house and were 
screaming “Australians! Australians!” be-
fore they too were shot.
The witness told how he was forced to help the Indonesians dispose of bodies during the killings of December 7 and 8.

“One killed ... was an Australian man,” the witness told Turner. “The soldiers push him. He was talking to them saying, ‘Not Fretilin, Australian.’

“He spoke English ... he wore brown shorts, a cream shirt and sunglasses ... he had short hair turning grey. He looked a strong man. They push him, telling him to face the sea. He refuses to do this. The Indonesians just fire at him. He falls straight into the sea.”

A witness interviewed by Dunn saw a European matching East’s description on the morning of December 8, “being dragged to the wharf by three Indonesian soldiers.”

“The captive’s hands were bound with wire,” Dunn wrote, “but he continued to struggle while the soldiers kicked him and prodded him with their bayonets. And during his ordeal East apparently hurled a constant stream of abuse at his captors.”

He refused to turn and face the sea as he stood on the wharf and shouted at his captors: “I am not Fretilin; I am an Australian.”

The killing, says Dunn, was carried out by members of the Indonesian Army’s Battalion 501.

Twenty years on, there’s is a bitter irony for East’s family in the federal government’s announcement of an inquiry into “new evidence” about the Balibo five and East.

The evidence on East’s death, for instance, has been on the record since 1980. His brother Bill, 76, says he’s “pretty browned off” about how the family has been “fobbed off” by politicians over the years.

“This new stuff that’s come out about how the other journalists died, it’s identical to what Roger found out when he was over there. It’s not new,” Bill says.

Glenise Bowie wonders why Roger – who had travelled the world as a journalist, reporting from the Middle East, Africa and North America – is never remembered, least of all by the news media.

“He was there to tell what happened,” she says.

“He was politically motivated. He felt tremendous compassion for what was happening – their right to self-determination.

“He gave his life for something he believed in. As an AJA member, you’d think he’d be remembered. “I hope some day he’ll get some recognition. He went with honour, and I wish that’d he just be remembered as a person.”

ROGER EAST, JOURNALIST OF THE OLD SCHOOL

Australian Associated Press, By Tom Hyland

MELBOURNE, Dec 1 AAP – Roger East, the sixth Australian journalist killed in East Timor 20 years ago, was a child of the Depression, a former sailor, an adventurer and defender of the underdog, according to those who knew him.

He was born in Merrylands in the Paramatta district west of Sydney on February 5, 1923, one of a family of four. His mother died when he was young. “It was already Depression times and he had a rugged upbringing,” according to his sister Glenise Bowie, 69.

He grew up in the NSW bush, in Inverell and Gulgandra. Mrs Bowie recalls that at one time he fainted in school from hunger. When he was about 16, he joined the Navy and was discharged before the end of the World War II.

He got his first job as journalist in Dubbo and then moved to Ballina in northern NSW. “He had a great sympathy for the underdog, but editors didn’t give him much of a go,” says his sister.

He wandered the world in the 1950s and 1960s, reporting from Cyprus, the Middle East, Spain, Africa and North America.

In the early 1960s, he was back in Australia working for the ABC in Sydney.

Former ABC reporter Doug Helleur remembers East as “a dear fellow.” “We became very close,” says Helleur, a former correspondent in Tokyo and later head of Radio Australia’s Japanese section.

“He was always ready to stick his neck out for the underdog. I felt very drawn to this man because he had a lot of compassion,” Helleur recalls East as a “short, stocky man, a very fit little fellow, as tough as nails.”

East, says Helleur, was a reporter of the old school: “He was a very serious journalist. He talked about how you owed a duty to the public to tell the truth.

“He was down to earth: didn’t give a stuff for the hierarchy, just tell the truth, that’s the kind of bloke he was.

“He wrote it as it was.” Unable to con
torm or settle, East worked for a time as a Country Party press secretary in Queens-
land before moving to Darwin after Cy-
clone Tracey. Former Northern Territory News journalist Ken White got to know East as press officer for the Darwin Recon-
struction Authority in 1975.

“I’d describe him as an old style journo,” says White.

“I found him a very competent journo, but he found most jobs too dull.” White says East’s defence of the underdog and his desire to find out what happened to the five television journalists killed in Balibo in Oc-
tober 1975 were factors in his decision to go to East Timor.

“He’d come to my home and we’d talk. When the situation in East Timor got bad, he said he’d like to go over there.

“His brother Bill East recalled last week from his home in Coonamble, NSW.

“I think his sympathies lay with Fretilin, but he was not blatantly biased,” says White.

“It’s a tragedy really, he was murdered but he tends to be overlooked.” Doug Helleur agrees: “Roger never gets a bloody mention.”

THE FORGOTTEN AUSSIE OF DILI


Even after two decades, John the waiter can still remember the order he took 20 years ago for Roger East’s last supper in Dili’s Turismo Hotel.

Within 36 hours East was dead, executed by Indonesian special forces less than 1km from the hotel, according to eyewitnesses. East, 51, was to become Australia’s forgotten sixth victim of the East Timor invasion, the journalist who went to investigate the killing of five other Australians at Balibo, only to die himself.

Last week, almost 20 years to the day since his execution, the Australian Government ordered East’s death to be investigated as part of an inquiry by Tom Sherman into the killing of the Balibo five.

In Sydney, East’s sister, Glenise Bowie, expressed amazement that after 20 years without even a whisper of protest to Indonesia, the Australian Government was fi-

ally acknowledging her brother’s death.

“I’m glad Roger is being recognised at last,” she said.

Friends of East Timor want the inquiry also to consider the sworn testimonies given 15 years ago by East Timorese witnesses which provide convincing evidence that East was summarily executed by Indonesian special forces.

“Wherever there was a hot spot, it wouldn’t matter if it was by tram, steamer, or by bloody walking, he’d get there,” his brother Bill East recalled last week from his home in Coonamble, NSW.

“He didn’t know what it was to be afraid. That was how he lived and that was how he died.”

By now he had become the de facto press officer for the Fretilin government. In a let-
ter to his brother Bill written a week before his death, he spoke of his plans to follow retreating Fretilin soldiers into the hills. He would become their mouthpiece to the outside world in the expected guerilla was against the invaders.

“I believe if he could have gone into the interior, his reports could have dramatically changed events,” said Jim Dunn, a former Australian ambassador to East Timor who left Dili shortly before the invasion.

“The outside world would have known more of what went on after the invasion and might have acted to stop it.”

[according to Paul Spottiswood, the pilot sent to ‘rescue’ him:] “He said, ‘I can’t leave these people. I’m the only one they have left. We’ve sent messages around the world and we haven’t had one answer.’”

Australia has yet to protest at the cold-blooded execution of one of its citizens by its nearest neighbor.

“It was a very sordid episode, a bizarre and macabre way for the invading Indonesians to behave,” said Mr. Dunn.

Pilot Spottiswood, the last Westerner to see East alive, says the injustice of the past two decades has only increased his admiration for the stand East took.

“He had guts when it came to East Timor. And that is more than you can say for our politicians.”

This was a full-page article. No photos. I’ve left out a lot which repeats info which has already been posted.

PROBE INTO KILLING OF JOURNALISTS IN TIMOR NETS WITNESSES

by Wilson da Silva, American Reporter Correspondent, Dec. 5.

MELBOURNE, Australia — Two witnesses to the killing by Indonesian soldiers of Australian journalist Roger East in East Timor 20 years ago have said they are prepared to give evidence to an unprecedented federal government inquiry announced last week.

The inquiry, announced by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans on November 29, will probe the deaths of six Australian-based journalists in the Indonesian-occupied territory of East Timor in late 1975, when Indonesian forces invaded the former Portuguese colony.

It was called after strong public pressure, and threats by minor parties in the Australian Senate — who hold the balance of power in the chamber — to hold a public inquiry into the deaths, which have never been properly explained.

Five of the men — two Australian, two British and one New Zealander — died in the Timorese hinterland town of Balibo on October 16 that year, where they had gone to verify reports of clandestine Indonesian border raids.

Jakarta maintains that the five were killed in crossfire between warring Timorese factions. But new evidence by former Indonesian collaborators contradict this, saying the five were executed in cold blood — accounts that tally with the testimony of Timorese refugees now living in exile in Australia and Portugal.

According to several published accounts — including reports by Amnesty International and one prepared by the former Australian consul to East Timor, James Dunn — the sixth journalist, Roger East, was also executed by Indonesian soldiers. This reportedly occurred on the pier of Dili harbor on December 8, 1975, the day after the Indonesian invasion began.

One of the Timorese witnesses, who identified himself only as Chong, said through an interpreter that he was among a group to be executed along with East, but escaped.

The second witness, a refugee recently arrived in Australia from East Timor, asked that his name not be revealed. He said he also saw East gunned down at the pier, and that he would assist the inquiry if his identity could be protected.

The Australian government investigation, headed by retiring National Crime Authority chairman Tom Sherman, is to start in February and report to the Labor government of Prime Minister Paul Keating by May, 1996.

There has never been an official explanation of East’s death, nor an inquiry conducted by either the Australian or Indonesian governments. As late as 1980, Australian authorities told journalists they were still “seeking an early reply” to their requests for information into the fate of East, 52, a freelance journalist from the northern Australian city of Darwin.

Konng Lay, a representative of the Timorese community in Australia, said that there were a total of six Timorese refugees now living in Australia who witnessed the killing of East. He said a number of people still living in East Timor also witnessed the events of December 8, 1975, when scores of others detained by Indonesian forces were also executed at the pier.

The second witness told The American Reporter that on that day, he and a group of friends, carrying a white shirt mounted on a branch, surrendered to Indonesian soldiers patrolling the beach. They were told to sit near the pier. Two hours later, he watched soldiers arrive with a white man and scores of Timorese prisoners.

“He had a white shirt and khaki-brown shorts,” the second man said of East. “He wore thongs and glasses. His hands were tied behind. They turned him toward the sea, and the man turned back. He talked or argued with the Indonesians. They hit him with guns, but he kept talking. I didn’t understand (what he said).

“They used automatic weapons. It wasn’t just one soldier, it was three or four who fired. There were many killed. The pier had lots of blood,” he said. The other witness, Chong, said he was part of a work gang conscripted by Indonesian soldiers on the day of the invasion. The gang was given the task of clearing from the pier the bodies of those who didn’t fall into the sea once they had been shot.

He said the gang was told to tie stones or metal pipes to the bodies of those gunned down, and drop the corpses into the harbor. Once the soldiers had finished killing the scores of captives they brought to the pier, most of the work gang was also gunned down, he said.

Just as the last of them were to be executed, an Indonesian officer arrived and pulled three of them out of the line-up, Chong said, and ordered them to dig graves near the Hotel Timor for a number of Indonesian soldiers killed in the invasion attack.

On the following day, when the work gang had finished digging the graves of some 60 Indonesian soldiers, another young Indonesian officer who had been put in charge of the work gang allowed them to return home, he said. The other two members of the work gang have also resettled in Australia, but have declined to give evidence.

Amnesty International reports corroborate aspects of the account, and say the organization has “specific information about a number of reported massacres of non-combatant civilians in the capital on 7 and 8 December in the harbor area in the Comera district, and in the vicinity of the military barracks in Vila Verde.”

A 1985 Amnesty report, prepared for the 10th anniversary of the invasion, lists the names of 28 people reportedly executed at the pier, including East.

Former consul Dunn was on the last flight out of Dili a few days before the invasion. He has since interviewed a number of survivors who escaped to Australia and Portugal after the invasion, and published some of the most detailed accounts of the events surrounding the invasion.

“He was dragged, according to eyewitnesses, by a group of soldiers,” Dunn said. “He was cursing them, and they occasionally whacked him with a rifle, towards the wharf. They got him to stand at the end so that when the bullets hit him, he would fall into the sea. But he turned around and shouted: ‘I’m Australian, I’m Australian, I’m Australian.’”
East’s sister, Glenise Kathleen Bowie of Sydney, said she hoped the new inquiry would shed light into her brother’s death, and perhaps lead to some justice 20 years later.

“I’d like to see it explained, I’d like to see them identified ... and maybe imprisoned,” said the 69-year-old retiree. “It’s so horrendous. Nothing can ever justify it ... they were war crimes. It was just cold-blooded murder.”

Bowie said it had taken a long time for the death of her brother to receive the public attention accorded to the five Australia-based television reporters who were killed two months earlier.

She said that while she said had finally accepted his death after many years, “there was never any confirmation, no passports or papers. There was nothing to confirm that he’d gone.

“I think (Foreign Minister Evans) has a duty to Australians to make these people face what they did. If they’re going to trade and be friends with them, they’ve got to admit it,” she said.

East’s older brother, Bill East, 76, a farmer in central north New South Wales state, said that it astounded him that the government was taking an interest 20 years after the event.

“It’s 20 years now, and what they’ve endeavoring to do, I don’t know,” he said. “They didn’t give a bugger then.”

Vicki Bourne, a senator of the Australian Democrats minor party, said they would press the Australian government for appropriate action once a report is delivered next year.

Portugal partially withdrew from East Timor in August, 1975, following a civil war between leftist and loyalist Timorese groups. The leftist Fretilin party, which won the clash, declared independence from Portugal in November, triggering an all-out invasion by Jakarta, which feared a leftist Portuguese which still regards Portugal as the adminis-

tation on its border.

Invasion by Jakarta, which feared a leftist Portugal in November, triggering an all-out war, betayed by an informer, she was brought before one of the officers of Battalion 502, beside herself with fear and clutching her 2 year old son, José. According to Isabel’s oldest sister, Laura Barreto, the Kostrad officer ordered the immediate execution of the slight young woman, whose husband had been sworn in only 10 days earlier as the first Prime Minister of an independent East Timor.

‘Isabel was on her knees pleading with the Indonesians not to take her,’ says Laura Barreto, her voice trembling with emotion as she sits in a small apartment in Lisbon where she now lives. ‘But they took her anyway.’

Soldiers from Battalion 502 dragged the young woman, who had thrust her young son into the arms of her aunt, to the nearby docks where, earlier that morning, they had lined up and shot more than 20 people. They ended Isabel Lobato’s life with a burst of automatic weapons fire as her husband, in another part of Dili directed Fretilin’s withdrawal into the mountains. Half a dozen East Timorese men witnessed her death.

‘They saw Isa being shot and watched as her body tumbled into the sea,’ said Laura Barreto.

In Australia, governments have tried not to let events like this disturb our relationship with Indonesia. When Australia recently hosted the first Indonesian combat unit ever to take part in joint exercises in this country, the unit selected, out of nearly 100 infantry battalions in the Indonesian Armed Forces, was Battalion 502 from Kostrad, which was pulled out of Timor in disgrace after a mere 10 days.

In East Timor, the events of December 7 1975 are less easily forgotten. Indonesia’s brutal attack on a small territory which wanted to go its own way still colours the way many East Timorese look on Indonesia.

In many ways, East Timor was a disaster waiting to happen. The Portugal had done nothing to prepare the local elite members for self-government and when talks on the future of the territory broke down in mid-1975, a short but unusually savage civil war erupted, resulting in 1500 deaths. Although fanned in part by Jakarta, the civil war resulted in the eclipse of the political grouping favouring Indonesia.

That persuaded many Indonesian generals that it was time for a full-scale invasion. To their dismay, President Suharto kept the dogs of war on a fairly tight lease, limiting his approval to Special Forces attacks on half a dozen towns, including Balibo, where five Australia-based newsmen were killed.

On December 3, after Fretilin’s unilateral declaration of independence, itself a desperate response to Indonesian pressure, the President approved a full-scale invasion. Jakarta saw Fretilin as irredeemably left-wing. It feared ‘Cuba on its doorstep.’

Indonesia had decided on an invasion. But what kind was it to be? In the months leading to December, Major General Benny Murdani, then 43, the head of military intelligence, had been pressing for a sudden knockout blow by the elite red beret Kopassandha (Secret Warfare Command).

This was no surprise. A man of gruff self-assurance who had been given responsibility for Indonesia’s clandestine operations against East Timor, Murdani was Indonesia’s most outstanding Special Forces officer. He believed that a 264-man Kopassandha force could parachute into the heart of Dili - landing in front of the Governor’s office - and hold the city and airport for 12 to 20 hours, enough time for reinforcements to be thrown in.

‘The idea is to drop right into the heart of the enemy,’ General Murdani told the Herald. Murdani admits the strategy posed risks. ‘But the advantage is that you have surprise. Your location cannot be predetermined by the enemy. You have 200 to 250 men. Fifty might be behind the enemy. 20 to his right, another 10 to his left. And all with automatic rifles. It’s a formidable force, a formidable force! It’s like 264 Bren guns.’

To Murdani’s lasting chagrin, the planning staff did what it had done many times in the past; it equivocated. Instead of a quick airborne attack, the ABRI leadership opted for an ambitious and unwieldy combined attack. Each service was to awarded a slice of the action, for ‘political’ as much as military reasons.

Under the final invasion plans approved by President Suharto, a naval bombardment would begin at 4.45am. This would be followed an hour later by a parachute drop involving 264 Kopassandha commandos and a company of 170 to 200 mean from Battalion 502 of Kostrad’s 18th Airborne Brigade.

As Kopassandha secured three key objectives - the airport, docks and radio station - a Marine Corps Battallion Landing Team would move in from the sea, landing near Kampung Alor, a small Arab quarter west of the town. They would be accompanied by PT-76 amphibious tanks, which would swim ashore. The remaining two companies

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**DAY OF FEAR & FURY**

*Sydney Morning Herald, Dec 2, 1995. By David Jenkins, Asia editor*

reconstruction of invasion based on interviews.

It had been 26 hours since the Indonesian Air Force C-130 transports had appeared in the sky over Dili, flying in low through the cool, blush mist of a tropical dawn dispersing 350 paratroops. Now, as scattered firefights continued across a city strewed with corpses, soldiers from Battalion 502 of the elite green beret Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad) herded terrified residents into a small park on the esplanade.

For Isabel Lobato, 24, wife of Fretilin leader Nicolau Lobato, it was the end of the road, betrayed by an informer, she was brought before one of the officers of Battalion 502, beside herself with fear and clutching her 2 year old son, José. According to Isabel’s oldest sister, Laura Barreto, the Kostrad officer ordered the immediate execution of the slight young woman, whose husband had been sworn in only 10 days earlier as the first Prime Minister of an independent East Timor.

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of Battalion 502 would then be ferried in by small transport planes.

A combined operation was about the last thing Indonesia should have undertaken. Indonesia’s defence forces had not seen any significant combat for more than 10 years. With the exception of Kopassandha and some Kostrad units, units were poorly trained, led and equipped. Before 1975, most Indonesian defence exercises had been single service.

None of this seemed to trouble the planning team in Jakarta. ‘Should an invasion be decided upon,’ the US State Department reported on Dec 1, ‘the Indonesians estimate that Fretilin can be forced to capitulate in 3 to 4 weeks.’ That estimate, like so many others about East Timor, proved to be hopelessly optimistic.

On Saturday, December 6, as tense Indonesian paratroopers milled around the outskirts of Kupang, Laura Barreto rode her bicycle to the Motael church near the Dili waterfront. Dili was infested with fear. The day before, six Indonesian warships had bombarded Fretilin troops at the Loes river, only 60km west of the city. A full-scale invasion seemed imminent. Many of the estimated 18,000 people in the city had moved to the hills.

Like many of those who had chosen to stay on, Laura Baretto was seeking comfort in prayer in the red-tiled Portuguese church. ‘I saw an aeroplane, very high’ she remembered. ‘There were lots of rumours that something was going to happen.’

A widow who worked in the Ministry of Finance, Laura Baretto was the eldest daughter of the liurai (traditional ruler) of Bazartete, a coffee growing region in the hills west of Dili. She spent that night at her house in the centre of Dili, behind the Banco Nacional Ultramarino. With her were 15 members of her extended family, a cross section of the East Timorese elite, including one of her sisters Olimpia and Olimpia’s husband, José Gonçalves. Five days earlier, José had been sworn in as Minister for Economic Coordination in the Fretilin Government.

Many in the family, like Laura, were unable to sleep and waited anxiously for the dawn when they could make their escape. Those hopes were dashed when the big Indonesian naval guns opened up, on schedule, at 4.45 am. The house, which made of brick, roacked as shells slammed into the hills, cutting off any escape, at least for the time being.

‘They lobbed some of the projectiles into the city, but it didn’t cause any damage at all,’ said Murdani. ‘It was just to cover the landing. This is a mistake, you see. If you conduct an airborne operation, there should be no movements, no warning and all that.’

Because their people were going to land, they wanted a bombardment 60 minutes beforehand. So the whole element of surprise is gone. Because their people were going to land, they wanted a bombardment 60 minutes beforehand. So the whole element of surprise is gone. So when our boys jumped out of the planes, they could have shot from below. But I was not the operations officer. I would not have planned this. I would tell the Navy to shut up.’

It had been dark as the C-130s roared down the runway at Kupang, with the moon still in its first phase and providing little illumination. But now, 45 minutes into the flight, the sun was rising on a peerless summer morning. Although the rainy season had begun, flooding rivers and turning unsealed roads into horror stretches of mud, the immediate forecast was for clear skies.

‘Surprisingly we didn’t have any rain,’ said Lt. Gen. Dading Kalbuadi, a Red Beret colleague of Murdani, who had directed the covert border war and who observed the parachute attack from a naval vessel. ‘It was like Hawaii on Dec 7, 1941 when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour. That was also December 7 and the weather was also nice!’

As the five aircraft approached the drop zone, flying well out to sea, with Dili off to the right, the flight crews had an unstructured view of the city. They could see the warships a short distance offshore and smoke drifting up from the foothills, where the shells had exploded among the eupalptus.

Each aircraft was crammed with about 80 men, faces smeared with camouflage cream. Each man was laden down with a parachute, AK-47 rifle and up to 36kg of equipment, including ammunition and food for 2 days, 2 water bottles, shovel, machete, first-aid kit and parts for the units heavy weapons.

When the C130s were about 15km east of Dili, they made a 180 degree turn to the right. This brought them onto their drop zone run-in course. By the time they passed the designated drop zone entry point about 10km east of the city, the pilots had established drop altitude (1,250 feet), drop air-speed (110 knots) and stable flight conditions. As the lead aircraft approached the designated release point near the Turismo Hotel, the jumpmaster gave the command, ‘Go.’

Had Murdani had his way, the parachute drop would have come as a complete surprise to those on the ground. In the event, the naval gunfire had woken the town. As the sky began to fill with billowing green-and-khaki silk, Fretilin defenders opened up with small arms fire. A bullet struck the Kostrad jumpmaster, who was mortally wounded. Panicked by the man’s dying scream over the intercom, the pilot banked sharply right. The aircraft which had just passed over the Motael church, was now heading out to sea, away from the Fretilin gunfire. But the co-pilot failed to switch off the green ‘jump’ light.

Unaware of the danger, the Kostrad men in the queue continued to hurl themselves out into the slipstream. More than 30 came down into the harbour, where they struggled with the quick-release catches on both their parachute harnesses and kit bag cords. Others were disabled when they landed on coral formations. It was a severe blow to the Indonesians.

The memory of the Indonesian attack was imprinted on the minds of everyone in Dili that day, ‘I opened the door and saw the parachutes,’ said Laura Barreto. ‘It seemed like rain. All of Dili was covered.’ Terrified of what was to come, she returned home and hid under her bed. ‘We were not expecting parachutes. They fell all around the house. One actually hit the house.’

The combined operation ran into trouble from the start. Some of the Green Beret’s from Battalion 502, which was under the command of Major Warsity, had dropped into the sea and drowned. Others exchanged fire with the Indonesian Marine Corps battalion, which was advancing inland from the beach.

In combat for the first time, Indonesian troops sprayed automatic weapons fire in all directions, filling the tree-lined streets with spent brass casings. Not surprisingly, they soon found themselves short of ammunition. Nor was more at hand; the fierce resistance put up by Fretilin prevented supply transports from reaching the beach. Nor did the Indonesians save their fury for Fretilin; ‘The soldiers who landed started killing everyone they could find,’ the late Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili, Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes (‘the Bishop’) recalled in 1983. ‘There were many dead bodies in the streets - all we could see were the soldiers killing, killing, killing’.

Two decades later, senior Indonesian intelligence officers make no secret of the fact that a combined operation of this scale was beyond Indonesia’s capacity at that time. Nor do they gloss over the poor performance, indiscipline and brutality of some units. ‘These troops had no discipline at all,’ Murdani acknowledged in 1993. ‘They shot one another. Overall, it was totally embarrassing.’

In Jakarta on the first day, spokesmen clung to the threadbare story that Indonesian ‘volunteers’ were helping the East Timorese reuniite with their Indonesian brothers. In fact, the pro-Indonesian Timorese were simply window-dressing;
they landed from ships five hours after the parachute drop. Nor was their much brotherly love; the Indonesian troops behaved with great brutality.

Murdani says he was under no illusions that Fretilin would fight hard, 'I expected that resistance would be very tough,' he said. 'Because they were all trained by the Portuguese, indoctrinated by the Portuguese about how near Indonesia was. They didn't care for Indonesians. Their allegiance was to the Portuguese. So it was only natural that they stood up and fought us. Because we were pictured by the Portuguese as a sort of imperial army. Aggressors! Muslims! Javanese!'

The attack on Dili was to prove unexpectedly costly for the Indonesians who lost 37 men including 2 majors and 2 captains on the first day. One of the majors was from Koppasandha. Almost all the casualties were from Battalion 502. At the time Jakarta told the world that only one of its men were killed.

Early on Day 2, Laura Barreto and her family left the house, which was less than 200 metres west of the Governor’s office. Waving a white flag, they set out for the Motoel church. They did not get far. The streets were swarming with Indonesian soldiers who forced them to join several hundred other people in a square near the harbour.

‘Everything was confused,’ said Laura Barreto, ‘There were troops and tanks everywhere. Many Timorese had been killed. There was still shooting. There were lots of corpses and because they had been dead a long time, they were already bloated. I saw a truck arriving with the bodies of Indonesian soldiers. Local Chinese were forced to dig graves for the Indonesian troops.’

In an interview at his home in 1980, Monsignor Costa Lopes told me that Indonesian troops had marched more than 20 troops to the docks simply because they had Fretilin flags painted on their walls. The victims had been lined up on the edge of the wharf and shot. Their bodies tumbled into the harbour.

‘In the beginning there were terrible excesses,’ he said. ‘It’s not true [as some allege] that they took 100 people to the jetty. But it was more than 20. Some were Chinese.’

A Chinese shopkeeper known as ‘Mr Siong’ was one of six people who witnessed the shooting. According to him, about 37 people were murdered at the docks as Green Beret troops took their revenge. Some fell into the sea when they shot, others fell on the wharf.

‘There were a lot of iron pipes on the wharf and we must tie the dead bodies on to them with parachute rope and throw them into the sea,’ he told author Michele Turner in 1984. ‘We are trembling, we are nearly gone mad, but we don’t know what to do, just do whatever the Indonesians want.’

One of the dead was an Australian, almost certainly Roger East. ‘The soldiers push him,’ said ‘Mr Siong,’ ‘He was talking to them saying, ‘Not Fretilin, Australian.’ He spoke English ... He wore brown shorts, a cream shirt and sunglasses ... He has short hair turning grey. He looks a strong man. They push him, tell him to face the sea. He refuses to do this. The Indonesians just fire at him. He falls straight into the sea.’

Of all the Indonesian troops in Dili in those first terrible days, the men of Battalion 502 were the worst. They gunned down Timorese. Incensed by their behaviour, Murdani pulled the unit out. Battalion 502 was sent back to East Java in disgrace.

None of this seemed to have any negative impact on the career of the battalion commander, Major Warsito, who retired as a major-general and who is now the Governor of Nusa Tenggara Barat, the province which covers the Lombok-Sumbawa area.

Why was the ‘liberation’ of East Timor so brutal? Part of the answer is to be found in the nature of East Timorese society. In the period after the outbreak of civil war in August 1975, East Timorese society was deeply fissured along clan, class and ideological lines. In the hothouse atmosphere of the times, with Indonesia breathing down the necks of the parties, fanning group and class rivalries, Timorese turned on one another with a sometimes murderous intensity.

Fretilin might have enjoyed widespread support, but it was not universally loved. Nor did it eschew violence. Fretilin leaders imprisoned, tortured and quite often killed those first terrible days, the men of Battalion 502 were the worst. They gunned down Timorese. Incensed by their behaviour, Murdani pulled the unit out. Battalion 502 was sent back to East Java in disgrace.

When the Indonesians arrived in Dili on Dec 7, bringing the surviving Apodeti leaders in their saddlebags, the payback killing began. Vengeance begat vengeance. As Isabel Lobato was murdered in Dili, her husband was across town at the Taibesse barracks ordering sick and malnourished Apodeti prisoners to carry 27kg ammunition boxes up into the mountains. The prisoners were frequently kicked, punched and whipped. They were denied food. In the weeks that followed, Fretilin massacred several large groups of Apodeti prisoners, using guns and knives.

In this atmosphere, Indonesians maintain, many Timorese were only too ready to get their own back. ‘I heard that when our troops landed, a few Muslims from Kam-pung Arab went to meet them,’ said Mur-
The Untold Story of East Timor

Indonesia Media Network - 2 Dec 95. IMN is an ICMI operation, as described in the article “Moslem group to defend Indonesia on Internet” in the Events in Indonesia section of this issue of East Timor Documents. IMN can be found at http://www.imn.co.id/analysis/political/9512/02/

East Timor or Timor Timur is the eastern half of the island of Timor which, at about 34,000 square kilometers, is a size smaller than the state of Maryland. It is Indonesia’s 27th province.

The story of East Timor so often reported in the international media fails to provide a complete picture. The people of East Timor have endured pain for generations: Colonial rule, revolutions, mistaken government policies and internal conflict have exacted a great toll.

But East Timor’s story is still largely unreported. It is the story of a people’s struggle against an ancient colonial power, the chaos that ensued when the colonial power simply abandoned them after leading them to the brink of civil war, their integration with Indonesia, and the continuing quest for stability and development after integration.

**History**

Long before the arrival of Dutch and Portuguese colonizers, the Indonesian archipelago, including the island of Timor, had been part of the Sriwijaya and Majapahit empires. Portuguese warships first came, to the archipelago in 1509, and began to occupy Java. In the last quarter of the 15th century, the Portuguese were finally able to conquer some of the outer islands including Timor. The traditional rulers of these islands sought the help of the Dutch in expelling the Portuguese only to find themselves in the clutches of another colonizer. From then on the Dutch vigorously expanded their hold on Indonesia, driving the Portuguese out in the process.

By the middle of the 17th Century, the Portuguese held only the eastern half of the island of Timor but they held it tenaciously. In 1859, a formal boundary was established by treaty defining the Dutch-controlled West Timor and Portuguese-controlled East Timor which was governed as part of the colony of Macau until 1896 when East Timor became a separate colony with its own governor. By then there was a great deal of social unrest in East Timor and finally, in 1910, an armed rebellion broke out. It took the Portuguese a year and a half to suppress it.

During the World War II, the Japanese army ousted the Dutch and the Portuguese from the island of Timor. The rigors of Japanese military rule led to famine on the island. By the time the Japanese surrendered to the Allied forces, at least 40,000 people had died in East Timor—many of them because of the help they gave to anti-Japanese forces.

**Independence Struggle**

Soon after that, Indonesia had to fight a revolutionary war which culminated in Dutch agreement to its independence on 27 December 1949. At the same time, the people of East Timor waged a similar struggle for independence which the Portuguese forces harshly put down. For three decades more, the Portuguese would rule over East Timor which they no longer termed a colony but an “overseas province” of Portugal. Portugal formalized this in an amendment to the Portuguese constitution. But that did not stop the United Nations from condemning Portugal for refusing to allow its colonial subjects the right to self-determination.

On 25 April 1974, the Portuguese military overthrew the government in Portugal and soon after declared that the Portuguese colonies of Asia and Africa, including East Timor, would be accorded their democratic rights. The people of East Timor were allowed to form political parties and start the process which would lead to a referendum on 13 March 1975. In that referendum the people of East Timor would choose one of three options: to become an autonomous territory under Portuguese rule, to become an independent country within or outside a Portuguese commonwealth, or to join the Republic of Indonesia as its 27th province.

Shortly after, however, Portugal showed signs of reneging on its commitments. In October 1974, the Portuguese Minister for Interterritorial Coordination, Dr. Antonio do Almeida Santos, was asserting that an independent East Timor would be unrealistic because, in its weak economic condition, it would soon be recolonized by other powers.

Meanwhile, Indonesia declared that it had no territorial ambitions on East Timor or anywhere else but it would accept its integration with Indonesia if that was the wish of the East Timorese people.

Five political parties sprang up in East Timor. The three largest were the União Democrática Timorense (UDT) which favored gradual independence while maintaining a privileged relationship with Portugal, the Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (Fretilin) which called for immediate independence and overhaul of the entire, social and economic structure of East Timor, and the Associaçao Popular Democrática de Timor (Apodeti) which favored the integration with Indonesia on the ground that East Timor was really one with Indonesian West Timor and the separation of the two Timors was merely an accident of colonial politics.

UDT started out as the biggest of the political parties but soon Apodeti began to challenge its popularity. UDT then formed a short-lived coalition with Fretilin and rumors soon spread that the Portuguese had agreed to transfer power to the coalition. Soon Apodeti leaders and supporters were subjected to a campaign of terror waged by the Fretilin and secretly abetted by the Portuguese authorities on the island. Diplomatic efforts by Indonesia and other countries to head off the spread of violence on the island were to no avail in the face of Fretilin’s intransigence.

**Civil War**

On 20 August 1975, using weapons supplied by the Portuguese, Fretilin forces seized Dili, the capital of East Timor. Civil war had broken out. Instead of restoring order, the Portuguese authorities abandoned East Timor on 26 August 1975. While the civil war threatened to spill over to Indonesian territory, on 28 November 1975, the Fretilin unilaterally proclaimed independence. The following day, Apodeti, UDT and other political groups proclaimed independence and simultaneous integration with the Republic of Indonesia. On 7 December 1975, with Indonesian military assistance, they retook Dili from Fretilin forces and 10 days later proclaimed a Provisional Government. Both the Provisional Government of East Timor and the Indonesian Government sought UN participation in oversight of the decolonization process but the UN did not choose to act. So the Provisional Government proceeded to constitute an elected People’s Assembly.

**Integration**

On 31 May, in open session witnessed by members of the diplomatic Corps accredited to Jakarta and the international press, the People’s Assembly voted to request
formally that Indonesia accept the decision of the people of the territory for integration with the Republic of Indonesia as its 27th province. On 17 July 1976, President Soeharto formally proclaimed East Timor Indonesia’s 27th province. Then the reconstruction and rehabilitation of East Timor promptly began.

At the time of integration, the living standard of most of the population of East Timor was substantially lower than the rest of Indonesia apart from Irian Jaya. More than 70 percent of the population was illiterate. Many were isolated in remote villages with no roads or means of communicating with the outside world, agriculture was on a primitive subsistence basis.

To provide not only for basic human needs in East Timor but also to lay a foundation for future development, Indonesia poured six times as much resources on a per capita basis to East Timor as to any of its other provinces. In 1991, East Timor received some $199 million in Indonesian Government grants, almost a hundred times more than the average yearly development expenditure for East Timor during the final years of Portuguese rule. The number of schools has grown from 47 elementary schools, two middle schools, one high school and no college at the end of Portuguese rule to 579 elementary schools, 90 middle schools, 39 high schools and three colleges. When the Portuguese left, East Timor had two hospitals and 14 clinics with a total of three doctors and two dentists. Now it has 10 hospitals and 197 village health centers staffed by 104 doctors, six specialists and 14 dentists, assisted by more than 1,500 paramedics. In 1974, it had only 20 kilometers of paved roads. Since then 3,800 kilometers of roads have been built, including 428 kilometers of paved highways and 18 bridges.

Agriculture in East Timor has become more productive. In 1976 only 8,005 tons of paddy were harvested; by 1990, paddy production has grown to 55,000 tons. This is largely the result of the repair of old irrigation systems and the building of new ones. The Indonesian Government has also promoted crop diversification and encouraged commercial fishing in the province. New industries have also been established including printing, soap manufacturing and electrical equipment assembly.

Training

Special vocational training courses have been introduced in the schools in anticipation of an increase in infrastructures which will allow the province to further industrialize. Education is emphasized: in 1989, more than 1,500 East Timorese students obtained university scholarships, most of them in Malang, Jakarta and Denpasar. Sanitation and rural development programs are also being carried out.

In the three national elections since East Timor became a province of Indonesia, the East Timorese elected their own representatives not only to the provincial legislature but to the national parliament as well. Eight representatives speak for East Timor in the People’s Consultative Assembly, the body which elects the President of the Republic. Peaceful political opposition has been encouraged. From time to time, public demonstrations staged by a small group advocating separatism have been carried out in Dili and other parts of the province. One such demonstration turned into a bloody incident on 12 November 1991. President Soeharto and other leading Government officials promptly condemned the bloodshed and, after due process, those responsible for it, including military officers and enlisted men, were severely punished.

Today, East Timor, as part of a country that has become one of the economic success stories of Southeast Asia, looks to the future that is a far cry from its colonial past. It is now beginning to tap its mineral and agricultural potential, to build modern infrastructures and establish commerce and industry for the benefit of the people of East Timor. It will take a great amount of energy, resources and commitment to achieve their development aspirations, but they have all these. They have a long way to go but they have come a long way too.

EAST TIMOR’S HISTORY FROM SPICE TO CONFLICT

JAKARTA, Dec 6 (Reuters) - Twenty years ago on Thursday, Indonesia invaded mainly Roman Catholic East Timor after civil war erupted on the tropical spice island following the withdrawal of Portuguese colonial authorities.

Indonesian airborne and ground troops toppled the leftist Fretilin party, which had established a de facto government and issued an independence proclamation.

Human rights groups said up to one third of the population, or about 200,000 people, died during the invasion and subsequent fighting and famine in East Timor.

Fighting took place just after a visit by then U.S President Gerald Ford to Jakarta, capital of mainly Moslem Indonesia and some 2,000 km (1,250 miles) west of East Timor.

Indonesia’s President Suharto said later he could not tolerate “a Cuba in our backyard.”

The Portuguese set up a trading outpost on the eastern half of Timor island, straddling a shipping route between Australia and the huge island of New Guinea, early in the 16th century.

They found the island a plentiful source of sandalwood, prized for its aroma and medicinal oil.

A division of the island in the 19th century gave Portugal the east, while Holland, the colonial power in the rest of the old Indies islands, was given the remainder.

Japanese and Australian troops fought fierce battles on the Portuguese half of Timor during World War Two, in which up to 60,000 East Timorese were killed.

The Allies feared Japan would use the island as a base to launch an invasion of Australia.

After the war, Portugal rehabilitated the coffee and sandalwood plantations but left the island largely undeveloped.

After a military coup toppled the dictatorship of Antonio Salazar in Portugal in April 1974, the new leftist government sought to discard remnants of the country’s empire.

It hastily withdrew from East Timor, roughly the size of Northern Ireland, sparking civil war.

Indonesia declared East Timor its 27th province on July 17, 1976, seven months after the invasion, having pushed Fretilin insurgents into the hills.

The United Nations has never recognised the takeover and still regards Portugal as the administering power.

Fretilin guerrillas mounted regular attacks on Indonesian troops for years after the invasion from their hideouts in the rugged, mountainous interior.

Up to 80 percent of the Timorese abandoned, or were forced to leave, their homes during the fighting, witnesses and human rights activists said.

Today, the government and foreign military sources put the number of Fretilin guerrillas at around 200.

On November 12, 1991, witnesses said Indonesian troops in Dili, East Timor’s capital, killed up to 200 protesters marching to the grave of a Timorese activist killed by troops.

An Indonesian commission of inquiry on December 26, 1991, revised the official toll from 19 to “about 50” and said the protesters acted belligerently and showed liberation banners. On November 20, 1992, Indonesia captured Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão, then in his mid-40s.

He was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of rebellion and possession of firearms in May, 1993, after a controversial trial. It was later commuted to 20 years.
In November 1994, on the third anniversary of the Dili massacre, 29 Timorese students climbed the railings of the U.S. embassy in Jakarta for a sit-in to demand Gusmão’s release. The break-in coincided with the third anniversary of the massacre and was only days before Indonesia hosted a summit meeting of Asia-Pacific economic leaders at Bogor, near Jakarta. The students later won asylum in Portugal, as did more than 40 other Timorese who staged a series of break-ins in embassies – the British, Dutch, Japanese and French – in late 1995. In January 1995, East Timor was under the human rights spotlight again after the killings of six East Timorese by soldiers near Liquisa. Two soldiers were later jailed.

Demonstrations erupted in several towns later in the year, blamed largely on ethnic and religious tensions.

**TWENTY YEARS AGO, THE DILI SKY WENT BLACK**

*by Jeremy Wagstaff*

JAKARTA, Dec 6 (Reuters) – Eloise, an elderly resident of the sleepy East Timor capital Dili, awoke on the morning of December 7, 1975, to noise, darkness – and a nightmare.

“We woke and heard this big noise of planes and saw parachutes and planes covering the light – it became dark because of them, so many,” she was quoted by Michele Turner as saying in her book, “Telling East Timor.”

What Eloise was seeing was Operation Lotus, the codename for Indonesia’s massive invasion of the tiny territory of East Timor, which had declared its independence after Portugal’s withdrawal.

Delaying its plans until U.S. President Gerald Ford had completed a formal visit to Jakarta, Indonesia went ahead with plans to absorb East Timor by force with an attack in the early hours of December 7.

It had already infiltrated troops across the land border with West Timor and did not expect significant resistance from the nascent Fretilin administration.

As the paratroopers landed, the killings started.

Historians and witnesses chronicle a day of botches and bloodshed as an unprepared and at times ill-disciplined army of some 10,000 men ran through the capital, killing, raping and torturing civilians and firing on each other.

“Indonesian forces... We are going to be killed... SOS,” the Fretilin government radio pleaded.

Even the Indonesian commander, General Benny Murdani, later acknowledged the mess, although he referred only to poor military coordination and not to reports of atrocities.

“These troops had no discipline at all. They shot one another. Overall it was totally embarrassing... From a military point of view we cannot feel very proud of this operation,” he was quoted by his biographer, Julius Pour, as saying.

Unexpected resistance by the Fretilin government added to the casualties.

According to General Benny Murdani, troops killed over five years in East Timor. 35 died on the first day of the invasion, including two majors.

But the brutality of the invading force caused many more East Timorese casualties, hardening many who otherwise appeared resigned to Indonesian rule.

Most foreigners had fled a few days earlier. One journalist remaining behind, Australian Roger East, was executed on the first day of the invasion, along with women and children, exiled Timorese leader José Ramos Horta, wrote in his book “Funu.”

According to British historian John Taylor, 500 ethnic Chinese were killed on the same day, many of them shot on the wharf and thrown into the sea. Other Timorese were killed in the street or in their homes, by bullets, bayonets or hand-grenades.

Author Turner quoted Siong, an ethnic Chinese shopkeeper, as saying: “People came in groups of two or three or four, stood on the wharf and were shot. One group after another coming and coming, killed and thrown in the sea.”

Looting was widespread, with everything from cutlery and windows to cars and tractors removed. Churches were ransacked.

Those who could, fled with the Fretilin soldiers and officials into the interior, beginning a dogged resistance which in varying forms has lasted to this day.

It was hard too, for those who were not there.

Guilherme Gonçalves, cajoled into signing a declaration appealing for intervention by Indonesia, was in Jakarta preparing to speak at the United Nations on Jakarta’s behalf when he heard the invasion went ahead.

“I was very sad at the time, and I had no idea they would invade like that. I could not concentrate after that: in the United Nations I did not hear what anyone said,” he said.

**EAST TIMOR INVASION: 20 YEARS**


We are celebrating East Timor’s Independence Day, stated Jacinta Azevedo, in her opening address to the 20th Anniversary Dinner organised by South Australia Campaign for an Independent East Timor (CIET) in Adelaide on November 25.

Jacinta spoke of her long years of exile in Australia following the invasion of East Timor by Indonesian forces 20 years ago.

“I want to eventually return to a free East Timor,” she said, “and celebrate Independence Day there where I will be able to breathe the free air and listen to the birds sing.”

She urged the Australian Government to pressure the Suharto regime over the blatant human rights abuses taking place in East Timor. “I will be continuing to fight for justice in East Timor,” she said, and to rousing applause, demanded “Viva East Timor!”

Shirley Shackleton provided a fascinating account of her personal involvement in the fight for an independent East Timor following the murder of her journalist husband, Greg Shackleton, shortly before the Indonesian invasion.

“He died trying to get the truth out of the region,” she stated.

Shirley was particularly critical of the racist attitude of the Indonesian regime towards the East Timorese and the Australian Government’s aid programmes to the region.

“Is aid programme to East Timor,” she explained, “is being used to support Indonesian people.”

“The present Clean Water programme for Dili is not intended to improve the lot of Timorese people but assist the transmigration policies of the Suharto regime for Indonesians into the region.”

Shirley spoke movingly about the “present climate of fear and terror” in East Timor. “The injuries sustained by many young Timorese men are horrific,” she said.

Andy Alcock, President of the South Australian CIET, summed up the year’s activities, read greetings from a large number of fraternal organisations and thanked those who had supported the struggle.

Live music for the dinner was provided by Trade-Winds.

A photographic display provided a graphic reminder that the struggle for an independent East Timor continues and that the resistance movement is as strong as ever and determined to win.

The 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor has been marked by demonstrations, speeches, the burning of
Indonesia’s flag and other forms of protest in other Australian cities in the last few days.

**VOA - TIMOR ANNIVERSARY**

*Voice of America, 12/6/95. By Dan Robinson, Bangkok*

Intro: Thursday is the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian military invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. During the past year, VOA southeast Asia correspondent Dan Robinson has reported from the East Timor capital – Dili. He tells us the situation in the troubled territory remains tense with no end in sight to the problems that have plagued East Timor since the start of Indonesian rule:

Text: In the early morning of December 7, 1975 Indonesian naval, air and infantry forces invaded East Timor to end what Jakarta still officially describes as chaotic and tragic circumstances accompanying the process of de-colonization.

Fretilin, the Timorese independence organization had established a de-facto government in the wake of the withdrawal of Portuguese administrators.

In Jakarta, President Suharto warned he would not permit what he called another Cuba in Indonesia’s backyard. In what Indonesian military officials later acknowledged was a badly disorganized operation, 10-thousand troops swarmed into Dili.

In the chaos that followed, and amid rebel resistance, Indonesians and Timorese were killed. Some Indonesian soldiers shot each other in the confusion, and some others killed or raped civilians.

In the years after the invasion, and the formal annexation of East Timor in 1976, human rights groups say as many as 200-thousand people died in the remote territory about two-thousand kilometers east of Jakarta.

The United Nations never recognized Indonesia’s annexation. Under international law, Portugal is considered the administering power.

Other countries, such as the United States, do not recognize a legitimate act of self-determination took place, but do not dispute Indonesian control.

Indonesia alleges Portugal continues to fan the flames of unrest in East Timor. The two countries began UN sponsored talks this year aimed at a possible political solution, but there has been no significant progress.

Recently Indonesian president Suharto ruled out any change in East Timor’s status, saying it already receives special treatment. The Indonesian government says hundreds of millions of dollars devoted to development projects in East Timor has raised the standard of living and boosted the local economy.

But, social, economic, and religious tensions continue to lie at the heart of problems in East Timor. In a VOA interview last year in Dili, catholic bishop Carlos Belo spoke of what he called the oppressive nature of the Indonesian military presence:

“They do not like to understand – the political, social, and religious aspects. For them, integration is already finished. This is Indonesia, an Indonesian way of thinking and doing. Nothing else.”

In Jakarta, Indonesian officials know the East Timor situation is a headache, a stone in their shoe. Bubbling dissatisfaction that often turns into rioting and a military response brings more international criticism of Indonesian policies.

Bangkok bureau chief of the far eastern economic review, Michael Vatikiotis, Bangkok bureau chief of the far eastern economic review, was based in Indonesia for four years. In a recent panel discussion, he suggested the international focus on East Timor makes Indonesia resistant to understanding the situation there:

“The role of the army in East Timor may be very highly criticized internally. But very often people feel it is something they should deal with. In other words, by raising the sovereignty issue, very often the nationalistic instincts of Indonesians which run very high, begin to cloud their judgment on what kind of human rights situation exists there.”

On the eve of the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion, the visiting UN high commissioner for human rights, Jose Ayala Lasso, met local community leaders as well as Jakarta-appointed government and military officials.

Local activists appealed for more UN help to end human rights violations. Mr. Ayala Lasso earlier urged local authorities to improve the dialogue with Timorese.

Indonesia’s official news agency reported (Wednesday) 18 people were killed in East Timor during the past three months. The figure included two pro-independence rebels of the 200 or so Jakarta acknowledges are still active.

**EAST TIMOR STILL WITH US**


With the world’s attention focussed on the Bosnian peace agreement, the 20th anniversary of an invasion that led to even greater carnage than the tragedy in the Balkans passed Thursday with little notice. But the consequences of Indonesia’s December 1975 invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor are still with us. The children of those who perished in the first wave of savage repression are at this moment being beaten and tortured.

Over most of the last two decades, East Timor has received only sporadic worldwide attention: in 1991, when Indonesian troops massacred more than 250 people in a church cemetery, an event filmed by British television and broadcast around the world, and again last year, when East Timorese students occupied part of the U.S. Embassy compound in Indonesia during a visit by President Clinton. On Thursday, in recognition of the anniversary of the invasion, pro-independence Timorese occupied part of the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta. But for the most part, the public knows little of what is happening in East Timor.

East Timor, an area located off the north coast of Australia, and about the size of Connecticut, deserves the special sympathy of Americans, because, the United States provided the arms and diplomatic support for that 1975 invasion. President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were in Jakarta the day before, and they made no objection to the Indonesian action, though it was illegal under international law and has never been recognized by the United Nations. Longtime efforts in Congress finally have stimulated pressure to address the tragedy in East Timor.

If the public is troubled about Bosnia, it should also be concerned over East Timor. About 250,000 people of a population of 4 million have perished in Bosnia since 1991, while in East Timor, it is estimated that 200,000 of a population of less than 700,000 died from the combined effects of the Indonesian assault between 1975 and 1979, many in a war-induced famine compared with some of the worst catastrophes in recent history, including starvation in Cambodian under Pol Pot.

“It defies imagination that so many people have perished in such a small place as East Timor,” said Mairead Corrigan Maguire, who won the 1976 Nobel Peace Prize for her work in Northern Ireland, where 3,000 people have died in the violence since 1969. East Timor has sparked public concern in Ireland, in part because of the Irish historical experience of occupation by a powerful neighbor.

Today, tension and oppression have a vise-like grip on East Timor. I visited there in September, during some of the most serious upheavals since the Santa Cruz massacre of 1991. “This place is like a concentra-
Clinton, who has raised the issue with Indonesian President Suharto, can increase his support for United Nations peace talks and try to convince Indonesian government to take concrete steps in pursuit of a peaceful solution. Experts say there is growing recognition in Indonesia that changes must be made if Jakarta is to rid itself of what has come to be a debilitating injury to the country’s international reputation.

In the meantime, international pressure could save lives. All official buildings in East Timor today are adorned by idealized portraits of Indonesia’s vice president, Try Sutrisno, former commander of the army. I was reminded of his statement after the Santa Cruz massacre: The young victims “were delinquents who needed to be shot and we will shoot them.” I was told by authoritative diplomatic sources that, in the absence of growing international pressure led by the United States, Indonesian forces would simply kill the young resisters of East Timor, as they have killed so many of their elders. All the more reason why distant East Timor should have more than a little meaning for us.

DON’T LET INDONESIA WIPE OUT EAST TIMOR

Commentary Section, Column Left

On Dec. 7, 1941, Imperial Japan attacked the U.S. naval fleet at Pearl Harbor. While Americans were commemorating this date 20 years ago, Indonesia invaded the newly-independent country of East Timor—with U.S. weaponry and approval. Dec. 7 is a day of double infamy.

Since the invasion of the former Portuguese colony, Indonesia has used every instrument of oppression—from torture and censorship to starvation and direct military assault—to destroy East Timorese society and wipe out all resistance to the occupation.

Whether by coincidence or design, President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were visiting Indonesian dictator Suharto in Jakarta, Indonesia during the two days prior to the 1975 invasion. There is little doubt that the U.S. gave Suharto the green light to invade. Speaking on the question of East Timor at a Jakarta press conference Kissinger stated that, “the United States understands Indonesia’s position.” According to the State Department, about ninety percent of the weapons used during the invasion were U.S.-supplied.

The U.S. also ensured that the United Nations did not take any meaningful steps against Indonesia. As Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Ford’s U.N. Ambassador, bragged: “The Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me, and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success.”

Such success translated into increased human suffering within East Timor. At the height of the assault, Indonesian forces engaged in “indiscriminate killing on a scale unprecedented in post-World War II history,” an Australian government reported. By the early 1980s, over 200,000 East Timorese—about one-third of the pre-invasion population—had died as a result of Indonesia’s aggression. Today, the occupation and the repression continues.

While Indonesia remains largely unknown to most Americans, U.S. foreign policy and corporate leaders have long appreciated that nation’s economic and strategic value. What Richard Nixon called “by far the greatest prize in the South-East Asian area” is today one of the Clinton administration’s ten “big emerging markets.”

Such attractiveness helps explain U.S. support for Suharto’s crimes. As a State Department official explained in 1976 in “more or less condoning” Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor, “We regard Indonesia as a friendly, non-aligned nation—a nation we do a lot of business with.”

Despite 10 U.N. resolutions condemning the Indonesian invasion and calling for Jakarta’s immediate withdrawal, the United States has never seriously contested Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor. On the contrary, successive U.S. administrations have provided Jakarta with hundreds of millions of dollars in military and economic assistance since 1975.

As a presidential candidate, Bill Clinton called U.S. policy toward East Timor “unconscionable.” And, indeed, his Administration has taken some noteworthy steps to challenge traditional U.S. complicity such as banning small arms sales to Indonesia. But Indonesia’s economic and strategic importance has exposed the limits of Clinton’s concern for human rights and international law. His Administration has provided almost $300 million in economic assistance to Indonesia over the last three years and has also sold and licensed the sales of tens of millions of dollars in weaponry to Indonesia. The Administration is now about to sell Jakarta 20 F-16 fighter jets.

Given the importance of Indonesia, today the world’s fourth most-populous country and a major center of multinational corporate activity, powerful interests will ensure that changing U.S. policy will be difficult. Such a situation only makes strong and principled leadership on the part of President Clinton all the more vital.
An immediate suspension of all U.S. economic and military aid and arms sales to Indonesia would send a strong signal to Indonesia that the U.S. will no longer be its partner in crime. Jakarta would be under intense pressure to withdraw from East Timor in the face of such clear U.S. resolve.

Barring radical change in Indonesia or East Timor, only decisive action by Washington and its Western allies can pressure Indonesia to allow East Timorese self-determination. Dec. 7 should serve as a reminder of the tragedy of war and as a catalyst to end U.S. complicity in one of modern history’s ugliest chapters.


INDONESIA’S BRUTAL ATTACK ON TIMOR UNRESOLVED AFTER 20 YEARS

The Irish Times, 7th December 1995. By James Dunn.

When Indonesia invaded East Timor the world stood by and did nothing, James Dunn examines the reasons why and whether things have changed 20 years on.

For twenty years now the East Timor question has been increasingly troubling the international political conscience, and with very good reason. The 20th anniversary of the assault on Dili offers us an opportunity to reflect on how this saga has unfolded, and on where it stands today. The invasion dashed Timorese hopes for an independent future, transforming their lives into another, and infinitely more oppressive, form of colonial subjugation. Moreover, along the way they suffered catastrophically from the brutality of the invaders, and a dismal lack of international support.

The facts speak for themselves, today, there should be more than one million East Timorese. That there are fewer than 700,000 exposes a massive population loss. In relative terms it is over three times greater than the cost of three years of bitter conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

While Indonesian military intervention actually began two months earlier, the attack on Dili on December 7th, 1975, has come to signify the beginning of the invasion of the former Portuguese colony. Though a clear violation of the UN Charter, it was anything but unexpected, not least to the Western friends of President Suharto’s regime. Accommodating American intelligence officials in Jakarta were, in fact, forewarned by their Indonesian counterparts a week earlier that the attack would be launched on December 6th. The news startled the embassy, for President Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger were to be in Jakarta on December 6th. However, the problem was easily resolved: the assault was conveniently delayed 24 hours to ensure that Air Force One was well clear of Indonesian territorial waters.

Everything, it seemed, was on the side of the invaders. Timor was an insignificant, remote, and little-known place in a world otherwise preoccupied. The Americans were licking their wounds after their ignominious withdrawal from Vietnam and Watergate, while Europeans-East and West- were absorbed with initiatives to ease cold war tensions, such as the Helsinki Accords.

Asians had little interest in East Timor. The Indians regarded it as a kind of Goa, while Indonesia’s ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) partners took little persuading to go along with integration. As for the two countries with the closest interest in events in Timor, Portugal was in a paralysing political crisis, while Australia was still reeling from the shock of Gough Whitlam’s sacking. In any case the Whitlam government’s preference for East Timor’s integration into Indonesia enjoyed bipartisan support.

As for the United Nations, in 1975 it was a victim of debilitating pressures of Cold War politics, otherwise the outcome might have been different. But Indonesia’s invasion was perceived as not being harmful to the national interests of either the Americans or Russians. True, the UN General Assembly condemned the invasion and called on the United Nations Security Council to take action, but the US effectively neutralised the council’s response, although the question was to remain on the general assembly agenda.

From the very outset the invading forces behaved with extraordinary brutality towards the civilian population. In the first week more than 2,000 Timorese were killed, some in public executions, other simply gunned down by Indonesian forces. A number of massacres similar to the incident at the Santa Cruz cemetery in November 1991 occurred. At Lakmanas in mid 1976 more than 1,000 East Timorese were slaughtered by troops and public executions took place at a dozen other villages.

In August, 1983, more than 300 people were shot at the small village of Ceritas (Kra-ras). At the time information about these atrocities did come out of Timor but none of those powers with the influence in Jakarta was listening. The Australian government supported Indonesian in the UN, while the Americans actually expedited the delivery of military aid that the Indonesian military needed to overcome the resistance to integration.

Even in the UN support for Indonesia seemed to be gaining ground, but thanks to the stand of small states the issue remained on the agenda. In 1982, the General Assembly authorised the Secretary General to initiate contacts between Portugal and Indonesia with a view to securing an acceptable settlement. This initiative spawned a frustrating series of talks which is still going on, with Indonesia steadfastly refusing to give any ground on the fundamental question of self-determination.

In the early 1990’s, when the outlook for progress was bleak, three unrelated events gave a great stimulus to the Timor question, forcing the Suharto regime on the defensive, at a time when Indonesia began seeking a leadership role in the international community. These were the Gulf War, the liberation of the Baltic States, and the Dili massacre of November 1991. The first two highlighted the unacceptable of the annexation of small states by large neighbours, while the Santa Cruz massacre and Jakarta’s response drew attention to the Timorese struggle for independence and the harsh character of Indonesian military rule.

Thus, internationally the plight of the Timorese has become something of a Cause Celebre, enjoying greater support around the world than at any other time. Although the issue still holds little appeal for the economic nationalists, it has attracted attention in many of the smaller states, especially Ireland, where the ‘Timor’ question is correctly identified as a fundamentally important issue of principle, as well as a profoundly disturbing violation of those human rights of crucial importance to our civilization.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF INDONESIA’S INVASION OF EAST TIMOR

JAKARTA, December 7 (Itar-Tass) – Exactly twenty years have elapsed since the day when Indonesian troops invaded East Timor, a former Portuguese colony. Paramilitaries and marines were landed at Dili, the administrative centre of that territory, at dawn on December 7, 1975. Thereby, Indonesia had intervened in the civil war on East Timor between the advocates and opponents of its independence.

Indonesian leaders said at that time that their country “does not want to have a sort of Cuba in its backyard.” The Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN), which headed the struggle for independence, was tagged as a “left-wing group of Communist orientation.” Hence, the invasion was an offspring of the “cold
war.” In the summer of 1976, the territory was turned into the 27th province of Indonesia “at the request,” it was claimed, “of the bulk of the territory’s population.” Hostilities between the regular army and the guerrillas have claimed the lives of dozens of thousands of East Timorese since then. The resistance of the scattered and small FRETILIN detachments is continuing to this day.

Jakarta’s annexation of East Timor is sharply criticised by international human rights organisations and the governments of many democratic states.

Many East Timorese found asylum in foreign diplomatic missions this autumn. Dozens of young people were deported to Portugal, which the international community still regards as a country entitled to administer East Timor.

Today, a large group of East Timorese, numbering 47 people, including two women, have climbed into the compounds of the Russian embassy in Jakarta. Itar-Tass was told by a Russian diplomat that they called for the arrival of representatives from the United Nations and International Red Cross at the embassy so that they could declare their stand on East Timor. U.N. High Commission for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso is now in Jakarta.

About sixty East Timorese found asylum at the Dutch embassy here today. These actions were timed for the 20th anniversary of the invasion, which falls due today. They are intended without doubt to attract the world community’s attention to the East Timor problems.

**EAST TIMOR: TWENTY YEARS LATER, THE REBELS FIGHT ON**

by Mario Dujisin

LISBON, Dec 7 (IPS) - This Thursday morning, on the twentieth anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, 107 young Timorese and Indonesian objects sought asylum in the Russian and Dutch embassies in Jakarta, calling the attention of international television back to the island’s plight.

On Dec. 7, 1975, a mere week after independence, the Indonesian army invaded, annexing the island as its twenty-seventh province six months later.

Since that date the genocide which wiped out a third of the population, the torture, cultural and religious repression, or forced settlement of Muslims have been unending, and a well supported guerrilla group still stalks the mountains of East Timor.

Amnesty International (AI) and other human rights groups have continuously publicised the plight of the island, with special support from groups in the former colonial power, Portugal.

The 1994 AI annual report described the Indonesian action which left 210,000 of the 650,000 Timorese inhabitants dead as “unpunished genocide.”

Meanwhile, the Timor archbishopric and Timorese refugees in various nations accused the Indonesian regime of settling Muslim populations on the island in order to outnumber the previous Catholic majority.

Despite the denunciations, the “Timor drama” only broke onto the international consciousness on Nov. 12, 1991, when the machine-gunning of 273 independence campaigners in the Timorese capital Dili, was witnessed by two US reporters and filmed by a British cameraman.

The shocking images of the Indonesian army opening fire on unarmed civilians, many of whom were children and young adults, caused an impact throughout the world.

José Ramos-Horta, coordinator of the National Resistance Council (CNRM) in Indonesia, told IPS that the repression related to this event finally cost more than 700 lives in East Timor, though it market “a great leap forward in world consciousness.”

According to Ramos-Horta, the images of the slaughter meant that countries “with important economic interests in Indonesia...with democratic regimes which are answerable to public opinion...could not continue to say Timor simply did not exist.”

Indonesia “is a vast market of 180 million people, rich in natural resources and with great influence in the region,” he said, “(this) means that the majority of the democratic industrialised countries work on the theory that business is simply business, and human rights are a separate issue.”

“We mustn’t forget that between 1964 and 1965, Indonesian President Ali Suharto executed 1.5 million Indonesians to strengthen his dictatorship” without arousing international opposition, he added.

Ramos-Horta explained that one of the main problems blocking international support for his campaign was the oil rich Timor Sea, as “the interests of the Australian, Japanese and Dutch Shell oil companies have forced these countries, supposedly great defenders of human rights, to act as accomplices to Indonesia.”

He said that Germany, Denmark, Spain, the United States, France, Italy and the United Kingdom are also on the “list of honour of cynic nations, declaring themselves democratic defenders of human rights, but refusing to condemn the methods of the Indonesian dictatorship.”

Meanwhile, the resistance campaigners have had to resort to “spectacular action” to call the world’s attention to the plight of the Island, like when the 29 young people sought asylum in the US embassy in Jakarta during President Bill Clinton’s visit last year and this morning’s update of the act.

Today’s action coincides with the visit of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso to the Timorese reporter and poet José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão serving a 20 year prison sentence in Java.

Xanana Gusmão has led the anti-Indonesian guerrilla movement from 1975, and though he was captured in Dili in 1992 he is still recognised leader by the CNRM and other independence fighters.

Meanwhile, East Timor is in limbo. Under international law, the United Nations sees Portugal as “administrative power” over the island, until the independence process can be completed with a referendum the Indonesians refuse to authorize.

Jakarta justifies the invasion as it “liberated the island from 450 years of Portuguese colonialism,” claiming that “Indonesia has done more for the development of Timor in two decades than Portugal did in four and a half centuries.”

However, the CNRM state that Indonesia “never supported the anti-colonial battle” during the extreme-right Portuguese dictatorship (1926-1974), adding that if the Island had wanted to be annexed the Indonesians “would not have had to kill 210,000 people.”

“The independence of East Timor, a people geographically close, but culturally, religiously and ethnically distant from the Indonesians, cannot be paid for with 100 kilometres of surfaced roads and four public buildings,” said Ramos-Horta.

The UN action, the Western governments’ pressure on Jakarta and the “war” waged on Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas by the media worldwide can all play their part to strengthen the CNRM’s chances.

Meanwhile the 800-strong guerrilla force continue to hound the 22,000 Indonesian troops in the dense Timorese jungle, and the invasion celebrates its twentieth birthday.

**THE VOICE OF THE LIURAI OF OSSU**

From http://www.uc.pt/Timor/ossu.htm

At he beginning of the century, the Liurai of Ossu presented the invader with a weapon venerated by the Mauberes and, as he did so, declared that he would never again go to war.
The forest of the Mauberes have always been sacred temples and repositories of secrets. For at least five hundred years foreigners from many countries have traversed these places without ever understanding them. For however much they have seen or heard, it is never sufficient for them to gain an insight into the inner life and customs of the Mauberes. They would have to be able to see and to hear far more, and above all to understand the light of the voices.

A thousand Maubere secrets and plans have been guarded for centuries by families, priests, liuraiis and other chiefs, only to be revealed in time of need. All the Mauberes know of these things, and have even recounted them down the ages; but no foreigner has ever been able to penetrate to the depths of Maubere history.

This is why almost nothing is known of the Mauberes, and why the true significance of many, many secrets, even those revealed by the people, has still not been fully explained.

Like that gesture made by the Liurai of Ossu.

Some seventy years ago, the Liurai decided to present the invader with a rifle ventured by the Mauberes. After all the customary rituals, the Liurai of Ossu, surrounded by his chiefs and priests, requested that the said weapon be brought from the sacred forest where it had been kept for many years - a single-barrel rifle over two and a half metres long. His act appeared to be one of homage to the invader, and his words those prompted by genuine humility:

"We no longer need arms."

"Why not?" replied the invader.

"Because we shall never again go to war."

This war taken up by the priests and chiefs:

"We no longer need arms because we shall never go to war."

Other liuraiis, chiefs and priests assuredly echoed the sentiment:

"We no longer need arms because we shall never again go to war."

But words of this nature were always uttered outside the forest, never within it. For inside the forest the people only sang the freedom.

Even today, girls and boys, men and women, sing of freedom in the forest.

And there are those who claim that they can still hear, amid the rustling of the trees, the Liurai of Ossu singing his song of freedom.

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FORGOTTEN GRABS

*Editorial, The Economist, Jan. 27, 1996*

The world should not accept the illegal occupation of Western Sahara and East Timor

TWENTY years ago, two obscure pieces of land on opposite sides of the world were grabbed by their neighbours. In January 1976, Moroccan forces took over Western Sahara, a slice of the western Sahel that had been ruled by Spain. The previous month, East Timor, half a small island in the South Pacific had been swallowed up by Indonesia as Portuguese rule collapsed.

The world did not like the annexations. But Morocco and Indonesia had powerful friends and neither territory provided the West with oil. So the world did not go to war. It did not even manage to organise a referendum, either in Western Sahara or in East Timor, though it did huff and puff and convene a lot of meetings. Now it looks as though its indifference may turn to acceptance. The double Anschluss is becoming permanent.

When Spain withdrew from Western Sahara, Morocco and Mauritania divided up the territory between them. As thousands of Saharawis fled, Polisario, the country's independence movement, took up arms against the invaders. Morocco built a huge and heavily defended wall of sand around the territory. Reluctantly, it conceded the principle of a referendum, to be held in 1992. A 2,000-strong UN force was even sent to supervise it, though it did not stop Morocco trying to flood the territory with its own citizens and to have them listed as voters. The referendum, however, has not happened.

Last month disagreements about who should be eligible to vote brought registration to a halt. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN secretary-general, proposed that the rules be changed: instead of two sheikhs, one appointed by each side, vetting the voters, he suggested that one should be enough. With Polisario complaining that that would allow Morocco to fix the vote, the Security Council rejected the idea. But this week Mr Boutros-Ghali suggested forcing the two sides to agree on a voter-registration procedure by threatening to withdraw the UN force. The Security Council is to decide soon on whether to do so.

The UN is even less engaged in East Timor. When the Indonesians invaded, they said they were saving it from civil war and communism. In the massacres that followed, however, thousands died: the local Catholic bishops reckon that, in total, violence and famine have claimed the lives of 200,000 Timorese, a third of the population. Even the current Indonesian-approved governor puts the figure at over 100,000. In 1991 the Indonesian army shot about 100 people during a demonstration in the capital, Dili. Indonesia maintains 6,000 troops there - a clear indication that it still holds the island by force.

This sort of imperialism goes against the grain-and the trend. The past few years have seen more self-determination, even for small peoples, not less. Nation-states the size of Eritrea and Estonia show that size is no longer considered essential to viability. The cold-war fears of communist destabilisation are long gone. They no longer supply pretexts for local bullies to oppress, nor reason for western governments to turn a blind eye. The ugly little thefts of Western Sahara and East Timor defy the most fundamental principles in the democratic rule-book.

The world cannot go to war every time a despots grab a piece of land. But if principles are to be invoked on those occasions when the seizure is resisted - in Kuwait or in the Falklands - then they should not be forgotten on the other occasions. The democratic world should not tacitly accept the actions of Morocco and Indonesia in their stolen territories. It should press, at a minimum, for a fair referendum in each.

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SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE REMEMBERED

LUSA, Nov. 10. By Antonio Martins Neves. (translated, slightly edited)

Four years later, Aviano Faria still wakes up in the middle of the night screaming, thinking he is still lying among the corpses in the cemetery, or later among the corpses already in the morgue. Still on Tuesday, the Timorese young man awakened his roommates at the University residence in Lisbon, screaming, reliving once again the nightmare he went through on 12 November of 1991. The traumas Aviano Faria carries with him are very apparent, despite his smiling and tranquil expression. Although he attends Portuguese classes, he speaks Portuguese with great difficulty, which he attributes to great difficulty in concentrating.

"I tried to free myself from the scenes that I witnessed, but I haven’t succeeded. They are always here,” he says, touching his head.

Aviano Faria, now 24 years old, was at the cemetery entrance when the Indonesian soldiers started shooting. He only had time to drop on the floor, and he saw falling at
his feet his companions who had been on top of the wall and were gunned down.

“'I dropped on the floor and I played dead. I was trampled by many people attempting to escape to inside the cemetery, women and children screaming.” Those who couldn’t pass the barrier formed by the dead bodies, were gunned down. “I had never seen such killing, not even in movies.”

While shooting their guns, the soldiers shouted “ungrateful! ungrateful!” expressing the usual accusation made of the Timorese, that they are ungrateful for the development that the Indonesians brought to the territory.

According to Aviano Faria, the shooting lasted for 15 minutes. “It was like a shower of bullets, shots came from every side.” Yet, Aviano was not shot.

Once the shooting stopped, the soldiers immediately started collecting the bodies. They beat the wounded with batons and rocks to finish them up.

“When my turn came, they searched me over, and as I wasn’t wounded nor had any traces of blood, one of the soldiers shouted ‘this one is pretending to be dead.’ They told me to get up, but I remained still, facedown, almost without breathing.” Immediately after, Aviano was sure he was about to be killed when one of the soldiers shouted “Let’s kill him.” “I thought I was going to be shot. I was ready to die and I was praying.” But instead of shooting him, the soldiers kicked and hit him with the guns, on the body and head. “I started bleeding through my mouth, nose, and ears. I felt my strength vanishing, but I didn’t black out.”

The soldiers then took Aviano into a truck together with the bodies. “Some were still moving, but others were dead.” Aviano thought they were all to be buried in a common grave, as had happened in other occasions. But instead, the bodies were taken to the floor of the morgue of the military hospital in Dili.

“In the hospital there was further killing. The soldiers said for those who could hear to raise up a hand to be taken to the infirmary. One of my friends raised up his hand and they went to get a large rock and hit him in the head with it. They killed him.”

Aviano continued to pretend he was dead. The soldiers then beat those they thought were alive until they seemed dead, they opened the morgue water taps, and they left locking the doors but leaving the lights on.

On top of the only table on the morgue lied the body of a youth that Aviano later learned was New Zealand student Kamal Bamadajh, who he had seen earlier among the crowd in the cemetery just before the soldiers started shooting.

As soon as he heard the soldiers steps getting farther, Aviano got up. “It seemed that I just felt normal all of the sudden.” Aviano started searching for survivors. And there were some. “Some asked me for water.” But then he heard the military boots again and he dropped on the floor again. When he realized they were coming back to finish off any survivors, by hitting them on the head again, Aviano got up, astonishing and frightening the soldiers.

“What are you doing?” shouted one of them. The youth then improvised a strategy that would save his life. “I implored: before you do anything to me, hear me first. I was in the cemetery not to protest but because I am an informer sent by the Indonesian commands.”

The soldiers asked for his informer card, but Aviano said he had lost it, with his wallet, in the shooting, and challenged the soldier to accompany him to the military command where his collaborator files were. They appeared to believe him, and they then forced him to take 5 pills which he never found out what they were. He managed to take just two, which he later threw up by sticking his finger in his throat after the soldiers finally took him to the infirmary.

He was hospitalized for over a month, during which he was interrogated and tortured six times. “They treated us like slaves. During interrogation, they put a gun in my mouth, they hit me in the stomach and on the head, they crushed my fingers with the legs of a chair they sat on, and they burned my penis with cigarettes.”

Finally, they forced him and the other wounded who escaped the massacre, to sign a declaration stating they accepted the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, the Jakarta-appointed government, being voluntary informers, and that they were repentant.

Once released, the nightmare continued, always being followed, and with home visits. “They wanted me to speak out in favor of the Indonesian government, and to be an informer. They forbade me of returning to school.”

Aviano was therefore forced to enter a clandestine life, in which he remained for two years, until on December 1993, with false papers and Muslim dress, Dili emigration authorized him to travel to Jakarta. He remained in Jakarta for about one month, time enough to collect money for a plane ticket to Bangkok. He again eluded authorities, with forged documents and again passing himself as a Muslim. He went to Bangkok with a nurse who worked at the military hospital at the time of the massacre, with the pretext that they were going on a business trip. To convince the emigration officials that they would return, they left a security deposit of about US$1,400 (200,000 escudos). Once in Bangkok, they went to the Portuguese embassy. They arrived in Lisbon on February 27, 1994.

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**AI CALLS FOR CONCRETE ACTION**

This News Service is posted by the International Secretariat of Amnesty International, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ (Tel +44-71-413-5500, Fax +44-71-956-1157)

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As East Timor marks the fourth anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili this weekend, Amnesty International is renewing its call for the Indonesian government to fully and impartially investigate the massacre and hold those responsible for the killings to account.

“The tragic result of the government’s failure to take any concrete action is that political killings and “disappearances” continue in East Timor,” Amnesty International said today.

This year alone, at least 13 civilians have been killed by members of the security forces. At least five people are believed to have been “disappeared.” The real figures may be higher – independent human rights monitors are restricted in their access to East Timor and even foreign journalists have faced restrictions on entry to East Timor.

On 12 November 1991, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a peaceful procession at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili. As many as 270 were believed to have been killed and up to 200 are still missing. Most were shot while attempting to flee and others were beaten and stabbed.

Despite evidence to the contrary, the Indonesian government continues to claim that the response by the army to the peaceful demonstrators at Santa Cruz was an aberration and that the government has satisfactorily investigated the killings and “disappearances.”

In a report released in 1994, a United Nations (UN) expert, the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, found that members of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) were responsible for killings in the massacre and that the response was “a planned military operation designed to deal with a public expression of political dissent in a way not in accordance with international human rights standards.”

Echoing the findings of many international organisations, including Amnesty International, the report concluded that the “conditions that allowed the Santa Cruz killings to occur are still present. In particular,
Investigations into other political killings have failed to meet international standards. Neither has the government fully implemented the recommendations of a 1993 UN Commission on Human Rights resolution calling on the government to fully account for those killed and “disappeared” – a call which was renewed in a statement of the Commission in 1995.

Since November 1991, there have been continuing reports of political killings and “disappearances.” In January 1995, disturbances in the East Timor town of Baucau resulted in the military opening fire on rioters. Independent sources said that at least two people died as a result and up to 15 may have been wounded in what appeared to be excessive use of lethal force by the military. The military said that they fired in the air to disperse the crowd but because it was dark, their bullets may have hit individuals. Five men are believed to have “disappeared” in Dili in January after being arrested by the military. In February, police announced an inquiry into the fate of the five, but their whereabouts remain unknown.

Six civilians were killed by the military in Liquiça, East Timor in January. The military originally claimed that the six were guerrillas killed during fighting, but an inquiry by Indonesia’s National Commission on Human Rights revealed that the six were civilians unlawfully killed. In July, two men were shot and killed by the army in Varmasse, Baucau district, after an army officer had been shot. There has been no inquiry into the killings. In August, two men were shot while out hunting deer. Soldiers fired on the two after they ignored calls to stop.

“These killings and “disappearances” are entirely consistent with a pattern of violations which results from a lack of systematic and thorough investigation of human rights violations,” Amnesty International said.

Those violations which are investigated are usually those which are subject to international and domestic scrutiny, placing greater pressure on the government to take some form of action. Even then, such investigations have failed to meet international standards.

Of those political killings reported this year, only the killing of the six civilians in Liquiça has been investigated. Two soldiers are currently serving prison sentences of four and a half years after being tried for their role in the killings. Full and impartial investigations into other political killings and “disappearances” have still not occurred.

“It will take more to end political killings and “disappearances” in East Timor than one highly publicised trial,” the organization said. Amnesty International is urging that concrete measures be implemented to ensure that members of the security forces who commit violations are consistently held to account.

“Only then will the government send a clear message to members of the security forces that no violations will be tolerated,” Amnesty International said.

RESISTANCE BURNS BRIGHT AS MASSACRE IS REMEMBERED

Independent on Sunday, November 12 1996, By Hugh O’Shaughnessy, slightly abridged

Two of the Indonesian air force’s fleet of British-built Hawk warplanes made a low pass over Dili, the capital of occupied East Timor, on Friday morning. The message to the people below was obvious: there was to be no trouble this weekend.

Today, Sunday, is the fourth anniversary of the massacre by Indonesian troops and police of more than 200 Timorese demonstrating against the foreign takeover of their country. The killing, courageously filmed by British cameraman Max Stahl, was on TV around the world in 1991 and changed the course of Timorese history by showing an Indonesian atrocity as it was happening.

This weekend the Indonesians are warning that they will not hesitate to do the same again if necessary. The troops and police in riot gear in the streets, the warships at the quayside and the armour on patrol make the point forcefully enough. This time, however, the Indonesians are trying to make sure they are not observed. As the week went by, foreign visitors, businessmen, hitchhikers and journalists – this correspondent included – were tracked down by Indonesian agents and expelled. Nevertheless, there was time enough to take the political temperature in this tense and unhappy city surrounded by a ring of hills burnt brown by the hot sun of a tropical summer.

“We are in the middle of an intifada,” said one Timorese. “And the protesters are getting younger and younger. It is down to the nine and 10-year-olds now.” The local resistance leaders in this former Portuguese colony are making up their minds how far to encourage the children with their stones against the heavily armed Indonesians in their steel-plated vehicles.

The nights have become a time of terror for the Timorese as the occupying army goes around in groups of four, often in civilian clothes, sometimes reportedly even in women’s clothing, bursting into houses seeking those who lead the increasingly bitter opposition to the Indonesian occupation.

“Those are suspicious motorcycles,” said one leading Timorese the other night. Indonesians, easily identifiable by their lighter complexions and their straight hair, are feared by the darker-skinned curly-haired Timorese. The sense of anxiety in Dili’s darkened streets, empty despite the fact that no curfew is formally in force, can almost be touched.

Two decades after the Indonesians marched in, the spirit of resistance in burning bright. A third of the present population, the Timorese old and young, have nothing to lose. They are rallying to a cause which seems to gain momentum as the years pass.

At the quayside, scene of many executions of Timorese by the Indonesians in 1975, two landing craft ride at anchor, having delivered the troops and vehicles which the occupiers are using to overawe the population. A hundred metres away, beside a banyan tree guarded by Indonesian police, a small gunboat, the Balibo, keeps watch. It is certainly not clear that military force will ever succeed in ending Timorese protests. The political dynamics of the situation do not favour the Indonesians.

On my first visit here in 1991, active resistance was confined to the Fretilin [sic] guerrillas in the hills, the brave but forlorn remains of a tiny army which the newly proclaimed republic of East Timor pitted against the troops of a country of 150 million people in 1975. It had somehow subsisted with no foreign assistance, capturing and often buying arms and ammunition from the Indonesian soldiers.

Today, four years later, the Timorese as a whole, with young people in the lead, are seizing the initiative if only out of despair. Fretilin [sic] is still alive but is not the force it once was. The unremitting pressures of the occupation have obliged ordinary Timorese to become more active or see their country taken away from them and their cultural identity obliterated.

Under the Indonesian strategy of “transmigration,” initiated to relieve the extreme pressure of population in the Indonesian heartland of Java, more than 100,000 immigrants have settled, taking what good agricultural land exists and displacing Timorese from business. Javanese have also flooded into the towns, taking over shops and offices, administering the schools and colleges, which the Indonesians say with some pride are educating the locals in a way the Portuguese colonialists never bothered to do.
But in these schools the language of instruction is not Portuguese nor yet the native language Tetum, but Bahasa Indonesia.

The world’s largest Muslim population is at the same time attempting to Islamise the Timorese, who have rallied ever more fervently to the Catholic Church, their only effective champion against the occupying forces in recent years.

The drive against Christianity has been increasingly provocative in recent years. Indonesian government agents have taken communion at the altar rails and spat out the host, have publicly wiped their penises on the consecrated bread and have verbally molested young nuns.

The Timorese reaction has, as expected, been explosive. With Xanana in prison the only remaining Timorese leader is Bishop Carlos Filipe Belo, who was on the shortlist last month for the Nobel Peace Prize. His role is a difficult one. Under pressure from Indonesia not to speak out against the occupation, he is not able to count on the loyalty of the Indonesians among his clergy nor indeed on the wholehearted support of the Vatican, which is keen not to blight the prospects of the small but influential minority of Catholics in Indonesia.

Despite the continuing menace presence of Indonesian troops, the Timorese intifada cannot help but get more serious and more committed.

DILI MASSACRE HAUNTS JAKARTA EVERY NOVEMBER

By Yuli Ismartono

JAKARTA, Nov 22 (IPS) - The 1991 Dili massacre remains a monkey in Indonesia’s back despite the Jakarta government’s efforts to improve its human rights image, and its diplomatic drive to find a solution to the 20-year-old East Timor issue.

For while the authorities have court-martialled the officers found guilty of the killings of several protesters during the pro-independence demonstrations four years ago, anti-Jakarta Timorese embarrass the government every November when they stage actions tied to the anniversary of the bloody incident.

During the past two weeks, Timorese students have climbed over the fences of the Japanese and French embassies, claiming persecution by the authorities and demanding to be flown to Western countries.

Japan refused to grant political asylum to the individuals ranging in age from 19 to 25, however Portugal responded to their demands.

According to the anti-Indonesian resistance movement, the move was designed to call attention to “the forgotten drama of Timor” on the eve of the just ended summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in Osaka Japan.

But the government denies the persecution charges and says the actions are purely “political” in nature, but analysts say that more than politics, it may be a case of economics.

“There are no reasons for them to seek asylum because they have never been under any pressure or torture, or wanted be the security forces,” said Ghaffar Fadyl, the Indonesian foreign ministry’s Director for Information in an interview with the daily ‘Jakarta Post.’

The government points to its diminished military strength in East Timor. It says Jakarta has reduced its battalions from ten to six with only one involved in military operations with the rest being members of the engineering corps assigned to build and improve roads.

Jakarta says it is also actively pushing for U.N. mediated dialogues with the anti-integrationist Timorese groups in and outside of Indonesia, as well as with Portugal in search of a political solution.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 when Portugal’s pull out of the former colony sparked violence between rival Timorese political factions.

East Timor – an island in the Java archipelago where the Portuguese had installed themselves in the mid-16th century – was formally annexed by Indonesia in 1976 – an annexation the United Nations has not recognised.

Since then, the Indonesian authorities have used their military might to suppress the pro-independence movement.

According to a 1994 report by the international human rights watchdog Amnesty International, “two decades of unpunished Indonesian genocide” have cost the lives of one third of East Timor’s 650,000 inhabitants.

But analysts here say that the Indonesian authorities have softened their stance on East Timor. Indeed, the government says it will not arrest or deter any East Timorese seeking to leave the country.

The asylum-seekers are simply youths trying to get a free airline ticket out of the country, charged Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

“It’s a game and its getting a little bit boring,” he told reporters in Osaka. “Nobody is persecuting them and one by one every embassy has rejected their (demands for) asylum.”

Alatas also took a swipe at Lisbon, accusing Portugal of “inaction” in diplomatic efforts to reach a solution to the East Timor issue.

“We need two hands to clap and so far we’ve only been clapping with one. The other hand is almost motionless,” Alatas said, adding that Indonesia was keen to continue U.N. mediated discussions.

The outspoken Dili-based Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, has in the meanwhile urged the government to examine the reasons behind the new wave of Timorese seeking to leave the country.

Sociologists here say the problems are largely economic.

The rate of unemployment among Timorese graduates is high and the problem is aggravated by the increasing number of traders who have recently settled in East Timor.

“The government should concentrate on providing jobs and training for the Timorese youths whose expectations have been raised by the increased educational facilities in Timor so that the political problem there becomes more manageable,” said a sociologist in Jakarta.

SOLDIER IS IDENTIFIED

The New Zealand Herald 12 December 1995 NZPA

SYDNEY - Two Timorese refugees in Melbourne can identify the Indonesian soldier who fatally shot New Zealanders Kamal Bamadhaj during the Dili massacre, an aid worker who met Mr Bamadhaj in Timor said yesterday.

As a result, the aid worker, Mr Bob Muntz, who used Mr Bamadhaj as an interpreter in East Timor in November 1991, last week formally asked the Australian Government to extend an inquiry into the deaths of five Australian journalists in Timor in 1975 to include Mr Bamadhaj’s death.

Mr Bamadhaj, aged 20, a student at Sydney University, had a New Zealand mother and was travelling on a New Zealand passport when he went to Timor.

There is more material on investigating Kamal Bamadhaj’s killing in the New Zealand section of these Documents.
EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

OBJECTIVE: DESTRUCTION

CDPM’s “Timor Leste,” October 1995. Translated from Portuguese

October witnessed further violent confrontations in East Timor between young Timorese and Indonesian security forces. According to Jakarta, the cause of the troubles was not “ethnic” but “criminal.”

Destruction of Timorese Identity

“Everything that happens in Timor should be considered from this angle: whenever an initiative is taken by Indonesia, the objective is always to destroy the ethnic, cultural and even religious identity of the Timorese people - no matter how veiled this aim may be. Today it is crystal clear that the Indonesian Government and army are determined to promote an image of the Timorese as being a people fighting itself.”

This was how a Resistance source in East Timor described the current situation in the territory.

“The Indonesian secret services are currently engaged in organising groups to set against each other in order to get some of the young Resistance members to surface, so that they can arrest them and then say to the world that the Timorese would quickly eat each other if the Indonesians were to withdraw from East Timor.

In order to dismantle our people’s traditional family structure and create an atmosphere of insecurity, the Indonesians are inventing the most extravagant ways to change the traditional social fabric, such as:

New paramilitary groups. They have just recruited and quickly trained 2,000 young Timorese (mostly illiterate and unmotivated) to be sent right to the front, preceding the Indonesian battalions, in the hunt for the Commander of the Resistance in the bush;

Massive relocation of Timorese civil servants outside their own country: after a brief training period, 2,000 young Timorese civil servants were sent to villages in Java. Many of them were single women, between 20 and 30 years old. At the same time, waves of Javanese civil servants and Indonesians from poor social backgrounds are being brought into Timor.

To further their aim, the Indonesians facilitate school attendance for the colonisers’ children, while putting obstacles in the way of education for Timorese children. One clear objective emerges from all of this: to annihilate our people’s identity and authenticity, and stamp out the characteristics which differentiate the Timorese from other peoples in Indonesia. Our young people are the only ones who are persecuted. Our young people are the only ones who cannot find work. Only our young ones find it hard to get places in training colleges. By continually renovating and increasing the numbers of soldiers (four days ago we saw Indonesian troops disembarking from 4 large vessels), the Indonesian Government pursues its policy of implanting white collar and agricultural workers (who are always said to be already resident in East Timor) to take over the best jobs and land.”

Different, but not contradictory versions

Renetil (National Resistance of Students of East Timor) has been playing a leading role in the fight to liberate the Timorese. For this reason, we ask Domingos Sarmento, head of RENETIL’s delegation in Portugal, to report on the following recent events:

“The most viable strategy for Suharto is to create one situation in order to resolve a different situation.

Perhaps one of the Jakarta Government’s most troublesome tasks is to have to continually try to convince the international community, and particularly Indonesian society, about East Timor.

The regime has employed all sorts of tactics in East Timor, but none has had any lasting effect.

There are two different, but not contradictory interpretations of the situation recently created in East Timor. The version which was recently created and propagated throughout the territory by the Indonesian military, putting religion at the root of the conflict, aims:

1. To counter calls from the Indonesian people themselves, echoed in their parliament, to end diplomatic relations with Australia, because of the flag burning incidents, which took place during Indonesian independence celebrations, in protest against human rights violations by the Suharto regime.

2. To prevent Msgr. Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Timor from being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. By creating this religious conflict situation, Indonesian generals were attempting to give the world the impression that the Bishop was intolerant of other religions and did not, therefore, deserve the award.

3. The artificial flight of a number of transmigrants to Kupang, capital of West Timor, which was given excessive coverage in the Indonesian press, was a situation created by the military in an attempt to justify their increasing presence in the territory.

4. Another aim, which has almost been successful, is to win back the sympathy of the Moslems, which the Resistance had on its side for the past ten years. Moslem sympathy and support for the Resistance is likely to suffer considerably as a result.

However, there is a different version to the generally held view. It is that they have stopped designing strategies to maintain East Timor’s integration with Indonesia because none of the numerous strategies employed until now has produced any lasting results. They have, therefore, decided to continue to impose a single strategy, which is to create one situation in order to respond to another. In a war situation, the victories and defeats of either side depend entirely on the quality of tactics and strategies implemented. Based on this concept, Indonesia has already clearly lost the war in East Timor - both politically and militarily. The Indonesian generals’ main concern is, therefore, how to explain this shameful defeat to their own people, and how to extricate themselves from East Timor, because leaving Timor would, probably, be the end of the so-called Indonesian nation.

The potential threat to the Indonesian generals now comes from their very own people, so they have to create the conditions which would enable them to leave Timor. The only viable way is to create a situation which would result in their own people demanding their withdrawal. That means, creating situations of economic, social, ethnic and religious disintegration in East Timor, which would lead to the Indonesian people itself calling for the withdrawal its troops from Timor - just as Americans demanded the withdrawal of their soldiers from Vietnam.”

NAZI-STYLE HOUSEHOLD LISTING IMPOSED IN TIMOR

EU considers special mission to Dili

Diario de Noticias, 17 October 1995. By Carlos Albino Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The Indonesian authorities are imposing the practice of house lists (a method used by the Nazis) on the Timorese.

All over Timor, but particularly in Dili, the Timorese are being forced to have lists affixed to the doors of their homes, indicating the names of all the residents therein.

Reports of this practice, similar to that used on the Jews by the Nazis in Germany, were confirmed yesterday by Fretelin leader Roque Rodrigues, and Adalberto Alves, who escaped from the territory four years ago.

The house lists are numbered, and show the names of those that belong to each household. Every house must have its respective list affixed to the door. Roque Rodrigues said that during the raids carried out
by the army, anyone who is found in a
house and who does not appear on the re-
spective house list is immediately arrested.
Adalberto Alves added that the lists are
signed by the Desa or local authority, a
body presided by a civilian but which has
two voting members (one from the army and
the other from the police).

According to Roque Rodrigues, most of
the recent arrests were effected after indi-
viduals were found not to appear on the list
of the house in which they were found. The
Frelantil representative reported that 200
Timorese were now in detention. He also
confirmed that five had been killed and 17
seriously wounded.

According to a LUSA dispatch, (which
cited Dili residents as its source) the number
of Timorese recently arrested could be as
many as 400. “They are still arresting peo-
ple, both during the day and at night, and
the number of people in detention could
now have reached about 400,” according to
one source, who said it was “impossible” to
give an accurate number of those killed,
wounded and arrested. The same source told
of a young man, Gastao Mendonca, who
was chased yesterday morning by the po-
lice. He was shot in the hand and in both
legs but “in spite of his wounds, he managed
to reach the International Red Cross dele-
gation. Because of his condition, he had to be
transferred to the civilian hospital. Soldiers
broke in, pulled him from the doctors who
were treating him, and dragged him away,”
said the same source.

Meanwhile, the EU is planning to send a
group of politicians on a fact-finding mis-
sion to Timor, in the context of the worsen-
ing situation in the territory. The matter was
discussed yesterday at a meeting of the
Council of Ministers’ Asia specialists.

The Spanish presidency of the Asia
Group agreed to finalise preparations for the
mission, and request reports from European
diplomatic missions in Indonesia. Later,
the presidency of the EU will decide on whether
a new statement on Timor should be passed
by the General Affairs Council.

A group of Timorese, which will include
José Ramos Horta leading a Resistance dele-
gation consisting of Alfredo Silva (UST),
Luís Cardoso (CNRM), Roque Rodrigues
(Frelantil) and Carlos Lopes (Timorese stu-
dents’ organisation), will be received today
by Jaime Gama. Tomorrow, the same dele-
gation (which has a further meeting sched-
tuled for today at the Foreign Office with
diplomat Quartin Santos) is to meet with
José Lamego, the future second in command
at the Foreign Office.

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**EAST TIMORESE VIDEOTAPES ALLEGE TORTURE**

( fwd) Aussie News from Latrobe

Oct 27 Darwin. Pro-independence sup-
porters for E Timor have release smuggled
video tape they claim shows victims of In-
don torture. They say they believe the tape
was taken in the aftermath of the demon-
strations and arrests in Jakarta following last
year’s APEC meeting.

The E Timorese community is reluctant to
ID the source of the footage but claims it
was shot recently by the Indon military.

They allege it shows 100s of E Timorese
prisoners in Dili who have suffered torture
and brutality. Many appeared battered.

Some where in their teens. They say the
prisoner’s wounds were inflicted at the
hands of Indon troops.

A group of 5 asylum seekers gave the
most detailed account yet of their own tor-
ture claims.

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**NEVER JUST SIT BACK AND LET THINGS HAPPEN**

From ‘Timor Leste’ (CDPM monthly bulle-
Translated from Portuguese Abridged

Following are some reflections from a
source (unidentified for security reasons)
with a good understanding of the situation in
East Timor.

“For 20 years, the Timorese have been liv-
ing in a socio-political situation which
they neither requested nor have accepted.”

Constant Stress

“All honest and sensible people who ra-
ionalise normally realise that the pres-
ent situation is still far from normal. The
people are not relaxed, or at peace. They
live in constant fear of arrest and interroga-
tion. They do not feel free: there is no freedom
of expression, no freedom of association, no
freedom of movement within the territory or
to and from the outside.

For some years now, Timor has been the
target of invasions by people from the other
islands. The result: because they are allowed
to be more freely active, and are protected
by the powers that be, they prosper, take
over the best positions, and our people are
being left on the sidelines...

Many schools have been opened, pri-
mary and secondary, but education stan-
dards are poor. Many young people leaving
secondary school today hardly know how
to read and do simple arithmetic. (...)

New hospitals and clinics have opened,
but patient care is extremely inadequate. If
doctors are available, there are no medicines.

If medicines are available, they have to be
bought, and people just do not have the
money to take care of their health.

The majority of the population, at least
in the city of Dili, are either suffering with
Tuberculosis or in conditions in which they
are likely to contract it. For the past 20
years, since the people have been living in
this situation, no large-scale vaccination
programme has been carried out, and neither
has there been any study of the popula-
tion’s state of health (although there have
been some attempts to carry out vaccina-
tions, particularly of children, in some ar-
eas).

Venerable Diseases are rapidly spreading
because of the unrestrained entry of prosti-
tutes, who are tolerated and exploited by
the authorities. Most Timorese civil servants
who, because of their work, have to travel a
lot to Jakarta or other cities in Indonesia,
are frequent brothels. Venerable disease is then
brought back with them to Timor and
passed on to their families. Prostitutes are
even supplied, free of charge, to Timorese
servants when they stay in hotels in
Indonesia. (...)

The existence of the armed resistance
cannot be denied or overlooked. Although
armed resistance is not active to the extent
that it constitutes a real danger to the secu-
ritry of the Indonesian military (the entire
Timorese territory is, in fact, controlled by
Indonesian military forces)..., the armed re-
sistance is definitely present and is well or-
organised. Morale is high among its warriors.
Their convictions are so deep-rooted that
they are prepared to fight to the death to
achieve their goal - our country’s Independ-
ence.

Constant Stress

Neither can the existence of an active and
well organised underground resistance net-
work be denied. Children, young people,
and adults from all walks of life, from cities
to the remotest villages, all go to make up
the underground movement. If part of the
network is dismantled by Indonesian police,
it very quickly re-establishes itself with new
members, who just emerge spontaneously.

One of the most serious problems, with
the most alarming effects, for us at the mo-
ment is that affecting our people’s cultural
identity. Here is a simple illustration of it.
Until 1975, the Timorese people used to be
told: “You are Portuguese. You should feel
proud and love your country.” In their
hearts, people were never convinced of this,
but they accepted the situation, as it af-
forded them a peaceful way of life, without
any great upheavals. From 1974 onward,
they began to feel that they could be them-
selves, i.e., be what they really felt they
were, with the characteristics of a distinct
nation (...
After 1976, the Timorese were told “You are Indonesian, you must love your country.” In the end, the Timorese began to ask themselves “Who are we? What are we? And they still have not been able to find the answers - or have not been given a chance to. The resulting serious identity crisis could well lead to the destruction of the people’s personality, and to social chaos, circumstances permitting.

The problem is not about rebelling against the present situation. The problem is: how can I, a Timorese, grow, educate myself, and live my life now in the least traumatic way possible, under these circumstances?

Colonialist Mentality

“The religious situation is a reflection of the socio-political state of affairs. The people’s faith is still steadfast and deep-rooted, but the dangers are tremendous: Islam, with all its own particular merits which influence the religious life of a simple people; the continuing decline of human, Christian values; a tired and exhausted clergy, ...

The presence of innumerable religious congregations, (male and female), that come from Indonesia, whose members do not have the slightest idea about what introducing true culture is about. For them, introducing culture is synonymous with Javanisation – the language, liturgy, hymns, etc. They all have a colonialist mentality, an attitude of superiority, and impose their own criteria. One rarely finds one of these religious workers from Indonesia who is critical of what was done, or what is being done in East Timor, or one who genuinely seeks to work, with a helpful and honest approach, with the local Church and its members.

What actually happens is that these people in question either close in on themselves and form ghettos, or alienate themselves from religious reality, or ridicule the people’s simple faith. (...) We cannot just allow time to pass, and sit back waiting, passively... Neither can we reassure ourselves by saying that nowadays young people no longer think the way over 40 year-old adults think - that is a grave mistake to make. It will be those very young people who, in the future, when they realise just what they had to live through and what they were made to experience, will be the first to condemn those who taught them... When the children of today realise, in a few years time, how absurd their lives have been, they are going to become the fiercest of rebels.

Solutions? A serious study of the real situation must be carried out. Although it requires courage, a spade must be called a spade, and there must be no inventing fictitious scenarios. Specific solutions to specific problems must be sought.

We Timorese will have to come up with the answers ourselves, and not wait until someone hands them to us on a plate. (...) We must never just sit back and let things happen around us. The initiative must come from us. Indonesian leaders are saying the very same thing (though not in so many words, so as not to lose face), which means that they have realised that they cannot solve the problem themselves.”

IN OCCUPIED EAST TIMOR

Green Left, 6 Nov. 1995. By Lou Oshoy

Having completed Death in Dili minutes before landing in East Timor, I arrived feeling a little uneasy. With a mind full of military intimidation, death and fear, I set out on the nine-hour night bus from Kupang to Dili. The first contact we had with the military was at a bus checkpoint on the road. The four uniformed soldiers were incredibly polite as they checked our passports and inquired about our intentions in Timor. I do not trust the smiles of men with machine guns.

“Are you journalist,?” came the regulation question.

“No, we are on our honeymoon,” came the regulation reply.

We heard this question at least three times a day during our 10 days in Dili. I wondered how long it would take a visitor not knowing anything about the situation to start feeling a little suspicious.

On arriving in Dili, we went to check into a hotel. There seemed to be no problem until we mentioned we were from Australia; suddenly there were “no rooms available.”

Opposite the Hotel Dili, where we were able to stay, is the ocean. Grounded on the shore are huge rusting boats; in 1975 they carried the invading Indonesians. Today they are used for jumping and fishing from, but they serve as a gruesome reminder of 25 years ago.

Land of crosses it is indeed. The graves are everywhere, seemingly unnoticed by the world. Close to a third of the indigenous population has been killed since the invasion. We were told stories of massive pits dug by the Indonesian military during the invasion, and even these supposedly were not big enough to hold all the bodies.

We spent a lot of our time by the waterfront, trying to look like tourists and speaking or just sitting with the many people who would approach us. It didn’t take us long to be able to recognise Indonesian Intelligence. They usually stood out because of the amount of gold they wore or because of their overly inquisitive manner.

I found the Timorese people to be incredibly gentle, softly spoken, kind and curious, with eyes that made you realise a lot went on behind them. Much communication with the Timorese was unspoken. It was obvious they weren’t free to say what they needed to say, in some cases due to language barriers but more often fear of the military.

The military presence is always obvious. During dinner at one of the stalls on the main road, we witnessed four military trucks drive by, loaded with soldiers equipped with machine guns, shields and helmets. I don’t know whether they were on their way to crush a demonstration or were just driving by to be seen.

It is the soldiers’ duty to look out for “trouble” in the community. This could be in the form of a group of Timorese youth “hanging out” together on the street past the curfew of 8pm. Portuguese is no longer allowed to be spoken.

Censorship is everywhere. The only songs heard are love songs. One particular night we sat with some Timorese on the waterfront, talking as best we could, laughing and singing songs we all knew. Once we had exhausted the Beatles and Bon Jovi, we asked them if they would sing their Timorese national anthem. Our friends fell silent; some of them left. They have seen too much to be careless.

On the other hand, some cannot be intimidated and would rather sacrifice their own life than see the struggle die. We visited the university, where a lot of the demonstrations are organised. It is no coincidence that the gate to the military barracks lies directly opposite the entrance to the university. As we entered, a young man of about 22 approached us and asked, “Do you know about our problems here in Timor?” We were surprised by his directness and determination. “Do you want to help us?”

That evening the young man was in our hotel room telling us in broken English how he had been arrested for being involved in a protest. The fact that he had been tortured, punched and electrocuted he did not even mention until we specifically asked. Torture by the military is almost a part of life for the Timorese, and when they do speak of it, it is in a surprisingly matter of fact tone.

Our friend also mentioned that his father and uncle were among the mourners killed at the massacre of 1991. He had escaped through a curtain of gunfire. Even in his desperation his tone remained gentle and humble.

We visited Santa Cruz cemetery to retrieve a video tape belonging to a contact in Darwin. He had managed to leave it under a headstone before being arrested and deported back to Australia. He had instructed us that the particular headstone was in-
scribed with the word “Jazz.” We arrived to discover at least half of the headstones carried the same inscription. The atmosphere didn’t make our search any easier, but we somehow managed to find the tape and left.

Santa Cruz is crawling with Intel, and we were soon approached by a “friendly” man and his children, who was asking a lot of questions of my travel companion, who was a few metres ahead.

Soon an old man by the name of Pedro approached me. His face and eyes told me he had seen a lot. “Be careful of that man,” came a fast warning which I just managed to catch.

After leaving Dili, we arrived in Itamakau. We delivered mail and medicines to a man we had been told was the coordinator of a lot of Fretilin activity in the area, not an easy job considering he lives six kilometres from a military base.

Coming from Australia, it is difficult to understand the amount of repression experienced by the Timorese. You sometimes feel part of a bizarre spy movie. Sometimes the actions of the Timorese seem extreme, but when it is a matter of survival, they cannot be too careful. The man I just mentioned was walking us, at dusk, towards a Catholic boys’ college, where he said it would be safe for us to stay. The noise of a bemo could be heard and before it had even registered with us, our friend had put his umbrella over his head, about-faced and was already 10 metres in the other direction. He did not rejoin us until the vehicle had disappeared once more.

At the college we were welcomed, given fresh towels and invited to share the dining room with the priest every meal time. After two days he came to our rooms early one morning and told us he had been questioned by the police and we should leave to avoid trouble.

Our next stop was an orphanage and convent where we were welcomed, to our surprise, by a Californian sister - not to mention 200 screaming children who ran toward us, excited to see western visitors.

The sister took us into her office, complete with the regulation photo of a very young President Suharto. Above the photo was a crucifix. She laughed about how the police had insisted Suharto’s picture was to be the highest thing on the walls, but she said it would be safe for us to stay. The noise of a bemo could be heard and before it had even registered with us, our friend had put his umbrella over his head, about-faced and was already 10 metres in the other direction. He did not rejoin us until the vehicle had disappeared once more.

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The sister took us into her office, complete with the regulation photo of a very young President Suharto. Above the photo was a crucifix. She laughed about how the police had insisted Suharto’s picture was to be the highest thing on the walls, but she had refused to place it above the figure of Jesus.

She told us about the 200 orphans they cared for, all between the ages of 2 and 15, all having lost one or both parents in the war. She was incredibly grateful for the small amount of medicine we could give her. It is obvious that the survival of these children is not first on the Indonesians’ agenda, and the sister said it was very difficult to get hold of even the most basic medicines.

Inspired by the people’s pride and unbreakable determination, I left East Timor feeling overwhelmed. I was suddenly aware of what a beautiful thing freedom of speech is and how easily we take it for granted. Mostly I came to realise that East Timor is very much the responsibility of the Australian people. On behalf of the Timorese people we can protest and demonstrate and be recognised, without the fear that they inevitably experience.

**ALL OPTIONS IN EAST TIMOR BAD FOR ABRI**

*Republika, 4 November 1995. Abridged*

Syarwan Hamid rebuts view that ABRI is doing nothing in East Timor

Social-Political Affairs Assistant-Chief of ABRI, Major General Syarwan Hamid has rebutted claims that ABRI is doing nothing to handle the unrest in East Timor. “We are looking for a solution to a very complex situation,” he said.

Problems in East Timor were not black and white. The options faced there are between bad and bad. “If there were a choice between good and bad, it would be easy, but both options are bad,” he said.

He said ABRI members bear a heavy burden and must act with great caution.

“The people sent there are not all equipped with a proper territorial understanding, as is the case with ABRI members.” This is why things happen unpredictably because people do things without considering the local culture.

It’s wrong to blame the security apparatus every time something goes wrong, he said. “They bear a heavy psychological burden because they are separated from their wives for about a year,” he said.

He refused to answer questions about ABRI’s position with regard to a government instruction regulating the building of places of worship. “If anyone has problems with the governor’s instruction, they should take it up with the Interior Ministry.

In connection with the governor’s instruction, about a hundred students from Universitas Islam Indonesia held a demonstration in Tamansiswa, Yogyakarta to protest against the instruction. The demonstration was in conflict with the Constitution and with Pancasila, they said. They want the Interior Minister to take firm action against the governor.

**‘INSTIGATOR’ UNDER ARREST**

*The New Zealand Herald, 10 Nov. 1995*

JAKARTA, AFP - Indonesian police say they have arrested an East Timorese who was one of the main instigators of unrest last month in Dili, the troubled enclave’s capital, Antara news agency said in Jakarta yesterday.

Antara quoted the East Timor Police Chief, Colonel Andreas Sugianto, as saying in Dili that Francisco Xavier had been arrested on Monday on the island of Roti, off West Timor.

Colonel Sugianto identified him as the brother of Bobby Xavier, a leader of one of the two gangs of youths involved in the clashes, in which two people were killed and at least two dozen injured. Bobby Xavier already is under detention.

Colonel Sugianto said on Tuesday that a total of 35 people were to be put on trial for suspected involvement in the unrest that has rocked East Timor since September, including the October clashes.

The October clashes erupted after security officials detained youths allegedly involved in religious disturbances in Dili in September, sources in Dili have said.

**MANY ARRESTS IN DILI**

*TAPOL Report, Nov. 11.

According to the BBC World Service, confirmed by our own contacts in Dili, many young people have been rounded up in Dili today, Saturday. The mass arrests are taking place to prevent any actions in the East Timor capital tomorrow. 12 November, the fourth anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre when at least 273 people were shot dead and many more people went missing.

Sources say that those arrested were also subjected to beatings by the security forces.

No reports are yet available from other parts of the country.

**BRITISH-MADE WAR PLANES MENACE EAST TIMOR**

*The Independent on Sunday, November 12 1996. By Hugh O'Shaughnessy. very slightly abridged*

Kupang, West Timor – Two British-made Hawk airplanes of the Indonesian Air Force in close formation swooped low over Dili, the capital of occupied East Timor, at 8:40 on Friday morning. It was the first recent sighting of the aircraft and it occurred as Indonesian forces were in the streets
warning the local population against staging any protests.

Today is the fourth anniversary of the massacre by Indonesian troops and police of several hundred unarmed Timorese protesting against the Indonesian occupation.

British protesters against the sale of the Hawks to Indonesia have been given informal British government assurances that the government of General Suharto would not use the aircraft against the Timorese.

The Hawks appear to have flown from Kupang, capital of West Timor, where an unusual level of military activity has been registered in recent days.

The streets of Dili have been filled with Indonesians in riot gear. Foreigners have been forcibly evacuated from the territory and those wishing to visit have been prevented from flying in. These measures have raised fears that the occupation forces may repeat the acts of four years ago.

Yesterday Indonesian troops armed with automatic weapons and riot police were deployed throughout the city, as crowds gathered at the Santa Cruz Cemetery.

The large Indonesian order for Hawks is seen as important to the profitability of versatile aircraft built by British Aerospace. The Hawks can be used in a number of roles which range from pilot training to the launching of bombs and rockets. The commercial importance of the Hawk contract is seen as one of the main reasons for Britain’s unwillingness to put pressure on the Indonesian government.

Indonesian officials flatly denied these reports.

“No arrests have been made and so far no one has been beaten,” said Col. Ateng Sumantri, deputy chief of police in East Timor.

“I think it is obvious what the activists have been up to. They want to make Indonesia look bad in the eyes of the world, and they will fail,” he said.

In 1975, Portugal officially withdrew from East Timor. The country quickly declared independence, announcing the formation of a legislative assembly.

But the Indonesian military invaded East Timor in 1976, annexing the country later that year.

Indonesian soldiers fired on hundreds of East Timorese at a funeral for a pro-independence activist in the province’s capital city, Dili, on Nov. 12, 1991.

The Indonesian government admitted that 50 protesters were killed in the Dili massacre, but international human rights groups put the figure at more than 200.

The seven observers expelled from East Timor Thursday included human rights activists from Australia, Germany, Namibia and the United States.

Several other dignitaries, including Japanese Bishop Aloisius Nobuo Soma, were removed Thursday from a chartered plane bound for East Timor while the plane was in the East Java capital city of Surabaya.

Residents in the predominantly Catholic territory, a former Portuguese colony, said earlier security had been tightened after the expulsion of the seven foreigners on Thursday and the barring of eight others who were members of a so-called peace pilgrimage.

Aid worker Sarmento said it was still unclear if there would be a special ceremony in churches on Sunday.

“I don’t know. It’s been four years and each time the anniversary falls churches are always guarded. This makes people afraid to go to church,” he said.

Officials at the Motael church, the biggest Catholic church in East Timor, were not available for comment and a Catholic nun contacted by Reuters said she had no idea of any special service.

“Just wait and see tomorrow,” she said.

In Jakarta, activists plan to hold a ceremony to mark the massacre at a park on Sunday night.

Jakarta still faces armed and political resistance to its rule almost 20 years after it invaded the territory in December 1975, annexing it the following year.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia’s rule in East Timor and regards Portugal as the administering power.

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International said in its report issued on Saturday said it renewed its call for the Indonesian government to fully and impartially investigate the Dili massacre.

“The tragic result of the government’s failure to take any concrete action is that political killings and disappearances continue in East Timor,” it said.

TIMORESE SAY HARASSED DURING MASSACRE ANNIVERSARY

DILI, East Timor, Nov 12 (Reuters) - Residents in East Timor’s capital Dili reported widespread harassment on Sunday as security was tightened on the anniversary of
the 1991 killing of unarmed protesters by Indonesian troops.

They said there were no incidents overnight despite rumours of protests marking the massacre four years ago, when troops shot dead at least 50 people taking part in a procession to mourn the death of a pro-independence activist at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

“They have (police) checked people’s identity cards, searched bags and pockets. Plainclothed security officers guard the churches and roam along the city streets using pick-ups to spy on people,” Florentino Sarmento, a prominent community leader and aid worker, told Reuters.

“I don’t understand why they are doing this. It’s harassment,” he said.

Other residents said churches were filled with people but added there were no special services to commemorate the incident.

Seven foreigners, including one British journalist and two Danish tourists, were expelled from East Timor on Friday ahead of the Sunday anniversary.

The official Antara news agency said the expulsions were part of efforts to prevent demonstrations or violence marking the anniversary of the massacre.

Indonesia’s rule in East Timor, which it invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year, is not recognised by the United Nations. The U.N. considers Portugal as the administering authority.

TIMOR CAPITAL QUIET DURING MASSACRE ANNIVERSARY

by Lewa Pardomuan

Jakarta, Nov 12 (REUTERS) - East Timor’s capital Dili was quiet on Sunday, despite reports of widespread harassment as security was tightened during the anniversary of the 1991 killing of unarmed protesters by Indonesian troops.

Dili residents said there were no incidents overnight.

There had been unconfirmed reports that protests were planned for Sunday, four years after troops shot dead at least 50 people taking part in a procession to mourn the death of a pro-independence activist at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

But East Timor’s police chief, Colonel Andreas Sugianto, told Reuters by telephone from Dili the city was under control and no incident had taken place.

“The situation is pretty good here. Nothing has happened and there is no problem at all,” he said. He declined to give other details.

Residents earlier said they felt harassed because police checked their identity cards, searched bags and pockets and churches were guarded by security officers in plain clothes.

“The churches are guarded by plain-clothed security officers and along the streets you can find them riding on pick-ups, spying on people. I don’t understand why they are doing this,” said Florentino Sarmento, a prominent community leader and aid worker.

Residents in the predominantly Catholic region said churches were filled with people, but there were no special services to commemorate the cemetery shooting.

Plainclothed security officers were out in force at the Santa Cruz cemetery, residents said.

East Timor’s parliamentarian Manuel Carrascalão said Dili was quiet on Sunday afternoon with only a few cars and people on the street.

“There is no demonstration, despite the fact there were rumours that protests would be staged between November 10 and 12. I guess the city will remain calm today because of the heavy security,” he said.

The Moslem-oriented Republika newspaper reported on Sunday that East Timor’s governor Abilio Soares had ordered the Timorese not to hold special events to commemorate the massacre.

“The governor has banned the ceremony to commemorate the incident on November 12, except if it is held by the victims’ families,” the paper said without further elaborating.

Seven foreigners, including one British journalist and two Danish tourists, were expelled from East Timor on Friday ahead of the anniversary.

The official Antara news agency said the expulsions were part of efforts to prevent demonstrations or violence marking the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre.

In Jakarta, Indonesia’s capital, activists planned to commemorate the massacre in a park on Sunday night.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia’s rule in East Timor and regards Portugal as the administering power.

DILI QUIET AS MASSACRE REMEMBERED

DILI, AP - With troops maintaining tight security, the fourth anniversary of the killing of East Timorese pro-independence demonstrators by Indonesian soldiers passed without incident yesterday.

Residents of Dili went to churches as usual for weekly services, but mostly on foot. No taxis were on the streets. Plainclothes officers were seen around.

Worshippers visiting the Santa Cruz cemetery, where troops opened fire on demonstrators in 1991, had to pass scrutiny by dozens of soldiers and plainclothes police to lay flowers on graves.

All main entries to Dili were closely guarded by police and soldiers. The tight security measures followed rumours of possible rallies to mark the massacre in East Timor in which between 50 and 200 people died.

But “nothing has happened so far and hopefully later on, since the situation is under control,” said Colonel Andreas Sugianto, chief of the East Timor police command.

EAST TIMOR MARKS MASSACRE

DILI, Indonesia (sic) Nov 12 (AP) - Dozens of soldiers and police staked out an East Timor cemetery Sunday, trying to block memorials on the fourth anniversary of the massacre of independence demonstrators.

Earlier this week, the government expelled or barred foreign activists who planned to mark the anniversary in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Between 50 and 200 people were killed when troops opened fire at an independence rally Nov. 12, 1991, at the Santa Cruz burial grounds.

On Sunday, visitors laid flowers on the graves under the eyes of dozens of soldiers and police. Police also stood guard outside churches.

Opposition leaders outside Indonesia say the government arrested 150 to 400 people beforehand to discourage demonstrations Sunday.

Troops and soldiers guarded the main entrances to Dili, the East Timor capital.

“All of us were asked to open up our shirts, bags, while they checked our pockets,” said Bernardo Fernandes, frisked Sunday morning as he entered the town.

East Timor Gov. Abilio Soares banned communal activities to commemorate the massacre, the Islamic newspaper Republika said.

Only observances by victims’ families would be permitted, and then only religious services, the governor said, according to the newspaper.

Authorities denied a report that a truck driver was arrested 75 miles east of Dili with a load of ammunition.

“Nothing has happened so far and hopefully later on, since the situation is under control,” said Col. Andreas Sugianto, chief of the East Timor police command.

The Indonesian government said security concerns demanded that they bar foreigners before the anniversary.
"We can’t tolerate anyone who undermines our integrity and stability," said Minister of Defense and Security Affairs Edi Sudrajat.

The United Nations still considers Portugal the administering authority in East Timor, a territory it had colonized for more than four centuries.

IFD INDONESIA ARRESTS FOUR ON TIMOR DEATHS ANNIVERSARY

DILI, East Timor, Nov 13 (Reuters) - Indonesian security forces arrested four people in East Timor during the anniversary of the 1991 killing of unarmed protesters by Indonesian troops, police said on Monday.

East Timor police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto told reporters that security forces arrested the four and confiscated a banner and flag of the Fretilin resistance movement during a day-long operation on Sunday.

He did not give further details, such as the names of those arrested or why they were detained.

There had been unconfirmed reports that protests were planned for Sunday, four years after troops shot dead at least 50 people taking part in a procession to mourn the death of a pro-independence activist at the local Santa Cruz cemetery.

But Dili was quiet on Sunday, residents said.

"It was very quiet and there were no people on the streets during the day," one resident said on Monday.

"The city of Dili was quiet like a small village," he added.

In an apparent attempt to prevent demonstrations marking the anniversary, immigration authorities expelled a number of foreign visitors from East Timor last week and prevented others from entering the territory.

"If we had foreigners here, then people would demonstrate," Sugianto said.

The Dili-based newspaper Suara Timor Timur (Voice of East Timor) on Monday quoted the head of the immigration office in East Timor, Y.S. Triswoyo, as saying 18 foreigners were expelled from East Timor before the anniversary.

Seven of those expelled last Thursday were members of a peace pilgrimage which planned to hold a prayer meeting at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

It is not known who the other people were, although a British journalist and two Danish backpackers were also expelled on Friday.

Another eight members of the peace pilgrimage group were refused permission in Surabaya and Bali to board aircraft bound for Dili last week.

Security had been tightened in the lead-up to the anniversary, with plain clothes security officials seen in and around the cemetery.

Residents complained of harassment on Sunday. They said police checked identity cards, searched bags and pockets while the city’s churches were guarded by security officers in plain clothes.

Indonesia invaded East Timor on December 7, 1975 and annexed the former Portuguese colony the following year, a move never recognised by the United Nations, which regards Portugal as the administering power.

During September and October East Timor was hit by a series of riots and disturbances blamed on ethnic and religious tensions which saw two people killed, dozens injured and more than 200 detained.

Police said last week they would take 35 people to court over the rioting in early October.

Jakarta’s rule in East Timor is mostly visibly opposed by a small band on lightly armed guerrillas in the hills and a vocal group of activists in exile overseas.

EAST TIMOR UNPOPULAR FOR TRANSMIGRATION

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

JAKARTA, Nov 15 AAP - East Timor had become a very unpopular destination for Indonesian families involved in the government’s transmigration program, the official Antara news agency reported today.

Antara said up until September this year, only one family was willing to start a new life in East Timor out of 5,121 families from Central Java ready to join the transmigration program.

East Timor has been hit by a series of civil disturbances in recent months, blamed on ethnic and religious tensions and transmigrants have been the subject of a number of attacks.

The transmigration program is intended to ease population pressures on overcrowded islands such as Java by moving families to more sparsely populated areas.

Since the 1950s, an estimated 4.5 million people have been moved under the transmigration program.

Antara reported today that data from the Central Java Transmigration Office showed of the 5,121 families in this year’s program, a total of 210 were willing to go to Indonesian East Timor.

Three provinces on the island of Sulawesi had attracted 214 Central Java families, Antara said.

However, western provinces of Indonesia were more popular with transmigrants, such as the island of Sumatra, which had attracted more than 2,000 families, Antara said.

Officials involved in the transmigration program had mounted a “go east” campaign to try to encourage more families to choose the nation’s eastern provinces.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, and was annexed the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations, but recognised by Australia.

MY RECENT TRIP TO EAST TIMOR

By JJ in Darwin, Dec. 22.

My friend and I flew to Kupang from Darwin on November 18th 1995 with a vague plan to checkout the whole island of Timor, though my special interest was East Timor having been involved with the Darwin fight for this occupied country since the Dili massacre in 1991. We had been in Kupang for 2 days when we ran into a woman I knew who visits Timor twice a year to buy handicrafts (and so encourage the local artisans) to sell at her stall at the markets in Darwin. She had just returned from Dili but on her own volition. She and a friend had gone by boat from Alor, a small island off Timor, to Dili where she expected to meet her usual trading partners. But Immigration wouldn’t have it. They were told they would have to leave ASAP which was in their case a boat next morning at 5am. They were given a copy of the letter which was recently printed on E-mail saying visitors could return when conditions were “pleasanter.” They weren’t allowed out of the harbour, had to sleep on the boat even though the women was 6 months pregnant. She was finally given permission to go to town briefly to get something to eat. They were told East Timor would probably be closed till the end of the year. So she was not optimistic about our chances of getting in as we only had 3 weeks holiday.

We spent a few days in Kupang practising our Indonesian and getting used to being in another culture. We crossed to the island of Semau to go snorkelling and stay in a resort. There we met an Australian nurse based in Kupang but formerly based in Dili. She had been in Dili just before the 12th to do a clinic but had been made to leave as well. We also met a Japanese guy who said he’d just spent 5 days in East Timor before having to leave. Had he been let in after the 12th cause he was a non-westerner we wondered?

On the Monday the 27th we bussed to Soe where we again ran into the woman buying crafts. We told her we were going to
try to get into East Timor. She predicted that we would get to the border, be interrogated for a few hours and then get turned back as she knew this had happened to others. So on Wednesday we headed off not very optimistically towards the East. At Atambua we had to change buses. We were used to paying for our transport at the end of the trip but we discovered before we left that everyone on the bus to Dili had already paid and had a ticket. We went into the shop that was selling tickets but they wouldn’t sell us one. They said we could pay when we got there. So again no one was optimistic about us getting in.

Our first checkpoint was Atapupa I think? Everyone on the bus had to hand their ID over but we had to get off the bus and be interviewed by the military. I felt very nervous. My friend has the gift of the gab, is attractive and smokes Australian cigarettes so she was a real hit. She handed round cigarettes while we talked of all the places we had been in West Timor. They could see by our passports that we had been in Timor for 10 days already and I feel this was an advantage. After about 20 minutes of “chat” and form-filling we were told OK, got back on the patiently waiting bus and continued on. We were thrilled to have got through the first hurdle but the second arrived very quickly. Again only us off the bus, questions, cigarette sharing, great interest in my friend’s marital status and 15 minutes later on our way again. The third checkpoint only needed our passports which they must have read thoroughly cause it took 10 minutes and we were through. Once we realised we were in East Timor and on our way to Dili we felt rather stunned that we had made it.

Our next sight of the military was in the taxi to our losmen in Dili.. We saw an open truck packed with soldiers holding their rifles driving along the main road. Rather frightening. We had not seen anything like this in West Timor. At the losmen we were told we were the first tourists to come in for a while, though we did see some other Westerners at a restaurant who were told worked for the Red Cross. I was also told there were people from France who were Parliamentarians for East Timor but someone else disputed this.

While in Dili a number of people took the risk of making contact with us. I had the name of one person only to contact and because that person was away I didn’t get to meet them till the day before I left. We were warned who were Intel checking on us as they did regularly coming into our losmen to buy a drink and “chat.” One man (non-Timorese) told my friend he was just back from a conference in London on East Timor and what did she think about the politics.

She played the scatty tourist. A young East Timorese asked us for financial help so that he and his friends could get to Jakarta. They hoped to get into an embassy and ask for asylum. We talked to his father who told us that although he and his wife knew if their son got out of the country they may never see him again that was preferable to him staying in Dili with his passionate hatred for the Indonesian occupiers as he could end up dead. I was told that the East Timorese were united in their hatred of the Indonesian occupiers. I met a member of the clandestine movement who has already spent a dozen years in gaol. He is constantly under surveillance and worried that he may be caused to have an accident. He talked about how important it is that the movement survive. He was very upset about another member Henrique Belmiro being gaol the day before for 6 years. Henrique had already served a previous gaol sentence. I heard of Intel’s efforts to destabilise the movement by rumour-mongering.

Some comments on the Indonesian-run tourist industry. Firstly of course you can’t ever know if you are going to get in. And if you do you constantly wonder if you are going to be kicked out. My friend and I found the tourist office, a large newish building, shut. A local bashed on the door for us and finally someone who had obviously just woken up let us in. He had to search in a back room to find one brochure about East Timor that was full of propaganda e.g. that the East Timorese had asked to integrate with Indonesia. There were no maps or other info. I went to the Damanon bank to cash my travellers cheques - they said sorry we don’t cash Australian TCs. Then they decided to offer me an exchange rate of 1020 rupes. I had been getting 1660 in Kupang. I just laughed. Fortunately I was able to find a friendlier bank.

My friend and I caught a bus to Los Palos where we had to register with the police station. Later we met a young English speaking East Timorese who told us about his father spending 12 years in the mountains as a guerilla and his mother being imprisoned on Atauro. His father had an early death from illness contracted during those years. He was struggling with the decision of whether he could do more for his country by staying and having a fair chance of being killed or leaving the country and working from outside.

That night we heard that someone had been shot. We were told to go to bed early by a family member of the losmen we were staying at, he mentioned “mati” (dead) and Fretilin. We locked our door and window and took a while to go to sleep, my friend waking later to the sound of repeated gun fire. I was sure that we would be sent out the next morning but we weren’t. We saw many people standing in the hospital grounds and found out that they were relatives of the 4 Indonesians who died from the attack in the market the previous night - 2 men and 2 women. We spoke with someone who had been at a meeting with the guerrillas the previous day. He said they had said nothing about a raid being planned so he was uncertain about who might have done the killings.

We toured around the area that day having to register at Lautem and Com but there was no trouble. Our English speaking friend told us he had been stopped and questioned by the police the previous night after talking to us and he was again this night as well. When we returned to the losmen we met up again with an English man who had been the next tourist to be allowed into East Timor after us. He told us there had been a number of phone calls to our Dili Losmen the night before about our whereabouts - it seems Intel were checking up on us. On the 5th December we caught a bus to Tutuala with 2 Timorese friends (and it seems a couple of Intel on the bus). We saw truckload after open truckload (7 or 8) of soldiers driving this road many with their rifles held up ready to fire. We found out that a guerilla from the mountains named Valente had been killed that morning in the area. The soldiers had thought he was Konis Santana and the Indon military bigwigs had flown in. We had to register at a few military bases that day, one time sitting very close to a stack of about 50 rifles. We were informed by Timorese that there were thousands of people living in the mountains resisting the Indonesians. They were constantly on the move to avoid capture. We heard that in August the guerrillas had burnt down a mosque at Vikeke. On arriving at our fancy losmen at Tutuala (an old Portuguese mansion) we were soon visited by the military. They wanted our details and we had to provide the paper and pen. We saw 4 navy ships sailing off Tutuala and heard again about the second boatload of Timorese who had tried to escape to Darwin only to be captured. It was obvious the Indon navy wasn’t going to let another one through. Next day we bussed back to Dili.

On the 7th I spent the day wandering around Dili. I was discretely spoken to by a teenager who asked if I was a journalist. I think I disappointed him by saying no. But he asked if he could talk to me and we arranged that he visit me at my losmen the next morning. I saw the military base next door to the university and another around the corner. I walked past Santa Cruz cemetery and decided to go in and have a look. I hadn’t wanted to do that earlier in my stay as I suspected it might cause trouble. I was
right. I found out after I got back to the losmen that Intel had been there asking why I was taking a photo at Santa Cruz. That night the person visiting for a "chat" asked if I was a journalist as I was about to write a letter.

I went visiting with a East Timorese friend who was taking a risk being seen out with me and heard the news of the young people piling into the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta from Timorese people listening to short-wave radio. They were very excited and proud. They were also very appreciative of the protests going on around the country in Australia. The same excitement at the next place and visitors of theirs also enthusiastically commenting. I can see how important short-wave is to the East Timorese. When I returned to my losmen there was a letter waiting for me. I quote:

"MISS J....
Greetings from young generation of all East Timorese. Sorry our English is poor and we do hope you understand.
Our group been trying hard to meet you but always unsuccessful because we saw you were always followed by spies well disguised everywhere you go, and even in the place where you live. We keep an eye on you.......
We will keep on trying and show up some future of our aspiration to a quick process of our country. Could you help us to take picture of pamphlet in a closed room somewhere? We try to avoid more demonstrations for while on the roads because we are well guarded by military. Our aspiration and idea for the pamphlet is:
1. INTEGRATION? EXTERMINATION IS BEING DONE TO OUR PEOPLE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. WHAT IS THE CHOICE?
2. SOEHARTO AND THOSE ARMY GENERALS IN ONE BED ARE BETRAYERS OF INDONESIAN PEOPLE AND LAW, BLIND TO DEMOCRACY AND WORST KIND OF DICTATOR IN THE WORLD.
3. THEIR TROUBLED AMBITION IS HARD TO END.
From our Group No Name"

I didn’t get to take the photos so have reproduced the letter instead with very minor modifications for clarity.

On the 8th a public holiday in East Timor Bishop Belo ordained 3 new Timorese priests in front of a large congregation. I heard the opportunity to protest couldn’t be missed and a couple of hundred people expressed their feelings about the
classes. Harassment became so intense he was forced to relocate to the Turismo Hotel on the other side of town.

Meanwhile his students, mostly local government civil servants, stopped turning up. “It was basically felt that people who were involved in English-language training may be under suspicion. It was very difficult, in fact impossible, to get people together as a group,” Kingham said.

“I left on advice of local government officials who were Timorese, who said this is not the time to be talking about language training programs. They said it places participants under suspicion and it places you under suspicion.”

Kingham confirmed reports in the past few weeks of riot police patrolling day and night, and stopping in houses to intimidate young Timorese with beatings, in order to discourage demonstrations or other outbreaks of dissent.

“Routine checking of identity cards and knocking on doors at all sorts of hours is considered normal,” he said. He described beatings as “routine and normal.”

“You get quite used to it—full riot gear, every truck with a grenade thrower at least, usually rifles and sidearms and truncheons. This is all the time,” he said. “There’s a climate of suspicion and fear. People don’t go out at night, people do not socialize, because of the volatility. Apparently since I’ve left, it’s become far more prevalent.”

See interview with Kingham in the Ahi Nak-lakan section of these documents entitled “SBS - Dateline to Cover Pilgrim Delegation.”

NAME OF DETAINED TIMORESE YOUTHS

From ETCHRIET, November 29, 1995

EAST TIMORESE DETAINED FOLLOWING CIVIL UNREST IN OCTOBER 1995

Background: Following widespread civil disturbances in Dili last month, the Indonesian military undertook extensive door to door searches, arresting an estimated 500 East Timorese, the majority of which are youths. Most were said to have been mistreated. No official statements about the detention of these people have been issued. Some have been released on condition they report every day to police headquarters in Dili-Comoro. Most of the detainees have not been charged or brought to trial so far. Some will be tried shortly, even if the charges are still unknown.

The widespread disturbances which rocked East Timor last September and October had their origin in the incitement of East Timorese youths by the Indonesian military, following a new strategy aimed at dividing the East Timorese youth. Rumours were spread that East Timorese anti integration leaders have been financed by the military intelligence and foreign agencies, to act as double agents. The local Indonesian military commander, Colonel Simbolon, held a press conference with Indonesian journalists last August, where he said "I will use the Timorese to destroy the Timorese." Recent events clearly evidence his attempts in this direction.

The following are some names of people arrested last month, including information on the mistreatments they suffered, according to information supplied by East Timorese Resistance sources dated 7 November 1995. Some may have been released since.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Domicile</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Arrest date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonio da Silva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Becora</td>
<td>knifed and shot</td>
<td>12 Oct 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel da Silva Freitas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>knifed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis Ximenes Varela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>knifed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Celestino Soares</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sta Cruz</td>
<td>shot in the back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domingos da Costa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sta Cruz</td>
<td>knifed in back</td>
<td>house ransacked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eber Amilcar Abel</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sta Cruz</td>
<td>knifed in back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis Soares</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sta Cruz</td>
<td>knifed in back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domingos da Silva Alves</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
<td>bullet shot into leg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donasio Amaral</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
<td>arrested at Vila</td>
<td>16 Oct 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual da Silva Cepeda (Nelson)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
<td>arrested at home</td>
<td>19 Oct 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eusebio Barreto Gusmão</td>
<td></td>
<td>Matadouro</td>
<td>arrested at home</td>
<td>19 Oct 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Antonio Galucho</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
<td>arrested at home</td>
<td>19 Oct 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvador da Silva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
<td>knifed in neck</td>
<td>12 Oct 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel da Silva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
<td>arrested at home</td>
<td>19 Oct 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justino Afonso</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sta Cruz</td>
<td>house attacked and ransacked</td>
<td>12 Oct 95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following people are said to be scheduled to stand trial shortly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Domicile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Fernandes (Abel)</td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aleixo da Costa (Cobra)</td>
<td>Bidau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Manuel Fernandes</td>
<td>West Lahane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boby Xavier</td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Januario</td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Kai</td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquim Alin (Quinito)</td>
<td>Vila Verde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okolau- (younger brother of Boby Xavier)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Action requested: It is necessary to obtain clear statements from the Indonesian authorities about the status of the above people, and about the many more arrested last month.

Those still in detention must be charged and brought to proper trials, and be given adequate opportunity of defense. The International Committee of the Red Cross must be allowed access to them while they are in detention, and ensure they are kept under adequate conditions. International human rights organisations should be allowed access to the detainees, so as to record their accounts of treatment received. Cases of mistreatment should be taken up with the Indonesian authorities. Qualified observers should monitor the trials scheduled to begin shortly.

ETCHRRIET REPORT ON ARRESTS AND TORTURES IN EAST TIMOR
East Timor Centre for Human Rights Information, Education and Training

HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT N.:8 /95; 1 DEC 95

1. ETCHRRIET has received information from East Timor sources about the detention and severe mistreatment of nine East Timorese civilians on 10 November 95 by Indonesian SGI intelligence forces, in the village of Leohat, Soibada, Manatuto District.

The victims are:
1. José Velho, 32, farmer
2. Valente da Cruz, 47, ex Sub-district Head
3. Odengo, 27, unemployed
4. Delhim, 29, unemployed
5. Martinho Lima, 35
6. João da Costa, 37
7. Domingos S. da Cruz, 39
8. Domingos Berquello, 34
9. Almarrindo, 28

After being arrested, these people have been tortured through beatings with iron bars, application of electric shocks, beatings and other torture forms.

The detainees have been kept in isolation so far, and some are in a very bad condition. East Timorese sources request international action to secure their release.

2. A second report received from East Timor refers to the capture in late November of one East Timor Falintil resistance fighter, code named Nixon, currently being kept at SGI military intelligence headquarters at Colmera in Dili. It is presumed that he is being subjected to torture, in line with common practice.

The same message refers to the present large increases in numbers of Indonesian military stationed in East Timor.

ETCHRRIET requests appropriate action by international human rights organisations to protect the above people from the serious dangers they are facing.

FEAR OF TORTURE
Urgent Appeal from OMCT/SOS Torture, Dec. 4. Case IDN/TMP 041295

The International Secretariat of OMCT/SOS Torture requests your URGENT intervention in the following situation in Indonesia and East Timor

Brief description of the situation:

Antenna International, a member of our network, has expressed its grave concern over the alleged detention and severe mistreatment of nine East Timorese civilians. These people were arrested on 10 November 95 by Indonesian SGI intelligence forces, in the village of Leohat, Soibada, Manatuto District.

The victims are: José Velho (32) farmer, Valente da Cruz (47), ex Sub-district Head, Odengo (27), unemployed, Delhim (29), unemployed, Martinho Lima (35), João da Costa (37), Domingos S. da Cruz (39), Domingos Berquello (34), Almarrindo (28)

It is alleged that after their arrest these people were tortured. Methods included beatings with iron bars, application of electric shocks, beatings and other methods.

According to the most recent information the detainees are being held in isolation.

Action requested: Please contact the Indonesian authorities urging them to:

i. Put an immediate end to the practice of torture and take the appropriate measures to guarantee the physical and psychological integrity of the above mentioned persons;

ii. Immediately release the above mentioned detainees in the absence of valid charges. If such charges exist bring them before a competent and public civilian tribunal and guarantee their procedural rights at all times;

iii. Ensure a full, impartial and exhaustive enquiry into the facts concerning the alleged mistreatment of the 9 detainees, identify those responsible for any mistreatment, bring them to trial and apply the penal, civil and/or administrative sanctions provided by legislation;

iv. ensure in all circumstances respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with national laws and international standards.

Addresses:

MINISTER OF JUSTICE M. Haji
Utoyo Usman S.H., Menteri Kehakiman, Jl. H.R. Rasuna

Said Kav. 6-7, Kuningan, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia. Fax: + 62 21 525 3095


Telegrams: National Police Chief, Jakarta, Indonesia


Geneva, 04 December 1995

Kindly inform us of any action taken quoting the exact number of this appeal in your reply.

Ben Schönveld Programme Officer
OMCT/SOS-Torture
Case Postale 119
Rue de Vermont 37-39
CH-1211, Geneva, Switzerland
Tel:4122 733 3140, Fax:4122 733 1051

XANANA’S DRIVER GETS 6 YEARS

Abridged.

DILI, East Timor, Dec 1 (Reuter) - A driver who worked for the jailed East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, was sentenced to six years and two months in jail on Friday for trying to separate the territory from Indonesia.

“The defendant, Henrique Belmiro Da Costa, is guilty of attacking the government and trying to separate East Timor from Indonesia,” said presiding judge Augustinus Rungngu when sentencing Da Costa at the Dili district court.

He said Da Costa, 40, was the coordinator of an anti-integration movement in Dili and that he once supplied ammunition to the rebels operating in East Timor’s jungles.

Government prosecutors earlier asked the court to sentence the defendant to 20 years in jail.
EAST TIMOR STILL
DECADE OR MORE
AWAY FROM PEACE

By Jeremy Waughstaff

JAKARTA, Dec 1 (Reuters) – Few people predicted at the time that Indonesia’s effort to absorb East Timor would still be going on 20 years after a chaotic pre-dawn raid on the sleepy seaside capital of Dili on December 7, 1975.

The Indonesian military believed it could complete the invasion of the tiny half-island, some 2,000 km (1,250 miles) east of Jakarta and north of Australia, within three weeks.

Now, two decades and at least 200,000 lives on, observers from both inside and outside East Timor and Indonesia make a more cautious forecast: one way or another, resolution of the conflict is at least a decade away.

“On present patterns, I expect several decades of misery and suffering in East Timor before a resolution emerges,” said Australian academic Gerry van Klinken of Griffith University.

It was 20 years ago this week that ill-prepared and poorly disciplined Indonesian troops, already operating in the border areas, landed by sea, air and land in Dili, to begin an orgy of violence that set the tone for a years-long war.

Instead of buckling under the might of their much larger neighbour, inhabitants of the former Portuguese colony fled to the hills and resisted the invasion with surprising resilience. Some 200,000 people died or were killed in the years after the invasion – proportionately more than those who perished in Pol Pot’s Cambodia at the same time, historians say.

And while reports of killings have declined in the past year or so in apparent response to lingering international concern, a toxic mix of ethnic, political, religious and economic tensions continues to simmer in East Timor, observers say.

“The human rights situation in East Timor is very bad by any absolute standard. Severe beatings and torture are routine and there is no sign that this is changing,” said one American with close ties to the territory.

What has changed is the nature of resistance to Jakarta’s rule. While the early 1990s saw a significant shift towards the territory’s youth as the vanguard of resistance, frustration has broadened into social unrest that has become almost routine.

For the past year, East Timorese towns have been hit by rioting, usually sparked by the perceived insensitivities of Indonesian officials or migrant traders.

Now, residents say, Timorese from schoolchildren to the elderly are protesting. “After 20 years it has been proven that, even in 200 years, Indonesia will not conquer the Timorese heart and mind,” said Constâncio Pinto, a former clandestine leader and now U.S. representative of the main East Timorese independence movement.

This disaffection runs deep. Even men such as Guilherme Gonçalves, former governor and a signatory of the 1975 Balibo declaration, which provided the justification for Indonesia’s invasion, is now a fierce advocate for independence.

“All Timorese have the same idea, that we don’t want to integrate with Indonesia,” he said in a recent interview.

Some Indonesians have recognised the need for change.

Limited but growing awareness of the problems of East Timor and nagging international criticism have prompted embryonic public discussion and debate within military institutions. Juwono Sudrsono, Indonesian academic and vice-governor of the Defence College, said Jakarta must adopt a special approach to East Timor beyond millions of dollars of development aid. “We must recognise East Timor is a special area without giving it undue prominence by giving it local autonomy. In the long run it is a question of treating each East Timorese as a full-fledged Indonesian at a pace that is acceptable to them culturally,” he said in an interview.

While this may fall short of the demands voiced by many East Timorese, it may be the best they can hope for. President Suharto has ruled out any change in the territory, arguing that East Timor already enjoys special attention and status.

And, for all the rhetoric, academics say international pressure remains insignificant. U.N.-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal – still regarded by the U.N. as East Timor’s administering power – have so far failed to make ground.

“Frankly speaking, the international pressure is very weak, because Western powers are only paying lip service to upholding human rights in East Timor. Hence, pressure for Indonesia to withdraw is very unlikely in the near future,” said Indonesian academic George Aditijondro, currently exiled in Australia.

Most conclude the pressure for change will continue to come from within East Timor, as clandestine, guerrilla and exile groups continue their war of attrition with Indonesia.

And while they may be wrong, they see time as on their side.

“Is Indonesia likely to withdraw from East Timor? I would say yes, but it takes time. It is a matter of the Indonesian gov-

TIMOR REBELS STILL
ACTIVE 20 YEARS AFTER
INVASION

by John Owen-Davies

JAKARTA, Dec 3 (Reuters) – In one of the world’s longer-running conflicts, Fretilin guerillas have been opposing Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor since an army invasion 20 years ago.

The conflict, in a remote, rugged area north of Australia and about the size of Northern Ireland, is relatively low-key.

International spotlights have been clamped more firmly on Indonesian human rights abuses, including the massacre of up to 200 protesters in Dili, East Timor’s capital, in 1991.

In terms of scale, the conflict pales against Nigeria’s 1967-70 Biafran war of secession, in which up to one million people died, and the Kurds’ autonomy fight in the Middle East.

Foreign military sources say the Timor struggle is likely to drag on in the absence of a political solution, and because of logistical woes and Fretilin’s apparent ability to regenerate.

In July, Colonel Mahidin Simbolon, the military commander of East Timor, on an island bordering only Indonesia’s West Timor, said rebels resisting Jakarta’s rule would never be wiped out.

“But their strength, their numbers, their ability and their activities can be decreased... They have already been in the forest 20 years. As people, they also have limits to their ability and health,” he told reporters in Dili.

The foreign military sources generally agree with government figures of around 200 Fretilin guerrillas, and the sources put the number of Indonesian troops at between 7,000 and 10,000.

“I think Fretilin does not want to get too big. They want equilibrium, where they can remain an irritant but not be a drain on those supporting them,” one foreign attaché said.

The sources said there were an estimated 3,000 or more so-called clandestines – unarmed people who provided safe-havens and help for the rebels across Indonesia.

A key to the conflict continuing is seen as the support of some young people for hardliners against the integration of largely Roman Catholic East Timor with mainly Moslem Indonesia.

“Fretilin seems to be able to draw in young people to regenerate, unlike the Communist terrorists (CTs) fighting the
British in Malaya in the 1950s,” another foreign attaché said.

“ABRI (Indonesia’s armed forces) probably cannot defeat Fretilin without many, many casualties.

“Fretilin’s people are self-trained, which makes them very resilient. The conflict is likely to go on for as long as Fretilin can take in fresh faces,” the source added.

Another source said: “It was clear from protests in Dili in October involving kids in their teens that problems, including no jobs and ethnic dissent, still have a lot of legs in them.

Resistance started when some members of Fretilin, a leftist political party that fought in a civil war after the Portuguese left early in 1975, fled to the interior following Indonesia’s invasion on December 7, 1975.

Indonesia later intervened to support pro-integration parties that has sought its help.

It named East Timor, 2,000 km (1,250 miles) from Jakarta, its 27 province in July 1976. The United Nations still regards Portugal as the administering power.

The foreign sources say Indonesia’s army suffers from a lack of equipment, limited anti-guerrilla experience and some poor training, while Fretilin has no viable bases outside East Timor.

“All successful guerrilla wars have been fought with borders to cross and bases outside. The CTs in Malaya used Thailand but they became ossified because of no regeneration,” one said.

There are no accurate figures for the number of Fretilin rebels killed in the past two decades, during which an estimated 200,000 people have died in fighting, or from famine or disease.

East Timor’s has an estimated 850,000 people, including an influx of Moslem and other migrants from Java and elsewhere.

Fretilin suffered a setback in 1992 when its leader, Xanana Gusmão, was captured and jailed for life after a controversial trial.

President Suharto later reduced the term to 20 years.

Reports of contacts between troops and guerrillas in East Timor’s mountains have been relatively few in recent years.

The foreign sources said they had unconfirmed reports of groups of about 50 guerrillas moving across mountains.

“The Western military would consider this a major threat. ABRI must be prepared to saturate an area on a reconnaissance basis,” one source said.

“As in all conflicts of this kind, a certain staleness is creeping in,” he added.

The sources said they believed Fretilin’s basic weapons were the U.S.-designed M-16 rifle, the older M-14 and the SKS rifle, designed originally by the Russians in World War Two.

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**EAST TIMORESE FIGHT LOSING ECONOMIC BATTLE**

*by K.T. Arasu*

JAKARTA, Dec 6 (Reuters) - In some ways, the 20-year struggle of the poorly-equipped band of guerrillas fighting for East Timor’s independence from Indonesia mirrors an uphill struggle by East Timorese to wrest control of the territory’s economy.

Similar to the rebels who lack the sophisticated weaponry used by rebels elsewhere, such as the Tamil Tigers fighting for a homeland in Sri Lanka, the general East Timorese population lacks capital.

“I am sceptical that the East Timorese will be able to take charge of their economy,” Armindo Maia, acting rector of the East Timor University, told Reuters from the capital, Dili. “East Timor’s economy is dominated by migrants and the well-connected,” he said. “There must be policy changes (by Indonesia) to ensure East Timor can play a significant role in the affairs of their economy.”

Indonesia invaded East Timor, 2,000 km (1,250 miles) from Jakarta, on December 7, 1975, after the Portuguese left the territory following over four centuries of colonial rule.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesian rule in East Timor and considers Portugal the administering authority.

The world body, however, has been hosting talks between the two countries to seek a political solution to the conflict.

Since officially making East Timor its 27th province in July 1976, Indonesia has poured hundreds of millions of dollars into the territory, building schools and much-needed infrastructure partly, to help capture the hearts and minds of the populace.

According to latest official Indonesian data, per capita income in East Timor rose to 410,534 rupiah (US$180) in 1991 from 132,454 rupiah ($58) in 1983.

Per capita income in Indonesia in 1991 was just over one million rupiah ($438).

East Timor’s economy grew by an average 10.41 percent in 1991, the latest figure available, compared with 5.94 percent for the whole of Indonesia in that year.

In the last five-year economic programme between ending April 1994, Indonesia pumped more than 900 billion rupiah ($395 million) into East Timor.

On instructions from Indonesia’s President Suharto, an additional 93 billion rupiah ($40 million) was allocated in the same five-year period on special projects, ranging from agriculture to mines and energy and rural development.

Indonesian government literature says the allocation of funds resulted in higher outputs of rice and corn, along with a variety of cash crops in East Timor, where some three-quarters of the estimated 850,000 population live off the land.

“Sure, there has been a lot of money being spent in East Timor, but is it benefiting East Timorese?” asked East Timor University’s Maia.

“Indonesia has been boasting to the whole world about East Timor’s economic growth, but I think less than 50 percent of the money invested here has benefited East Timorese,” he said. Of grave concern to East Timorese has been the influx of migrants from islands neighbouring East Timor who have been accused of nabbing the few trade opportunities that exist in the predominantly Christian half-island.

The influx has led to several clashes, mostly between East Timorese and Moslem Buginese from southern Sulawesi, who are said to have better business acumen and capital.

“It is no secret that the migrant population is a source of resentment among East Timorese,” Lindsay Evans, who heads an Australian aid project in Dili, told Reuters.

He said there was much potential in developing East Timor’s economy, especially by improving the marketing chain of its agricultural produce.

“They grow good quality coffee, peanuts...and live cattle,” he said. “But these seem to have a limited market in East Timor and should be sold in other places like Java Island,” he said.

Evans, whose project is to improve the quality of human resources and help farmers deal with soil erosion and water conservation, said he has seen farmers’ productivity, especially in the more fertile south, rise significantly since his assignment began about one-and-a-half years ago.

He said he has also seen more competition in the coffee sector, the territory’s single biggest export commodity, with more buyers coming into the market, breaking a monopoly that existed until some two years ago.

“Now, a grower can carry two bags of coffee on the bus and take it anywhere it wants to sell it,” he said.

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**ETCHRIET HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT**

**HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT N-9/95 Date: 13 Dec 95**

A number of arrests, mistreatment and disappearances of East Timorese, victims of...
the Indonesian security forces, have been reported during the first half of December. Both the visit to Dili by United Nations Human Rights High Commissioner Ayala Lasso, and the demonstrations marking the 20th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor on 7 December, have been focal points.

1. Reports of arrests in connection with the Ayala Lasso visit vary. ETCHRRIET has received six names of people detained. Five of them were carrying a message from the East Timorese Resistance for the High Commissioner. They are: Rui N. Lopes, José Valdo de Araujo, both students from Maliana, Caetano and Teodoro Soares, students from Cailaco, and Cipriano Cardoso, from Atabae. On 3 December a police patrol also arrested a man called Aínuco near Dili’s Santa Cruz cemetery. No further information about the whereabouts of the above people has become available.

2. On Monday 4 December, at approximately 11.00 am, East Timorese social worker Mr Martinho Pereira (38) was arrested by Indonesian military intelligence operatives at the wharf in Surabaya, after arriving from Dili, East Timor, on his way to Jakarta. The arrest was witnessed by fellow travellers disembarking from their passenger ship. There has been no information about Pereira’s whereabouts since his arrest. Martinho Pereira was born on 12 November 1957. From 1975-1978 he was active with the Resistance in the mountains of East Timor. He was first arrested in Dili in 1983, and sentenced in 1984 to four years in jail for anti-integration activities, serving his sentence in Jakarta’s Cipinang prison until 1987.

3. On 7 December close to 200 East Timorese and Indonesian protesters staged a demonstration in Jakarta. One group of 19 people was arrested as they prepared to enter the French and Thai Embassies. Other groups entered the Embassies of Russia (58 people) and the Netherlands (55 people). The group in the Russian Embassy left the next day. After police questioning, those from outside Jakarta were put on buses to Central and East Java. In Semarang four (some reports say five) jumped the bus, fearing they were being taken for detention at the Surabaya police. One of them has since reported to be well. The whereabouts of the remaining ones are still unknown (as of midday 13 December). The group in the Dutch Embassy was expelled on 9 December, after the Embassy had been attacked by a group of government-sponsored demonstrators. Members reported being intensively questioned during 24 hours at South Jakarta police headquarters, with no food or drink provided during this time. Some were kicked with military boots until their shins were injured (Jaquim) and burnt with cigarette butts (Wilson, Puto), and even burnt in their genitals with cigarette lighters (Janio). As of midday 13 December, all detained Indonesians and East Timorese have been released except for Carlito Belo Soares, and Armanda Soares, detained in Kodim Jakarta Pusat 0501/85. A third, unidentified, person is believed to be detained at KOPASSUS (commando forces) headquarters.

### MOST RECENT PROTESTERS RELEASED

**JAKARTA - SOLO UPDATE from PRD via AJSI, 13 Dec 1995**

The latest news we have received as of 1.30pm Jakarta time, is that all detained Indonesians and East Timorese have been released except for three people:

1. **Carlito Belo Soares**
2. **Armanda Soares**
3. **Two people are detained in Kodim Jakarta Pusat 0501/85.**

A third person is believed to be detained at KOPASSUS (commando forces) headquarters but has not been identified.

One person of the four who jumped a bus carrying East Timorese from the Dutch Embassy has reported in safely. There is no news yet of the other four. At this point there is no information that the other three are not safe.

All people arrested during the PRD Solo demonstration have also been released.

### ABRI SUPPORTS BELO’S CALL TO RESPECT LOCAL CULTURE

*From Indonesian government news service (ANTARA), 26 December*

Dili, East Timor - The Indonesian armed forces chief General Feisal Tanjung was quoted by the agency as saying the six battalions stationed in the territory were sufficient for local needs. "Armed forces troops in East Timor consist of six battalions and this number is enough to help the local government and the local people," he told ANTARA in the East Timor capital Dili.

Six battalions consist of 960 soldiers. Foreign military sources last month put the number of troops posted in East Timor, 2,000 km (1,250 miles) east of Jakarta, at between 7,000 and 10,000.

Tanjung said five battalions were involved in helping the local government in development projects while another was posted to protect Timorese from internal and external threats.

But Tanjung said the military would eliminate Fretilin rebels fighting for independence from Indonesia, which invaded the territory in 1975 and annexed it the following year.

"We don’t have any targets on when the Fretilin guerrillas will vanish. What becomes our target is that they have to be eliminated," he said. ANTARA had no further details.

A dwindling band of Fretilin guerrillas, now reported to number about 200, has fought for independence in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion of the territory.

Antara quoted East Timor’s outspoken Bishop Carlos Belo as saying in Dili on Monday that a new approach was needed to win the hearts of the East Timorese youths, who often protested against Indonesia’s rule in their homeland.
According to official figures, Indonesia has six battalions, about 5,000 men, stationed in East Timor, although foreign military attaches in Jakarta believe the real number could be double that figure.

In June last year, a first lieutenant and private first class were sentenced to four-and-a-half and four years in jail for their parts in the killing of six civilians near Liquisa in East Timor in January 1995.

SOLDIERS, CIVILIANS SAID KILLED IN TIMOR CLASHES

JAKARTA, Jan 15 (Reuters) -- Up to seven Indonesian soldiers and two civilians in East Timor have been killed in what local Timorese and other sources said on Monday was the latest in a series of clashes between government forces and guerrillas.

Police sources, a local parliamentarian and diplomats said the soldiers and civilians were shot dead on January 9 when their vehicle was attacked by guerrillas in Leorukta in Viqueque regency, 180 km (112 miles) east of Dili.

Diplomats said the attack was the latest incident in a number of clashes between the army and guerrillas of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), who now number in the hundreds after years of fighting Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony.

“The army seems to be going deeper into the countryside not to provoke but to make contact with the guerrillas and destroy them,” one diplomat based in Jakarta said.

Military spokesmen were not immediately available to comment on the reports.

Diplomats estimate there are between 7,000 and 10,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor fighting against some 200 guerrillas in a sporadic war since the army’s 1975 invasion.

The foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, still regarded by the United Nations as the territory’s administering power, were due to meet under U.N. auspices in London on Tuesday as part of long-running talks on the territory.

Residents said the situation in East Timor continued to deteriorate, with youths fleeing the territory or into hills.

“They have left the city in the hundreds, either to join the guerrillas or to flee the country through Jakarta,” one said.

Five East Timorese were due to leave the New Zealand embassy in Jakarta for exile on Monday, bringing to 50 the number who have been given refuge in Portugal after scaling the fences of foreign embassies in Jakarta since September.

A resident in Dili, 2,000 km (1,500 miles east of Jakarta), said guerrillas also took 10

46 INDOSEAN SOLIDERS GO ON TRIAL IN TIMOR

JAKARTA, Jan 8 (Reuters) -- Forty-six Indonesian soldiers charged with criminal actions and legal violations were due to be tried by a military court in East Timor, the official Antara news agency reported on Monday.

“The trials of the 46 soldiers will begin in the open on Monday in Dili,” Captain Djoko Purwadi, head of information in the East Timor military region, told Antara on Saturday.

Military officials in Dili were not available to confirm on Monday if the trials had started.

Purwadi said the soldiers were being tried for various offences including opposing their superiors, desertion, criminal actions and violating traffic regulations.

“The trials of the 46 soldiers of the East Timor military region is natural as every citizen who breaks the law must face sanctions which is appropriate for their actions,” he said.

The report did not give any details about the nature of the crimes or those who had committed them.
soldiers hostage during the January 9 clash. “The incident took place in the afternoon when the armed forces officers who were conducting a patrol were stopped by the Fretilin (guerillas),” he said without giving details.

A military spokesman was not available to comment on the incident.

Diplomats said East Timor in recent months had come under much tighter military control.

Since October, contact by the army and guerrillas, previously kept to a minimum, had increased casualties on both sides, including the December killing of four Indonesian immigrants by guerrillas in the town of Los Palos, they said.

In the same month, guerrillas surprised and killed two soldiers taking a bath near Viqueque, in what diplomats said appeared to be a reaction to the government’s bid to flush out guerrillas from their mountain strongholds.

Dr Muladi said raising the issues with the commission was preferable to raising them with the Catholic church or with the International Committee of the Red Cross, which operated an office in East Timor.

### HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN DILI

**Diario de Noticias, 25 January 1996, Translated from Portuguese, Abridged**

Lisbon – According to a Timorese source, contacted yesterday by LUSA in the capital of East Timor, the Indonesian National Human Rights Commission (INHRC), a pro-government body, is to open a delegation in Dili.

The decision was made public by an INHRC delegation, headed by Clementino Amaral, who is currently visiting Dili.

The INHRC delegation will be based in the Associação Comercial, Agrícola e Industrial de Timor building, located in the Rua Antonio de Carvalho, near the Governor’s palace and the Indonesian military district command post.

“Authorisation came from Jakarta, and the local government provided the premises for the delegation,” the source in Dili told LUSA.

Residents in the Timorese capital of Dili also reported to LUSA that, as from yesterday, they have been able to receive signals from Asiasat-2, the satellite launched on 28 November 1995, which will relay RTPi programmes to Asia and the Pacific from 28 January onward.

“We have finally managed to get good reception of the long-awaited Asiasat-2 transmission,” said one of the Timorese in Dili, contacted by telephone from Macao. (...) RTP, which will be transmitting (from 11 am Lisbon time) special programmes to mark its arrival in East Timor, will be distributed on band C, whose footprint covers the whole of Asia, and the Middle East to Australia. It can reach over 60 percent of the world’s population in 53 countries.

There will be a ceremonial inauguration of transmissions, which will include an exhibition of East Timorese craft and performances by a group of musicians from the territory. Speakers at the ceremonial opening will include Prime Minister Antonio Guterres, Minister Jorge Coelho, RTP ChairwomanManuela Morgado, and a representative of the Timorese community in exile.

### EAST TIMOR INVITES INVESTMENT IN MARBLE MINING

**Jakarta, January 23, 1996, Reuters**

East Timor, which has known marble deposits totalling some 25.4 billion cubic metres, is seeking investors to develop marble mines, the official Antara news agency reported on Tuesday.

José Bonifacio Dos Reis Araujo, head of East Timor’s investment coordinating agency, was quoted by Antara as saying a recent survey found that there were marble deposits in almost all parts of the former Portuguese colony.

The agency said good quality marble deposits were found in a total of 3,500 hectares (8,645 acres) in the Ermera regency and in 4,125 hectares (10,188 acres) in the Covalima regency.

Antara said East Timor also had deposits of gabbro rocks totalling 2.5 billion cubic metres, which could be used to build foundations for houses and roads and as decorations.

José Bonifacio said the East Timor administration was hoping to boost investments in the mining sector.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 after the Portuguese colonialists left, and annexed it the following year. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesian rule in the territory, where a small band of guerrillas is fighting for independence.

### INDONESIAN TROOPS CAPTURE EAST TIMOR REBEL IN BOBONARO

**Jakarta, Jan 23 (Reuter) – Indonesian troops on Tuesday captured a member of the Fretilin guerrilla movement fighting Jakarta’s rule in troubled East Timor, the official Antara news agency said.**

It quoted East Timor’s military spokesman Captain Djoko Purwadi as saying Gusmão Olivio was arrested on Tuesday morning in a house in Bobonaro regency, 140 km (87 miles) southwest of the capital Dili.

He said a squad of 15 soldiers were involved in the arrest, seizing a gun and ammunition.

The agency said at least four members of the movement had surrendered to Indonesian authorities so far this year.

### SIX GUERRILLAS CAPTURED

**translated, edited**

**Jakarta, Jan 25 (LUSA) - The Indonesian army captured Wednesday six Timorese guerrillas in Bobonaro, announced today the**
Antara news agency, citing ET’s military commander, Colonel Simbolon. According to the same source, the captured group belonged to the Fretilin, and was headed by Inacio Naroman. The other five men were identified only as Bonifacio, Florindo, Leobaldo, and Carlito. The six were unarmed and fell into an ambush set up by the Indonesian army, when they were on their way to a village in Bobonaro to obtain logistic support and food for the guerrilla. Colonel Simbolon presented the six men to the press in Dili, and stated they will not be punished because they surrendered without resistance.

SIX EAST TIMORESE SHOT, TWO DETAINED IN VIQUEQUE


DILI, AFP - Six alleged pro-independence rebels were shot dead and two detained by the military in East Timor, the official Antara news agency reported yesterday from Dili, the troubled territory’s capital.

Captain Joko Purwadi, a spokesman for the military commander in East Timor, said that a military team shot dead five alleged rebels from the independence movement Fretilin in the Viqueque area on Friday and another team fatally shot one alleged rebel and detained two others in the Ermera region on the previous day.

The military also seized eight firearms, including four M-16s, from the alleged Fretilin members, Captain Purwadi said.

About 20 people were in the military team in Viqueque, which is on the eastern coast about 200km southeast of Dili, Captain Purwadi said, without giving details about the second team in Ermera, about 70km southwest of Dili.

The alleged rebels killed in Viqueque were identified as Serlau, Mau Sino, Bento Calma, Jose Pendek and Robido Onok.

The man shot to death in Ermera was identified as Kristofa.

Fretilin has fought Indonesia since its troops invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975.

Jakarta unilaterally declared East Timor its 27th province a year later.

CASUALTIES IN THE RESISTANCE

Diario de Noticias, 26 January 1996, Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Indonesia’s official news agency, Antara, reported yesterday that six Timorese guerrillas had been killed by Indonesian soldiers in two recent incidents in the Viqueque and Ermera regions. The spokesperson for the Indonesian Military Command in East Timor, Captain Joko Purwadi, said that five Timorese guerrillas had been killed on 26 January, near Dilor, Viqueque, about 200 kms south-east of Dili. Two M-16 machine guns, an SP-1 and ammunition had been apprehended following the incident.

The sixth victim was killed on 25 January by Indonesian troops during an operation in Atsabe, Ermera, about 45 kms. to the south-west of Dili.

The Indonesian news agency also reported that over the past ten months 27 Timorese guerrillas had either surrendered or been captured.

ABRI ESCALATED FIGHTING, INDOONESIAN TROOPS KILLED IN VIQUEQUE

CNRM Media Release, 30 January 1996

Four Indonesian troops killed, nine injured in Viqueque by East Timorese Falintil guerrillas, as ABRI steps up East Timor operations:

A report from the East Timorese Clandestine Resistance, dated 15 January, just received by CNRM, indicates that the Indonesian occupation forces (ABRI) have increased their military operations aiming to eliminate the East Timorese Falintil armed resistance forces in the operating mountains. This is leading to an increase in casualties.

Four ABRI troops have been killed and nine injured recently.

At the same time in the villages, Indonesian military intelligence personnel (INTEL) have tightened security in all strategic points including the suburbs of Dili. Since last September under the supervision of the brutal Brigadier General Prabowo Sugianto, President Suharto’s son-in-law, these forces have been receiving special training in the locality of Aileu.

In the current offensive campaign, ABRI troopers are divided into groups of ten men who launch night time attacks. At the same time, INTEL members arrest, at their homes, anyone they suspect of supporting the Resistance. During day time ABRI troops hide in bushes near villages, in particular near the water sources, while INTEL personnel monitor villager movements, aiming to detect any incursion of the East Timorese Resistance fighters. While intensive military operations are conducted in the mountains, strict security controls are kept in strategic access roads in and out of villages and bigger cities. Movements of young people are intensively monitored, especially at night time. When the military find young people strolling at night, these are immediately arrested and beaten for no obvious reasons, and then sent home.

Report on some recent occurrences.

1. Lospalos

On 22 November at 5:00 am, the villagers of Rasa and Naulo were woken up by gun shot noises of an armed confrontation between Indonesian troops and East Timorese fighters. Neither side reported losses or injured. That evening, the Indonesian troops conducted house searches in those villages, fearing infiltration by Falintil members. The searches were carried out in a most intimidating manner.

On November 27, ABRI members ambushed a Falintil fighter, Luis dos Santos, between the two villages of Rasa and Naulo, also capturing a FKC rifle and bullets. Luis dos Santos is detained at military intelligence SGI headquarters in Dili.

2. Baucau

On 21 December 1995, a youth by the name of Duarte Belo was beaten mercilessly by an member of the battalion 745 until mouth he bled profusely from the mouth. No reasons were given for the brutal treatment.

On 26 December 1995, Kopassus (Special Forces) members stationed in the village of Loi-Lubo, Vemasse, organised a Christmas party in order to attract participation by local youths. By late night some Kopassus members created disorder and arrested Alfredo Sebastiao da Costa, 25, from the village of Uai-Dare and Bento Pereira, 21, from Kaideno-ossoula, after accusing them of disturbing the party. The Kopassus members responsible are 2nd lieutenant Muhammad Hassan, and private Lorenzo.

On 2 January 1996, the Indonesian military started annihilation operations in the areas of Bagua, Laga, Quelikai and Vemasse, constantly intimidating civilian population of these areas. An unofficial curfew from 5:00 pm to 5:00 am has been imposed by the local military officials.

At Baucau airport there are 4 helicopters and a jet fighter ready to provide assistance to the operational troops. Their registration are: Bell Helicopter HS 5070, Bell Helicopter HS 5075, Bell Helicopter HS 5078, Bell Falcon HA 5702, Sky Hawk A 4

3. Viqueque

In January, Falintil members in the Viqueque region shot dead four Indonesian troops and injured nine. The latter are now being treated at the Wira Husada Military Hospital in Dili.
RIOT IN BECORA PRISON

Amnesty International AI EX012/96
INDONESIA Safety fear
AI Index: ASA 21/08/96, 30 January 1996

Prisoners in Becora Prison, Dili

Amnesty International is concerned for the safety of prisoners in Becora Prison, Dili, the capital of East Timor, after a prison riot during which one prisoner was shot dead.

The riot is believed to have begun around 8am on 30 January, but there are conflicting reports about its cause. Initially the authorities stated that the riots were caused by "a misunderstanding" between the prisoners and officials when prisoners from one block wanted to gain access to another block.

However, the authorities apparently later stated that the riot was a result of an escape attempt by 10 prisoners, two of whom had already been caught. The authorities are reported to have claimed that the remaining eight have not yet been recaptured.

It is believed that up to 40 people, including six prison guards, were wounded during the riot, nine seriously. Eight of the wounded are believed to be in the prison health clinic while another six have been transferred to hospital. It is not clear how the injuries occurred, although it is known that the riot police, brought in to quell the riot, used tear gas.

Amnesty International is concerned for the safety of the prisoners considered to be the ring leaders of the riot and those caught after allegedly attempting to escape. Political and criminal detainees are frequently tortured in Indonesia and East Timor, and Amnesty International is urging that any actions taken by the authorities in investigating the riots and alleged escape attempt do not result in torture or ill-treatment.

Police authorities have admitted that one prisoner, Armindo Soares, was shot dead by riot police, allegedly as he attempted to steal a police weapon. The authorities stated that warning shots were fired but that these were ignored by the prisoner. Given a pattern of police killings of criminals in suspicious circumstances in Indonesia, Amnesty International is urging the authorities to ensure that there be an independent and full investigation of the shooting.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Dili’s Becora prison holds around 200 political and criminal detainees. Both political and criminal detainees are at risk of torture and ill-treatment in police and military detention, although the risk of such treatment is significantly lower once detainees are transferred to prisons. Human rights monitors and foreign journalists are currently being denied access to East Timor, occupied by Indonesia since 1975.

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

- urging the authorities to launch an independent and full inquiry into the shooting of Armindo Soares;
- urging the authorities to ensure that any prisoner to be questioned concerning the riot and the alleged escape attempt is provided with full access to independent legal counsel and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC);
- seeking assurances that none of the prisoners in Becora prison will be subjected to any form of torture or ill-treatment.

APPEALS TO:

CHIEF OF POLICE FOR EAST TIMOR:
Lt. Col. Andreas Sugianto
Kapolda, Dili, East Timor
Telegram: Kapolda, Dili, East Timor

AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
Ali Alatas S.H.
Menteri Luar Negeri
Jl. Medan Taman Pejambon No.6
Jakarta, Indonesia
Fax: +62 21 345 0517/360 517

RIOTS ERUPT AT EAST TIMOR PRISON

JAKARTA, Jan. 30 (UPI) – At least one inmate was killed Tuesday and dozens of others were injured when fiery riots broke out at East Timor’s Dili prison, an official said.

Benny Mathias, head of the justice office in Dili, confirmed to United Press International that one inmate, identified as Armindo da Silva Martin, 20, was dead after he was shot by a security guard.

"The man was against the prison guards and tried to grab a gun," Mathias said.

Inmates set fire to two blocks of cells in an attempt to attract the attention of the prison guards, Mathias said.

Mathias said eight people were hospitalized with serious injuries while 30 others suffered slight injuries when security guards moved in with rubber clubs.

About 100 of the prison’s 257 inmates were involved in the disturbance, Mathias said.

At least 10 prisoners escaped during the melee, but two were apprehended, Mathias said, adding the escape apparently had been planned for sometime.

Tuesday’s incident was the latest to occur in East Timor which was rocked by a string of violent riots in September and October in which at least two persons were killed and dozens injured.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was annexed by Indonesia in 1976 after Jakarta invaded the territory, sparking widespread international criticism and local dissent.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia’s move and regards Portugal as East Timor’s administrative power.

ONE KILLED, 10 ESCAPE IN EAST TIMOR PRISON RIOT

1/30/96

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuters) - One prisoner was killed and 10 escaped Tuesday after a riot in East Timor’s main jail led to a mass breakout attempt, a justice ministry official said.

"It was a revolt with the purpose of escaping from the prison. About 100 prisoners were involved," said Benny Mathaus, head of the justice ministry’s office in the capital Dili.

It was not clear whether the riot was linked to broader unrest in the former Portuguese colony, ruled since 1975 by Indonesia against a backdrop of lingering civilian and armed resistance.

Mathaus, whose department oversees the prison system, told Reuters the prisoners of Becora jail in Dili’s activities when they rioted.

“They attacked the guards with stones so the buildings in the prison were severely damaged. The guards, of which there were only nine, were forced to shoot from above them,” Mathaus said by telephone.

“One man tried to take a gun from a guard. He was given two warning shots and he did not want to retreat. He was shot to overpower him, not kill him, but the bullets severely wounded him and he died,” he said.

He did not give any details about the dead man.

Mathaus said 10 prisoners escaped but two were quickly recaptured. The remaining eight, whom he said were mostly Timorese men, were still on the run nine hours after the breakout. He said 40 prisoners and six guards were slightly injured in the incident, and six people were admitted to hospital.

The jail has 257 inmates, some of whom are political prisoners.
A CHANGED CHURCH: TWO DECADES OF STRUGGLE IN EAST TIMOR HAS MADE FRIENDS AND ENEMIES.


“It has never been worse here. There are more restrictions than ever before. No one can speak. No one can demonstrate. People disappear.” These are the recent words of Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the head of the Catholic church in East Timor.

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded the newly-independent country of East Timor—with U.S. approval and weaponry. Since that time, well over 200,000 East Timorese—about one-third of the pre-invasion population—have died as a result of Indonesia’s bloody occupation.

The Indonesian authorities have destroyed or driven underground all independent East Timorese institutions with the exception of the Church—a beacon of hope for East Timor’s embattled indigenous population. The Church has become a key player in the contest between the Indonesian military and East Timor’s vast resistance movement, often incurring the ire and deep suspicion of the Indonesian authorities.

Since the break up of Portugal’s colonial empire, two decades of struggle for self-determination in tiny East Timor have dramatically altered the Church. Traditionally conservative and aligned with the indigenous and colonial elite, the Roman Catholic church today identifies with the needs and wishes of the poor East Timorese majority. Whereas only one-third of the indigenous population was Catholic in 1975, today the figure stands at about 90 percent.

In 1983, Carlos Belo assumed leadership of the Catholic church. Despite his reputation as conservative and amenable to Indonesian interests, Bishop Belo refused to be silent about ongoing Indonesian atrocities in the territory.

In 1989 he sent a letter to then U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, stating “We are dying as a people and as a nation.” He called upon the world body to oversee a referendum on self-determination in the territory as conservative and amenable to Indonesian ‘empire, two decades of struggle for self-determination in tiny East Timor have dramatically altered the Church.”

Despite 10 U.N. resolutions condemning the invasion and calling for Jakarta’s immediate withdrawal, the United States has never seriously contested Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor. Indeed, successive U.S. administrations have provided Jakarta with hundreds of millions of dollars in military and economic assistance since 1975.

Resource-rich Indonesia, today the world’s 4th most populous country, has long attracted the hungry eyes of the powerful. What Richard Nixon called “by far the greatest prize in the South-East Asian area” is today one of the Clinton administration’s 10 “Big Emerging Markets”—countries that the United States must cultivate to ensure the interests of U.S.-based capital.

During the presidential campaign, Bill Clinton called U.S. policy toward East Timor “unconscionable.” And, indeed, his Administration has taken some noteworthy steps to challenge traditional U.S. complicity with Jakarta’s occupation.

In mid-1993, for example, Clinton’s State Department blocked a proposed sale by the Jordanian government of four U.S.-made F-5E fighter jets to Jakarta. In early 1994, the State Department banned small arms sales to Indonesia and recently added helicopter-mounted weaponry to the ban.

But Jakarta’s continuing economic and strategic importance has exposed the limits of Clinton’s concern for human rights and international law. His Administration has provided almost $300 million in economic assistance to Indonesia over the last three years. During that period, the U.S. has also sold and licensed the sales of tens of millions of dollars in weaponry to Indonesia.

And now the Clinton administration is on the verge of reappropiating International Military Education and Training (IMET) funds to Indonesia. In addition, the administration is trying to unload 17 F-16 fighter jets to Indonesia. Recently Secretary of State Warren Christopher urged Jakarta to buy the aging planes. Jakarta is still undecided, but Adm. William Owens—vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—expressed optimism about the sale during a recent visit to Jakarta.

The U.S. is certainly not alone in its complicity. Canada, Australia, Japan, the United Kingdom and many other Western European countries provide Jakarta with significant material aid and varying amounts of diplomatic cover. Such behavior distresses Bishop Belo. “They are lying about what has happened to us. . . . Their lies and hypocrisy are in the cause of economic interests. We ask the people of the world to understand this, and not to forget that we are here, struggling for life every day.”

FORTUNATELY MANY throughout the world have not forgotten. A significant solidarity movement has developed—especially since the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre when Indonesian troops fired upon a peaceful, pro-independence demonstration at a cemetery in Dili, the East Timorese capital, killing hundreds of men, women, and children.

Eyewitness accounts by Western journalists and a smuggled video of the massacre led to an international outcry. In response to grassroots pressure the U.S. Congress cut off IMET funding in 1992.

Until the massacre, there was a virtual media blackout in North America on the situation in East Timor and seeming blindness on the part of churches. As Rev. John Chamberlin, the National Coordinator of East Timor Religious Outreach explains, “To an extent rarely recognized, the agenda of the religious community is set by the secular, mainstream media. During the years of slaughter in East Timor, there has been almost total silence on the part of U.S. and Canadian churches, making them complicit in the crimes.”

But this situation is slowly changing. Recently national church bodies of the Presbyterian Church (USA) and the United Methodist Church have passed resolutions condemning the Indonesian occupation and calling for an embargo of all U.S. weapons sales to Indonesia. And in January 1996, Bishop Melvin Talbert—who has played a major leadership role in helping to publicize the situation in East Timor to Protestant circles—will assume the presidency of the National Council of Churches in the United States.

Such developments can only encourage the East Timorese. According to Bishop Belo, “Contact with the outside world is very, very important. . . . It gives us hope, and some of us protection. . . . Keep speaking, everyone must keep speaking about us.”

Such solidarity has proven vital to Belo. He might very well be dead without it. Belo has survived a number of assassination attempts and Indonesian intelligence closely monitors all his moves. His phones are tapped, his fax machine is monitored.

His courage has earned him great respect and many admirers. In 1994, he was one of the finalists for the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1995, many saw Belo as the lead candidate for the prestigious award, his nomination championed by a number of prominent people, including former recipients Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and Mairéad Maguire of Northern Ireland.

Within East Timor, however, the situation remains as bad as ever. Torture, extrajudicial executions, and rape of women are routine. “In just about every village I went to I was . . . meeting up to 5 or 6 women who stated that they had been raped in the
past,” reports Australian nurse Simon De Faux who recently spent two months in East Timor working as a volunteer with the Salesian order. De Faux also testified that he treated many torture victims and that he received many credible reports from women complaining of getting unauthorized and unwanted abortions at Indonesian-run hospitals.

What the people of East Timor want is quite simple. As Rev. Arlindo Marcal, Moderator of the Protestant Church of East Timor, explains, “The East Timorese people should be provided the opportunity to decide for themselves whether they really want to be integrated into Indonesia or not.”

As we observe the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, East Timor stands out as a tragic example of the failure of international institutions to protect the most basic of human rights. Rather than to retreat into national isolation, East Timor challenges us to recognize our common humanity and create a world in which human rights, cultural diversity, and international law are respected. Church groups can play a leading role in this struggle.

Matthew Jardine is a writer and researcher on human rights issues and author of East Timor: Genocide in Paradise (Odonian Press, 1995).

Taking Action

Activities related to East Timor are planned for the next two months across Canada and the United States. For more information contact:

East Timor Religious Outreach, 1600 Clay Street, San Francisco, CA 94109; phone and fax: (415)474-6219.

East Timor Action Network/U.S., PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602; phone: (914) 428-7299; fax: (914) 428-7383; email: cscheiner@igc.apc.org.

East Timor Alert Network/Canada, PO Box 562 Station P, Toronto M5S 2T1; phone and fax: (416) 531-5850; email: etantor@web.apc.org.

GOVERNOR’S INSTRUCTION (ON MOSQUES) OPPOSED

Jakarta Post, 2 November 1995. Abridged

The National Commission on Human Rights urged the East Timor administration yesterday to review a ruling compelling non-Catholics to obtain a recommendation from the local Catholic parish priest before they can build a house of worship.

“The gubernatorial decree should be reviewed in order not to prolong misunderstanding between the various religious communities in East Timor,” Commission Chairman Marzuki Darusman told Jakarta by phone.

Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares’ decree No 78/1995 provides that applicants for permits for the establishment of houses of worship have to enclose a recommendation from the local Catholic priest. Marzuki was commenting on the latest development in the rehabilitation programme for mosques in East Timor. The programme is being held up because of permits and funding constraints, chairman of the Indonesian Ulemas Council Hasan Basri, said on Monday, citing a report of the council’s East Timor office, Basri said the office has encountered difficulties in rehabilitating damaged mosques and mushalla (small prayer houses). “They have to wait for a permit from the local Catholic priest,” he said.

Marzuki said yesterday it is the people living in the area surrounding a proposed house of worship who have the authority to provide a recommendation on any application. He said that although the decree is legitimate, the local administration should not be too strict in the implementation. He also called on the people to avoid turning the administrative case into a political issue or linking the decree with the recent rioting.

“The decree was issued in July while the riots took place two months later,” he said. He added that for the repair of mosques no such recommendation is required.

Discrimination in relation to the establishment of houses of worship has been a problem in Indonesia Christians in predominately Muslim areas have often complained of difficulties in building churches. A Joint Decree of the Ministers of Home Affairs and Religious Affairs issued in 1969 stipulates that regents and mayors should take into consideration city planning, local conditions and suggestions from local Ministry of Religion offices.

For several days, Republika has been carrying reports of calls by Muslim organisations for the repeal of Governor Abilio Soares’ decree No 79/1995, claiming that it is hampering the repair of mosques damaged in recent incidents in East Timor.

GOVERNOR’S INSTRUCTION TO BE WITHDRAWN

Republika, 9 November 1995. Abridged

Minister for the Interior Yogie Memed has ordered the governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares, to revoke his Instruction No 79, 1995 which stipulates that the building of houses of worship in East Timor must have the endorsement of the local parish priest. The Instruction does not conform with a Joint Decision of the Interior and Religious Affairs Ministers, according to Yogie.

Before issuing his order to Abilio Soares, Yogie had been summoned by Vice President Try Sutrisno who, the day before had been visited by Hasan Basri, chair of the Ulemas Council, MUI who had told Try of his dissatisfaction with the governor’s instruction.

Complaints against the Instruction began with an article written by Muhammadiyah chair, Amien Rais, in Republika entitled ‘It doesn’t make sense’ on 26 October. According to Hasan Basir, many mosques were damaged during riots in East Timor in September but efforts to repair them have been hampered by this Instruction. [Note that National Commission for Human Rights Deputy Chair, Marzuki Darusman said recently that the Instruction is not related to repairing houses of worship, only to the construction of new ones.]

News of Minister Yogie’s decision was welcomed by Hasan Basir who expressed satisfaction at the speed with which the government has responded to complaints from the Muslim community, especially those living in East Timor. He would soon be sending a message of gratitude to Vice President Try Sutrisno for his help in restoring calm for Muslims in East Timor.

From Timor itself, other opinions have been expressed. Pastor Debrito from the parish of Balide, East Dili believes that the Governor’s Instruction is very necessary. In accordance with the needs of a society where the majority of the people are Catholic. ‘No one need suspect priests of any antipathy towards the existence of other religions in East Timor. The Bishop himself, said Debrito, supported the construction of the An-Nur Mosque in Kampung Alor. And acting Rector of the University of East Timor, Armindo Maia, suggested that repeal of the Governor’s Instruction should be postponed. ‘The Governor’s position regarding religious affairs is at present very complex. On the one hand he confronts the view coming from the grassroot while on the other hand, he must comply with orders from his superiors,’ said Maia. He admitted that the Instruction works in favour of the majority religion. ‘But what’s wrong with that if it helps to lessen tension among the East Timorese?’

The Interior Minister should try to understand the realities in East Timor, said Maia. ‘East Timor cant be compared with other provinces in any way. We don’t want to become a special region. All we ask is to be treated in a special way for the time being, if people at the Centre are really serious about reaching a solution to the question of East Timor,’ he said. He said he could assure people that the Instruction would not obstruct the development of other religions.
‘If anyone does create obstacles, we should investigate such complaints,’ he said.

FORUM FORMED TO EASE CATHOLIC/MUSLIM TENSION

By Yuli Ismartono

JAKARTA, Nov 7 (IPS) - Indonesian authorities hope tensions between the predominantly Catholic people of East Timor and Muslim migrants from other islands will ease with the setting up of an inter-religion forum in the Timorese capital of Dili.

A wave of violence has swept East Timor in recent months, triggered by a remark in September by a Muslim official describing Catholicism as a “nonsense religion.”

East Timorese rioted, burning cars on the streets, mosques and Protestant churches. They also set fire to markets owned by traders from Sulawesi and harassed other migrants, forcing hundreds to seek refuge in neighbouring West Timor.

This prompted the government to establish a consultation forum recently, comprising representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, the Indonesian Community of Churches representing the Protestants, the Indonesian Council for Muslim Ulemas, the Indonesian Hindu Council and the Dharma Buddha Foundation.

Academics and religious leaders attending a seminar last week called for mutual understanding and increased tolerance, fearing the conflict would spread to other parts of the country if it was not properly quelled.

Indonesia’s constitution guarantees freedom of religion among its 190 million citizens, 90 per cent of whom are Muslims.

There are about six million Roman Catholics in Indonesia, more than 800,000 of them in East Timor.

The former Portuguese colony was annexed by Jakarta in 1976 but the United Nations does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over the territory.

Religious differences have always been a sensitive issue in Indonesia, whose people come from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

But analysts say the recent violence in East Timor is not just based on religion but rather a part of the people’s discontent towards the Jakarta government.

Despite the dwindling numbers of separatist guerrillas, there is still some opposition to integration with Indonesia, which continues to be a source of instability in the area. The military’s strong-arm tactics in preserving the peace have also not endeared them to the locals.

The sensitive situation is also aggravated by the slow development of the East Timor economy, whose per capita gross domestic product (GDP) is the lowest among Indonesia’s 27 provinces.

“Cases of violence in East Timor stem from (the people’s) struggle to catch up with rapid economic changes and from their envy of migrants, who control the local economy,” said scholar and Catholic priest Frans Magnis Suseno at a recent seminar.

The situation prompted President Soeharto himself to recently call for peaceful coexistence among the various religious communities. He said the diversity of religion should not divide the people and undermine national unity.

“Our goal is a nation in which all citizens, regardless of their religion, ethnicity or race, can improve their welfare, physically and spiritually,” he told the national congress of the Indonesian Bishops Assembly meeting in Jakarta last week.

Cardinal Julius Darmoatmadja, who heads the assembly of 36 bishops and archbishops, said Catholics must set aside differences and find common ground with followers of other religions to ensure unity and stability.

His call came amid proposals by the National Commission on Human Rights for a review of a regulation in East Timor requiring non-Catholics to secure the approval of a local Catholic parish priest before building a mosque.

“The governor’s decree should be reviewed in order not to prolong misunderstandings between the various religious communities in East Timor,” the commission’s deputy chairman, Marzuki Darusman, told the ‘Jakarta Post’ newspaper.

He cited reports of the Indonesian Council of Muslim Ulemas complaining of difficulties experienced by their members in repairing damaged mosques in East Timor.

But critics say a similar situation applies to Christians when they want to build churches or houses of worship in predominantly Muslim areas. Not surprisingly, the Indonesian Bishops’ Conference has asked that the criteria for obtaining church-building permits also be simplified.

Such issues will be the focus of the new inter-religious forum established in Dili.

Given the extreme sensitivity of the matter, government officials and parliamentarians are asking religious leaders to prevent the forum from becoming political.

Said Samuel Alex Petruz, deputy chairman of the East Timor provincial legislative council: “It should not be a place for politicking, it’s a communication forum for different religious groups to solve problems.”

SOEHARTO: EAST TIMOR GIVEN NO SPECIAL TREATMENT

From Jakarta Post, Nov. 29(?)

President Soeharto declared yesterday that East Timor will not receive special treatment in any area, including the establishment of religious organizations.

Such Moslem organizations as Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama may now “move” and open branches in the predominantly Roman Catholic province, Soeharto was quoted as saying by Amien Rais, chairman of the 28 million member Muhammadiyah.

Speaking to reporters after meeting Soeharto, Amien said that there is no written regulation against establishing Moslem organizations in East Timor.

“Muhammadiyah can open (branches) in East Timor,” Amien said in response to the Ministry of Home Affairs’ recent suggestion that Moslem organizations not open branches, at least for the time being, in East Timor.

“Opening branches there is not meant to propagate Islam among Catholic believers, but to help Moslems there, especially members of Muhammadiyah, maintain their faith,” Amien said.

Currently there are no proper Moslem organizations in East Timor and Amien quoted the President as saying that steps will have to be taken to ensure the peaceful establishment of any new branches.

The youngest province has long been rocked by racial and religious tensions. A number of riots took place in September after a Moslem prison-warden made denigrating remarks about Catholicism.

Similar tension, however, also exist between Catholic followers and Christians.

Following the riots, Dili Bishop Felipe Ximenes Belo reportedly suggested that East Timor be declared a special Roman Catholic region. A great number of people have reacted strongly to the suggestion, which Belo later denied making.

“It’s impossible to turn East Timor into a special region for Catholicism,” Soeharto said yesterday as quoted by Amien Rais.

“No special treatment.”

“There’s something strange.....the development in Indonesia has often been praised by the international world, but when it comes to East Timor, the image becomes poor,” Soeharto said.

Soeharto blamed the condition on the relentless campaign by certain parties abroad which continue exploiting the question of East Timor.

“There’s no such thing as referendum in our book,” Soeharto said, adding that the
process of East Timor’s integration into Indonesia is complete.

**RELIGIOUS PROVOCATIONS IN WESTERN TIMOR**

*From Alan Dermody, Nov. 30*

Reports from Atambua in West Timor, speak of deliberate provocations of Catholics in this border region with East Timor. These acts follow a series of similar insults of Catholic religious symbols in areas of East Indonesia and East Timor in recent months, making a pattern clearly noticeable.

On Sunday 24 November in the morning mass at the Catholic Cathedral of Atambua, a member of another faith took the holy communion host, spat it on the floor and trampled upon it.

He was taken into the sanctuary by the priest to protect him from the angry congregation. After mass, people broke into the church and beat the host profanator to death.

That afternoon and evening a crowd of several thousand people marched in protest to the Atambua Bishop’s residence (Bishop Paing Ratu), who asked them to disperse.

During the demonstration at least one other person was killed. Reports on this incident vary. He is said to have been a member of the military, supposedly killed when a tree branch on which other spectators of the demonstration had climbed, fell on him. Another version mentions him as a member of the police, who was struck by a tree branch after coarsely dealing with a nun.

Cardinal Etchegaray’s visit to the territory could be the “suitable opportunity,” which could be the Cardinal Etchegaray’s visit to the territory in late February, on the invitation of Msgr. Belo.

According to reports received by Publico, the Vatican has made considerable progress in its decision to create a second “or even a third” Catholic diocese in East Timor. When the decision is implemented, the current Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Ximenes Belo, will become Bishop of Baucau (eastern part of East Timor), and the Timorese capital will have a new Bishop. The priest who is said to have accepted the new position is apparently East Timorese and close to Bishop Ximenes himself. However, premature publication of his identity could lead his non-appointment (in line with the Vatican’s usual practice).

Speaking on the telephone, Ximenes Belo was reluctant to comment on the news, and referred enquiries to the Vatican. He did, however, confirm that he himself had invited to the territory Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, Chairman of the Justice and Peace Pontifical Council, who is a kind of permanent ambassador for the Pope to countries in difficult situations. In recent years, the Cardinal has visited countries such as the former USSR, Cuba and China, and opened communication channels between the Vatican and the respective governments.

Etchegaray’s visit to East Timor could take place towards the end of next February. Could the visit be an opportunity for the Vatican to get first-hand information on the situation there? Msgr. Belo’s reserved reply to this question put to him by Publico was “I invited him here for one or two days to talk and meet with the priests.”

The Cardinal’s visit could be a final stage before the Holy See advances with its decision on the second diocese. Father José Pacheco da Silva, Proctor of the Salesian Order (religious order to which Ximenes Belo belongs), believes that “if Cardinal Etchegaray is going to Timor, it is to find out about the situation there.” He also said there might even be “a third diocese,” and that a “suitable opportunity” for making such a decision is awaited. It was not possible to obtain confirmation of the date of Etchegaray’s visit to Timor. Etchegaray is currently away, and only expected to return in early January.

**TIMOR DIVIDED BY VATICAN**

*Publico, 20 December 1995. Translated from Portuguese*

**CREATION OF NEW DIOCESE FORCES BISHOP BELO OUT OF DILI**

Lisbon – Msgr. Ximenes Belo, the Apostolic Administrator of Dili, is to leave the Timorese capital and transfer to the diocese of Baucau, newly created by the Holy See. Bishop Belo’s substitute in Dili has already been chosen, and received by the Nuncio in Jakarta. The move is now just matter of a “suitable opportunity,” which could be the Cardinal Etchegaray’s visit to the territory in late February, on the invitation of Msgr. Belo.

The initial reaction of the priest chosen to take Ximenes Belo’s place in Dili was negative, in accordance with guidelines from the presbyteral council (Bishop’s advisory body). However, he later agreed to accept, so as to avoid a pro-Indonesian person being chosen.

The transfer of Bishop Belo to the new Baucau diocese does have a practical justification: most of the approximately 20 priests in the area which would be under his jurisdiction would be Salesians. This would not be the case in the part that would be under Dili, where most of the clergy would be diocesan or belong to other religious orders.

First impressions suggest that the changes in the ecclesiastic administration of East Timor would benefit Indonesia. However, in the territory itself, they are seen in a different light: the division would mean having two Bishops to defend the rights of the Timorese, unless of course the Vatican were to make the “tremendous mistake” of appointing someone pro-Indonesian. “The people would not have the slightest respect for him and, effectively, the only Bishop would continue to be Msgr. Ximenes.”

There is no guarantee that the existence of two Bishops would result in the constitution of an autonomous Episcopal conference. Ximenes Belo is “Apostolic Administrator” of Dili, and has no link to the Indonesian Catholic Bishops’ Conference. Even if there were two Bishops, the Vatican might prefer to continue with the present situation. Neither does Canon Law establish a fixed rule in this case. It refers to an Episcopal conference for the territory of a “same nation.” According to Canon 448, in exceptional cases, and providing that “the circumstances of the people or things dictate,” there may be an Episcopal conference for a territory “of lesser or greater size” than a country. In Africa and Asia, for example, various Catholic Episcopal conferences congregate the Bishops from different countries. Very recently, some Catalan Bishops supported the idea of setting up their own autonomous conference, independent of the Spanish conference. This idea, however, was rejected by the Vatican.

According to Bishop Ximenes Belo (interview in Publico, 20 May 1995), the Timorese Church is currently in a period of “growth, activity, liveliness and youthfulness.” The approximately 700,000 Catholics are served by a group of around 80 priests.
(of which 29 are Timorese) and 220 nuns, spread over 30 parishes, 66 missionaries stations, and 98 pastoral centres.

According to a religious source, the Church is badly lacking in resources. For example, there are no basic materials such as missals and bibles - at least in Portuguese. Two years ago, the Bishop of Macao made a gift of one thousand bibles to the people of the territory, but they were never unloaded: the Indonesians say that books in Portuguese are not allowed into East Timor. The Timorese are certain that the bibles have all been thrown into the sea.

The same source believes that there may be another explanation for Indonesian influence over the Vatican - the fact that Jakarta has a very strong pressure group working in Rome (in comparison with the apparent absence of the Portuguese state and episcopacy), keeping the Vatican informed of the "other version" of events in the territory. Being a lone Bishop, Ximenes does not have the same clout as an Episcopal Conference would have. In the latter case, information would have to be channelled through Portugal or by the Portuguese Church. The source went on to say that information, even false information, helps considerably to build up a picture.

VATICAN, JAKARTA WEAKENING CHURCH

BBC Monitoring, 29 December 1995, courtesy TAPOL.

The East Timorese resistance movement today accused the Vatican of joining forces with Indonesia in an attempt to weaken the East Timorese church and its Bishop, Ximenes Belo. Speaking by phone from Sydney, Fretilin (sic) spokesman Ramos Horta told Portuguese TV that neither he nor Dili Bishop Ximenes were happy with the Vatican's decision to transfer Belo to a new diocese to be set up in Baucau, around 100km east of Dili.

'It is obvious that Indonesia and the Vatican have exactly the same intentions, to weaken the diocese of Dili, to weaken Belo,' Horta said. 'Bishop Belo has already said that he does not agree with the division of East Timor into more than one diocese because of the present unrest in the territory. He said that what is needed right now is to name another bishop, a deputy bishop for Dili, someone who may assist Bishop Belo,' Horta said.

We oppose totally any decision by the Vatican which may satisfy Indonesian pressure, Indonesian political pressure,' he said, adding that Fretilin (sic) would be contacting the Vatican immediately in order to discuss the issue.

We have not yet seen any news report about a decision by the Vatican to split the East Timor diocese into two. TAPOL

EAST TIMOR DIOCESE: NO DECISION YET

TAPOL Report, 4 January 1996

Although the Portuguese media has been full of reports since before Christmas to the effect that Vatican has decided to split the East Timor diocese into two, I have been informed by the Portuguese embassy in London that the Vatican has not yet taken a decision on the matter.

According to press reports, the priest who will take over as the Bishop of Dili is Fr Basilio, a Timorese who is currently at a seminary in Evoro, Portugal.

It is known that Cardinal Echegaray, who heads the Pontifical Council for Peace and Justice and who has special responsibility for Vatican relations with 'trouble spots,' is due to visit East Timor before the end of February. That visit is the result of a request to the Vatican from Bishop Belo. It is not clear whether the decision about the diocese will be taken before or after that visit.

INDONESIAN GETS FOUR YEARS JAIL OVER TIMOR RIOT

DILI, East Timor, Nov 23 (Reuters) - An Indonesian prison official was sentenced to four years and 10 months in jail on Thursday for insulting another religion in an incident which sparked widespread rioting in troubled East Timor.

A district court in Maliana, 80 km (50 miles) west of Dili, found Sanusi Abubakar guilty of insulting another religion.

"The defendant is guilty of insulting another religion," presiding judge Sinarius Misnan said when sentencing Abubakar in a heavily-guarded trial session.

Youths in the mostly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony rioted in Maliana, Dili and Viqueque in September when news of the derogatory comments against Catholicism made by Abubakar spread through the Indonesian-controlled territory.

Meanwhile, on Wednesday Dili district court started the trial of three East Timorese youths accused of assault and property destruction during the September riots in the capital.

The charge of assault and destruction carries a maximum sentence of two years in jail.

Police estimated the damage from the rioting, which included the burning down of Dili’s main Komoro market, at around two billion rupiah ($800,000).

Komoro is among the several markets in East Timor dominated by Moslem Buginese traders from the southern part of Indonesia’s Sulawesi island.

Religion and ethnicity are sensitive issues in East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

East Timor’s Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo has said the rioting was due to the Indonesian government’s failure to address religious and ethnic tensions.

Police earlier said about 20 people would be brought to court in connection to the September rioting.

MALIANA JAIL WARDEN SENTENCED

AFP, Jakarta (from Brisbane Courier Mail, Nov 24, 1995)

Former Maliana jail warden, Sanusi Abubakar (35), was found guilty of insulting religion in public by a state court in Maliana, 138 km west of Dili and sentenced to almost 5 years jail. [heading to article says ‘Four years for riot remark’]

Chief judge, Sinarius Misnan, said the court had decided on the guilty verdict after hearing testimonies from 12 witnesses, who said that Abubakar openly insulted Catholicism.

Prosecutor Wayan Dana Arianta asked for 5 years, the maximum sentence for the crime.

Reports of Abubakar’s remarks sparked 2 days of violent riots in September in Dili and other areas. Six police officers and at least 16 civilians were injured. More than 800 Muslim settlers have since left East Timor.

SECOND PRISON OFFICIAL JAILED OVER TIMOR RIOT

JAKARTA, Jan 16 (Reuters) - An Indonesian prison official was sentenced to four years in jail on Tuesday for insulting another religion in an incident which sparked widespread rioting in troubled East Timor, the official Antara news agency reported.

It quoted presiding judge Takarias (eds: one name) as handing down the verdict that the 30-year-old Zakarias Sake, a prison official in the East Timorese town of Maliana, was guilty of insulting another religion.

"The defendant is guilty of insulting another religion," Takarias was quoted as saying at the Maliana district court 80 km (50 miles) west of the East Timorese capital of Dili.

Youths in the predominantly Catholic former Portuguese colony rioted in Maliana, Dili and Viqueque last September when news of the official’s derogatory comments against Catholicism spread through the Indonesian-controlled territory.

The same court sentenced another Indonesian prison official, Sanusi Abubakar, to four years and 10 months in jail last November on similar charges.

Police estimated the damage in the rioting, which included the burning down of Dili’s main Komoro market, at around two billion rupiah ($800,000). Komoro is among several markets in East Timor dominated by Moslem Buginese traders from the southern part of Indonesia’s Sulawesi island.

Religion and ethnicity are sensitive issues in East Timor which Indonesia invaded in 1975. Indonesia proclaimed the territory its 27th province the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

**AHI NAKLAKAN DELEGATION DEPORTED FROM EAST TIMOR**


A simultaneous lighting of candles and vigil around the world-to-be sparked from inside East Timor—will culminate this year’s commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre. The symbolic flame will emanate from a light flown out of East Timor by group of International luminaries who will pray and lay a wreath at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on November 9.

Dubbed “Ahi Naklakan” (East Timorese term for “light”), the world wide vigil calls for the immediate release of all political prisoners in East Timor and Indonesia including resistance leader Xanana Gusmão. It also calls for the implementation of the Geneva protocols in the bloodied territory. The action is also demanding that the United Nations intervene more forcefully and allow international opinion away from its invasion of East Timor since 1975. The United Nations has never recognized the Indonesian annexation, but has yet to implement its own resolutions calling on the Suharto regime to leave the territory. Only Australia has officially recognized Indonesia’s action in exchange for a joint exploitation with Jakarta of oil reserves in the Timor Gap.

Ahi Naklakan aims to demonstrate a unified call for peace and justice in East Timor.

Other expected actions emanating from this campaign will include simultaneous demonstrations outside Indonesian embassies and the placing of the “Ahi Naklakan” candles outside its premises. The campaign will climax on December 10, International Human Rights Day. December 7 also marks the 20th year of the Indonesian invasion.

APCET coordinator Gus Miclat says that “Ahi Naklakan” not only symbolizes the thousands of lives sacrificed in the East Timorese struggle for self-determination, but also embodies their blazing hope of eventual liberation.

For reference: Gus Miclat, Coordinator APCET

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Phone/fax 63-2-921-6774. Email iid@emc.gn.apc.org

**INDONESIA BARDED DELEGATION FROM FLYING TO DILI**

JAKARTA, Nov 9 (Reuters) - Indonesian officials prevented foreign activists from commemorating the 1991 killing of unarmed protesters in East Timor on Thursday by expelling seven and barring eight from entering the territory, officials said.

The so-called peace pilgrimage by American, Japanese, Australasian and European individuals highlighted the issue of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesian forces in 1975 and has been ruled with an iron hand since.

“I asked them to leave and I would have used force if they refused,” Y.S. Triswoyo,
East Timor’s immigration chief, told Reuters by telephone from Dili.

The incidents follow the departure of eight East Timorese youths for Portugal on Wednesday after seeking asylum in the Dutch embassy in Jakarta 24 hours earlier.

A member of the expelled group, Reed Brody, told Reuters by telephone after arriving in Bali that the group included Namibian MP Daniel Botha and American, German, Australian and Filipino activists.

“We were told no tourist would be allowed in Dili before the 12th of November and we would have to leave for security reasons,” Brody, adding that only six members of the expelled group were on the flight.

Residents in Dili reported increased military security in the town before the anniversary on Sunday of the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, when troops shot dead at least 50 people who were taking part in a procession to mourn the death of a pro-independence activist.

The expelled six were Botha, Americans Brody and Brian Brown, Australian Aboriginal poet Lionel Fogerty, an Australian doctor Andrew McNaughton and an Australian journalist travelling with the delegation.

Officials said seven had been expelled.

Brody said another three, who could not be found by authorities on Thursday morning, were to be expelled overland.

Their expulsion followed the earlier barring of eight dignitaries from boarding a flight to Dili. Officials told them it was for their own safety, one of the group, European MP Patricia McKenna, told Reuters from Bali.

The eight also included Senator David Norris from Ireland, Bishop Soma from Japan, Anglican minister Ann Batten from New Zealand, and Paul Stewart, an Australian musician and a brother of a journalist killed in East Timor in 1975.

The Indonesian foreign ministry said in a statement it regretted several “foreign dignitaries” had been prevented from boarding a plane.

The statement said the decision was made because of continuing activities by anti-integration groups in creating disorder in East Timor. Brody, an American human rights lawyer, said his group arrived in Dili on Tuesday and Wednesday and had been under surveillance the entire time.

“When we went to the beach on Wednesday night to try and find somewhere to talk we were surrounded by at least 15 riot police and virtually forced back into our hotel,” he said.

Brody said the group was disappointed they were unable to hold an ecumenical service in the Santa Cruz cemetery but their experience would draw attention to the plight of East Timorese.

“I think we experienced in a very mild way for 24 hours what the people of East Timor experience all the time,” he said.

Triswoyo said he feared that the groups could undermine stability, adding their activities were not compatible with their status as tourists.

“I know that they are trying to collect information. It is not natural that tourists are collecting information,” Triswoyo said. “It would be better for them not to have come this time.”

INDONESIA EXPELS E TIMOR VISITORS
By Sukino Harisumarto

JAKARTA, Nov. 9 (UPI) – Indonesian security authorities Thursday expelled seven foreigners from East Timor and prevented the several other dignitaries from boarding a flight to the troubled province three days before anticipated demonstrations marking the anniversary of the massacre in Dili.

Immigration officials said there was a fear for the visitors’ safety if violence erupts during the commemoration of the Nov. 12, 1991, massacre in which dozens of protesters were killed during a funeral.

Reed Brody, an attorney from the United States, told United Press International by telephone from the Indonesian tourist city of Bali that he and his six colleagues were expelled from East Timor after a brief 24-hour stay in the former Portuguese colony.

He said 15 Indonesian security police told them to leave the beach they were visiting.

“This morning, we were lectured by head of (Dili) immigration who told us to make sure only to behave as tourists, if not, we will be picked up one by one,” Brody said.

“But then at about 11:30 Thursday, Triswoyo, the head of the immigration in East Timor told us that we would all have to leave and that no tourist would be allowed in Dili before the 12th of November. We and the other tourists would have to leave now for security reasons,” Brody said. A group led by Japanese

Bishop Aloisius Nobuo Soma, who is also Honorary Chairperson of the Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor (APCET), was prevented from leaving on their chartered plane from East Java’s capital of Surabaya for East Timor.

The party had planned to lay a wreath and pray for the victims of the Nov. 12, 1991 Dili massacre, but the flight was canceled after Indonesian officials told them that as of Thursday, East Timor officially was closed.

“I arrived today (Thursday) at the Surabaya airport with the intention to board a flight for Dili, East Timor but was asked to deplane from my Sempati flight at the airport by the Indonesian government,” Soma said in a statement.

During the Dili massacre, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on demonstrators at a funeral in East Timor’s Santa Cruz cemetery, killing dozens of protesters.

The government admitted that 50 people were killed in the incident, but international human rights groups put the death toll at more than 200. The incident sparked international outcry and focused attention on Indonesia’s nearly 20 years of rule in the former Portuguese colony.

Immigration officials in Jakarta confirmed the expulsions, saying the visitors were in East Timor with unclear reasons.

Rahardi Suropawiro, director of control and execution for the immigration office, told the state-run Antara news agency that the move was taken because of fears the visitors could be in danger if there are demonstrations commemorating the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre.

Suropawiro said the foreigners’ presence could incite East Timor residents to protest the massacre.

Brig. Gen. Suwarno Adiwijoyo, meanwhile, said the immigration office had authority to expel the foreigners.

“The immigration has its own reason to do the move...maybe the foreigners’ presence in East Timor was not in line with the existing procedures,” Adiwijoyo said.

INDONESIANS STOP PEACE PILGRIMAGE TO EAST TIMOR

Press Release from Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor, 9 November 1995

An international peace pilgrimage to East Timor was prevented by Indonesian authorities from proceeding from Bali today.

The group was led by Japanese Bishop Aloisius Nobuo Soma, Honorary Chairperson of the Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor (APCET) which initiated the aborted visit. Soma’s party included Irish senator David Norris, European Green Party parliamentarian Patricia McKenna, Maori leader Naida Pau, New Zealand Greenpeace leader and Anglican minister Rev. Ann Batten, Australian performer Paul Stewart and Soma’s British interpreter. A Japanese journalist tagging along was likewise stopped.

The party was already inside their Guruda flight for Dili this morning when Indonesian officials asked them to deplane. They were told that East Timor was officially closed starting today.

Indonesian authorities have in the past declared that East Timor, which they forci-
bly annexed in 1975, was open to anyone wishing to visit. They claimed that every-
thing was normal in their “27th province.”

But the United Nations has never recog-
nized Indonesian authority over the former
Portuguese colony. Only Australia has offi-
cially accepted Jakarta’s sovereignty in ex-
change for a joint oil exploration of the
Timor Gap that separates the island from
the Australian continent.

The peace pilgrimage planned to lay a
wreath and pray for the victims of the No-
vember 12, 1991 Dili massacre. Almost 300
people were killed in that carnage which the
world saw on video.

East Timorese exiles and their supporters
all over the world are organizing protest ac-
tions and vigils outside Indonesian legations
in their respective locales.

They are likewise pressing for the release
of all political prisoners in East Timor and
Indonesia, the application of all Geneva pro-
tocols in the territory and the monitoring of
independent international agencies.

Soma’s party was planning to rendez-
vous with an earlier group that succeeded in
entering Dili earlier.

STATEMENT ON BEING DENIED
ENTRY TO DILI, EAST TIMOR
By Aloisius Nobuo Soma, Retired Bishop
Emeritus of the Diocese of Nagoya, Japan;
Chairperson, Asia-Pacific Coalition for East
Timor (APCET)

I arrived today, November 9, at the Surabaya
Airport with the intention to board a
flight for Dili, East Timor but was asked to
deplane from my Sempati flight at the air-
port by the Indonesian Government.

I am a Japanese Catholic Bishop and a
close friend of the leader of the Catholic
Church in East Timor, Bishop Belo. The
purpose of my trip to East Timor was to
pray for the souls of the victims of the ter-
rible Santa Cruz massacre that took place on
November 12, 1991.

According to investigations by respected
international human rights organizations, the
precious lives of 273 youths were taken by
Indonesian troops in this incident. Yet the
Indonesian Government has still not re-
vealed the truth about what happened, and
to this day we do not know the full reality.
Of particular concern is the fact that the
bodies of the victims have never been re-
turned to their families, and the youths who
went missing after the incident, almost the
same number as those who were killed, are
largely still unaccounted for to this day.

Surely, any human being would be natu-
really moved to mourn such a terrible tragedy
that claimed the lives of so many people and
to want to offer prayers for them. But as a
Catholic Bishop representing many Catholic
faithful in Japan, I feel it a duty incumbent
upon me to go to the Santa Cruz cemetery
and offer prayers there where the actual in-
cident took place.

I hereby express great regret that the car-
rying out of my work of the Catholic
Church has been prevented in this way by
the Indonesian Government’s deporting me
and I hereby protest this action.

Aloisius Nobuo Soma
9 November 1995

The following statements were issued
before the group was prevented from car-
rying out their pilgrimage:

Statement of the East Timor Ahi Nak-
lakan Pilgrim Group

We are pilgrims of peace.

Together, we journeyed to East Timor to
lay a wreath and pray for the victims of the
1991 Dili massacre and for all those who
have been killed or blighted by the 20 year
occupation of this gentle nation by the
armed forces of Indonesia.

We went in peace and we come out in
peace, re-affirming our commitment to a
peaceful and honorable solution to the dis-
cord in this strife-torn country.

For peace has been elusive in East Timor.
And the people there continue to live in vio-
ient circumstances.

Lately, young East Timorese have been
summarily arrested, and like before, some
have never been heard of again.

This is but a reprise to the tragedy that
has befallen virtually every East Timorese
family who have lost someone or a friend
since Suharto’s forces invaded them in 1975.
But what is disturbing is that the Suharto
regime is trying to sow more discord by
claiming that the recent disturbances are re-
ligiously inspired.

This is a blatant and desperate lie.

Our group included respected Indonesian
Muslim leaders. We all saw that the prob-
lem is rooted not in ethnic or religious prem-
ises but in the complete disregard of the ba-
sic human right of the East Timorese people
to determine the course of their lives. A
growing movement of Indonesians are sig-
ificantly, albeit belatedly, finding out this
truth.

And as we remembered the dead in Santa
Cruz cemetery, we likewise prayed for the
living.

We prayed that those who continue to
struggle for peace may continue to be ener-
gized by the historical inevitability of jus-
tice.

We prayed that governments, especially in
the region which have been fraternally silent
over the two-decade genocide should surface
from their quiet complicity and exert their
influence in mediating a peaceful solution to
the conflict.

We have likewise prayed for the brave
Indonesian people who continue to struggle
for their own freedoms.

And as we pray, we have today also
brought out from East Timor a blazing light
of peace, the Ahi Naklakan.

As we speak this light will simultane-
ously burn all over the world until Decem-
ber 10, Human Rights Day. East Timorese
exiles, their friends and supporters will light
torches and candles and some will place
them outside Indonesian embassies,
churches or parks.

Ahi Naklakan will be kept aflame until
Suharto releases all political prisoners; ap-
ply the Geneva protocols in the conduct of
the conflict and allow the International Red
Cross/Crescent and the United Nations to
set up regular monitoring stations inside
East Timor.

These humble demands of the East
Timorese, if positively responded to, can be
a first step in the process of healing, in the
quest for lasting and genuine peace.

May the Ahi Naklakan continue to shine
in all the dark corners of this world and in
the depths of our hearts forever.

AHI NAkLAKAN PARTICIPANT
PROFILES

CAHYA PILGRIM TOUR
AHI NAkLAKAN
participant personal profiles

IRELAND:

1. Senator David Norris, prominent Irish
politician, on the Irish Foreign Affairs Par-
lamentary Committee which advises the
Irish Government on foreign policy. Senator
Norris is world authority on James Joyce,
and has toured the world lecturing on this
subject. He is noted author, broadcaster and
playwright. He has broadcast and published
internationally on a variety of literary, social
and legal topics. Senator Norris is Chairman
of the James Joyce Cultural Center, Trustee
of the James Joyce Foundation, and Life
member of the University of Dublin Phi-
losophical Society. Senator Norris is also a
Committee Member of the Irish Council of
Civil Liberties. He was awarded the Walter
Wormser Harris Prize Gold Medal for Eng-
lish Literature.

2. Euro Parliamentarian Mrs Patricia
McKenna, Vice President of the Greens in
the European Parliament. Elected as Ire-
land’s first Green MEP in 1994 by a large
vote, she sits on committees dealing with
EU legislation on the environment, fisheries
and women’s rights. Among her parliamen-
tarian victories are securing support for a
ban on driftnet use in fisheries, and jointly
writing various motions against nuclear test-
ing adopted by the European Parliament.
Patricia McKenna has a history of several
years involvement in the free East Timor campaign. She has heavily criticised EU countries such as Britain and Germany for their supply of weapons to Indonesia.

NEW ZEALAND:
3. Reverend Ann Batten, one of the first NZ women ordained in the Anglican Church. In NZ she is politically active in Maori self-determination issues. She is also active in social justice issues, including the Anti-Nuclear and Independence movement, as well as anti-racism issues in NZ, and women’s equality. She is a member of Greenpeace, and has a strong background in the support of Maori environmental issues. Rev Batten is also a Labor parliamentary candidate for Auckland. Her most recent action was to organise a charter “Women’s Peace Flight” to Tahiti to protest against French nuclear testing and to support the Tahitian pro-independence movement. She attained high media profile both in NZ and Tahiti as a result of this action.

4. Naida Pou, Maori Activist. During the last decade, Naida Pou has been active to advance the social, economic and political status of the Tangata Whenua (indigenous) people of Aotearoa, as equal partners in the Waitangi founding treaty of New Zealand. She has sought to promote sovereign power and cultural integrity of her people.

In the past five years her focus has been on the health system, where she has developed strategic directions for Maori Health within Auckland Health care, the largest health institution in New Zealand and the largest single organization in the country.

Naida is also involved in work aiming to reform the justice system. She is chairperson of the Auckland District Maori Council, regional Maori representative body. Her position as Commissioner on the Waitangi Fisheries Commission is of great importance towards ensuring future equitable fisheries resource distribution for the Maori people.

AUSTRALIA
5. Paul Stewart has actively been involved in the campaign for an independent East Timor since his brother Tony Stewart 21, was killed along with four other Australian based journalists by Indonesian troops in Balibo in 1975. He has attended many rallies and organize numerous fund raisers and benefits for the cause in the past 20 years.

A member of noted Australian rock band The Painters and Dockers, he was one of the main organizers of “The All In The Family” compilation CD released 12 months ago which features top Australian rock acts Midnight Oil and others. Sold in large numbers both in Australian and Internationally, the CD has raised close to $40,000 which at Bishop Belo’s request has gone towards setting up the ‘Oan Kiak’ scholarship to help East Timorese orphans.

6. Lionel Fogarty, is one the most acclaimed Aboriginal poets and writers in the new wave of Black Australian literature. He has published seven anthologies of poems. He has been at the forefront of Black political struggle since the early 70’s. His words have given shape and depth to the innermost realities of his people.

Lionel is one of the few Black political leaders who has held to a broader sense of political struggle. He has spoken out on a variety of issues, keeping himself conversant with the struggles and tragedies of oppressed peoples around the world. He travels widely, speaking about his land and people. Lionel has followed closely the plight of the people of East Timor.

7. Andrew McNaughton, a Darwin medic for the past 3 years and a member of “Australians For A Free East Timor, Andre has thrown himself into advocacy for human rights for East Timor, including visiting and being ejected by the Indonesian military for filming demonstrations, and creating a photo exhibition of WW2 military involvement in East Timor by Japan and Australia which led to 60,000 largely unrecognised deaths then.

NAMIBIA:
8. Daniel Botha Former Member of the Parliament, Namibia. Mr. Botha was Deputy Whip of SWAPO at the Namibian National Assembly from 1990 to present. He was a member of the Namibian Constituent Assembly in 1989. Prior to the assembly, he was for five years a lecturer of Religious Studies at the University of Namibia. He is a member of the Dutch Reformed Church (Protestant). Mr. Botha is currently on a fellowship at the Center for Studies in Religion and Society, University of Victoria, Canada. He is also actively involved in South-South solidarity exchanges.

JAPAN:

An ex-Japanese soldier in the Pacific with a horror of war has long been active in peace and humanitarian issues in Japan, the Middle East, the Americas, the UN and East Timor.

Bishop Soma has appealed on behalf of East Timor before the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, and presented petitions to the UN Secretary General on behalf of Asian Bishops and other church leaders.

He established and chaired the Persian Gulf Refugees Relief Committee, and made investigative missions to the Middle East in the early 1990s. He has visited Central and South America, as well as East Timor on survey tours.

Bishop Soma is the Honorary Chairperson of the Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor (APCET) established in Manila in 1994. He was awarded the Asahi Shimbun Welfare Prize in 1991.

Bishop Soma travels with two companions-Journalist Yuzuru Oshihara who has prior experience in the region and interpreter S. Lewia.

UNITED STATES
10. Mr Brian Brown, Director of Projects at Freedom House in New York.
11. Mr Reed Brody, Human Rights specialist, consulting with UN Human Rights agencies. Directed UN HR missions to El Salvador, International Human Rights Law Group, Former Executive Secretary of International Commission of Jurists etc.

GERMANY
12. Jürgen Meier, Secretary General German-Asia Foundation, activist with the Greens in Germany.

INDONESIA:
13. Haji Abdurrahman Wahid is Chairperson of the Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Moslem organization in Indonesia with a membership of 35 million. Nahdlatul Ulama, and particularly Gus Dur, as Haji Wahid is commonly known, have resisted cooption by Suharto. In 1994, Suharto failed in his interventions aimed at preventing Gus Dur from being re-elected to the Chair of N.U. Gus Dur is known for his liberalism and tolerance of other groups and religious. Last year, he defied a government ban forbidding Indonesians to visit Israel, and went there to participate in a conference on ecumenical understanding. He is also the chairman of Forum Demokrasi, a pro-democracy organization grouping various prominent people of different religions, political orientation and ethnic background in Indonesia.

14. Haji Johannes Cornelius Princen, born on November 21, 1925, in Den Haag, Holland became an Indonesian citizen in 1948 after assisting in the struggle for Indonesian independence. Haji Princen, raised and educated in Holland, was imprisoned in 1943-44 by Germany. After prison, he was recruited by the Dutch Army and sent to Indonesia. In 1948, H. Princen joined the Indonesians in the colonial revolution against Holland. On October 5, 1949, Indonesia’s first president, Soekarno, awarded him a Guerrilla Star. He was converted to
Cambodia:  
15. Venerable Samdech Preah Maha Ghosananda, known as “The Gandhi of Cambod-ia” was elected as Supreme Patriarch of Cambodian Buddhism by assembly of monks in Paris, France in 1988. He was bestowed the title of “Samdech Preah” of Supreme Patriarch by King Sihanouk in 1992. In 1957, he received his doctoral degree from Nalanda University, with the title of “Maha Ghosananda,” 14 years after being initiated into Cambodian monkhood.  

Maha Ghosananda entered hermitage in southern Thailand in 1965, and in 1978 greeted the first influx of Cambodian refugees entering Sakeo camp following the expulsion of Khmer Rouge regime from power. From 1978 to 1980, he established Buddhist temples in each refugee camp on the Thai-Cambodian border. In 1980, he represented Khmer nation in exile as consultant to the United Nations Economic and Social Council and in the same year co-founded Inter Religious Mission for Peace.  

In 1992, Maha Ghosananda initiated and since led the annual Dharmayeta peace walk through war torn Cambodia. He was named honorary leader of Ponlou Khmer, citizens’ coalition, which was granted permanent seats to the Constitutional Assembly. At the assembly, he presented proposals for inclusion of articles guaranteeing protection of human rights in the Constitution and for non violent resolution of the continuing Cambodian conflict. In 1994, he led a contingent of highest ranking monks to peace negotiations held under the auspices of King Sihanouk in North Korean capital of Pyongyang, and to a second round of negotiations held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, to help seek an end to that country’s long standing civil war.  

Maha Ghosananda authored the book “Step by Step: Mediations on Wisdom and Compassion” (1992). He was granted the 1992 Rafto Foundation Prize for Human Rights in Bergen, Norway, and was nominated for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize by R.I. Senator Claiborne Pell, Chairperson of the US Senate Foreign relations Committee.  

**THE PHILIPPINES:**  
16. Myrna D. Arceo is a professor at the women’s St. Scholastica’s College for the last 20 years. She teaches Theology of Liberation and Women’s Studies. At the same time, she has been working with international solidarity groups. From 1990 to 1992, she served as director of the international solidarity network desk of the Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines (AMRSP). She is also a consulting member of Synapases, a Chicago based justice and peace organization.  

Myrna is also active with the artists’ group, Kasibulan and a street children program, Bahay Tuluyan, concurrently serving as board of member of both organizations. Her reflections on justice and peace and liberation have been published and translated internationally. A mid lifer, she explores now an integration of justice and healing, particularly for women.  


17. Maria Lurenda H. Suplido, MD was a student leader and editor of university student publications while she was studying for a medical degree at the University of the Philippines College of Medicine.  

She is currently a member of the Execu-tive Committee and Board of Directors of the International Physicians for the Preven-tion of Nuclear War, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985. She is also a member of the Medical Action Group, a non government organization of doctors and other health professionals dedicated to concern of human rights.  

Lolit will be joining Initiatives for Inter-national Dialogue next year, working on the organization’s Global Education and Training Program.  

18. Ma. Ceres P. Doyo is a columnist and feature writer of the Philippine Daily Inquirer and its Sunday magazine. The Philippine Daily Inquirer is one of the two major Philippine dailies enjoying the largest circulation. Ms. Doyo had been connected with religious groups before and is very well respected as a columnist critical of the status quo and an advocate of human rights, justice and peace.  

Ms. Doyo has joined many fact-finding and medical missions in the Philippines countrieside since the dark days of Marcos’ martial rule. She is also a recipient of the Catholic Mass Media Award for Journalism given by the Catholic Bishop’s Conference of the Philippines.  

**WHAT IS APCET?**  

APCET is a coalition of about 50 local, national, sub-regional, regional and international organizations and institutions involved in solidarity initiatives on East Timor.  

It is an offshoot of the much-ballyhooed Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor held in Manila last May-June, 1994. Japanese Bishop Emeritus Aloisius Nobuo Soma is APCET’s Honorary Chairperson. It has a Steering Committee composed of the following: Max Lane (Australia); Freddie Gamage (Sri Lanka); Boonthan Verawongse (Thailand); Renato Constantino, Jr. (Philippines); Rachland Nashidik (Indonesia); Kiyoko Furusawa (Japan); Maria Pakpahan (Indonesia/Women) and Gus Michat who is its current Coordinator.  

The APCET secretariat is based at the Initiatives for International Dialogue (IID) in the Philippines.  

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**STATEMENT FROM REED BRODY IN BALI**  

Statement from Reed Brody, one of the U.S. people on the Ahi Nuklukan delegation that was kicked out of East Timor yesterday. He gave this to me over the phone at 7:30 pm  

Bali time (6:30 am EST) on Thursday, Nov. 9.  

As an ecumenical delegation, we went to East Timor to hold a service in commemoration of the victims of the 1991 Dili massacre. Although we were prevented from carrying out the ceremony at the Santa Cruz cemetery, we were able to light candles and to say prayers at the statue of Christo Rey.  

Equally important, in our 24 hours, were able to experience, in a very small way, what the East Timorese people must face every day under Indonesian occupation. We were constantly followed by Indonesian security. At one point, we were surrounded by police in full riot gear, and we were expelled from East Timor although we had done nothing wrong.
We also met with many East Timorese who bravely told us of the escalating repression of the past weeks – of riot squads systematically breaking into people’s houses, beating people in the kidneys, liver, and backs of their heads in an attempt to intimidate or incapacitate them from coming out.

We will each be bringing back candles that we lit in East Timor to light candles all over the world in solidarity with the people of East Timor.

REPORT FROM DR ANDREW MCNAUGHTON IN BALI
9 November 1995

Andrew flew to Dili from Darwin for a couple of days and was hassled most of the time. He was meeting with 6 other people on the Cahaya Pilgrim tour on a Dili beach last night and they were surrounded by riot police and forced to leave.

Immigration met with them today and told them the situation was volatile in Dili around the 12th November and they were advising tourists to leave but they had the choice to stay. One hour later Immigration told them they had been advised by Jakarta that no tourists were to be in East Timor from the 8th November till after the 16th.

Andrew and co. rang Jakarta and tried to get permission to stay but couldn’t.

They told Immigration in Dili they wanted to visit the large statue of Christ that the Indons were building on Crocodile Head, a peninsula near Dili. Immigration agreed and drove them there saying they could stay for 15 minutes. The group performed a candle lighting ceremony lighting 20 candles and Lionel Fogarty an Australian Aboriginal poet read some of his poetry and sang a song in his native language about indigenous peoples around the world uniting. The ceremony lasted 30 mins and was partly filmed. They were driven back to Dili then flown to Bali.

All members of the group experienced enough oppression from Intel to have a better understanding of the situation in East Timor.

SOLIDARITY MESSAGES
Nov. 9, 1995

FROM MAIREAD MAGUIRE, NOBEL PEACE LAUREATE
TO THE HEROIC EAST TIMORESE PEOPLE
from the Community of the Peace People, Belfast, Nov 9.

It is with regret that I am unable to be with you for the commemoration of the Dili massacre this year. Unfortunately I have prior commitments. That the remains of those who were killed were not returned is one injustice that is heaped on many injustices in your beloved East Timor. On this the 4th anniversary of the killings at the Santa Cruz cemetery my thoughts and sympathies are with you all. I can assure you that each day that passes the world is waking up to the situation of the Maubere people. Here in Northern Ireland and throughout the whole of Ireland many people are with you in your struggle for peace and justice. I look forward to working with you in the future to ensure that the world does not forget the plight of the East Timorese.

FROM BONO AND DAVID NORRIS
Source: R.T.E. Television, Dublin. The Late Late Show., Nov. 21.

N.B. The Late Late Show is Ireland’s top TV show. It is also the longest running TV chat show in the world. It is also transmitted in Britain by Channel 4. Last Friday Senator David Norris, recently barred by the occupation forces, from entering East Timor, was a guest on the show. His biography has just been published called ‘The Cities of David.’ The below comments were used by him on the show.

Senator David Norris “If I could add something here. It is prompted by seeing my good friend Patricia McKenna, Member of the European Parliament in here. She and I have just returned from Indonesia from where we were trying to get into East Timor. It’s a tragic situation there, where 200,000 people out of a population of 640,000 were murdered by the Indonesians. We were there to commemorate a massacre there, in Dili, in which 300 people were shot dead by the Indonesian military in a graveyard. The East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign gave me a message from Bono of U2 to be read in the cemetery. I did not get in. We were taken off the plane and detained but I read the message in the airport and asked people to transmit it across the world. Three American women burst into tears when they heard the message it was so powerful.

TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR

On behalf of myself Bono and the band U2, on behalf of most scribes and poets, most music, film and object makers both here in Ireland and around the world: Please be sure that we know of your struggle and that even if we are not allowed to see you, know that we hear of you and that when we don’t hear from you we think of you...all the more...

THERE IS NO SILENCE DEEP ENOUGH
NO BLACKOUT DARK ENOUGH
NO CORRUPTION THICK ENOUGH
NO BUSINESS DEAL BIG ENOUGH
NO POLITICIAN BENT ENOUGH
NO HEART HOLLOW ENOUGH
NO GRAVE WIDE ENOUGH TO BURY YOUR STORY AND KEEP IT FROM US
Love from a short distance, Bono

Some people were extremely brave. They got in. they performed the ceremony. The might of the Indonesian army, which is one of the largest and most excellently equipped armies in the world, could not stop the lighting of this small candle, which is a very gentle act. One of the people gave me the candle, and so far from actually extinguishing the Flame, they actually fanned the Flame and I hope to have the opportunity to present it to President Mary Robinson.”

COALITION FOR PEACE (PHILIPPINES) 12 NOVEMBER 1995
Greetings of Peace!

Today we commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre, in which around three hundred of your countrymen and women burying a slain activist were themselves gunned down and bayonetted to death by Indonesian soldiers in the Dili cemetery. It was also the sixteenth year of the Indonesian occupation of your country; this year marks the second decade.

You have suffered so much death under this occupation and in the course of your struggle to regain your freedom; you are bereaved of almost a third of your people in the past twenty years. Yet, or, perhaps, all the more so because of this, in the face of this darkness you continue to assert your claim to the light of life and of liberation.

Today you light your freedom torch and begin your vigil of Ahi Naklakan. With the Asia Pacific Coalition for East Timor (APCET), we, too, light our candles and torches, in memory of your dead who illuminated the path during the dark night, in solidarity with your burning desire for freedom, and to signal the dawning of your liberation, and, in spirit, begin to keep vigil with you for that dawn.

We join APCET in their demands for the release of all political prisoners, the immediate application of international law in your country, and the admission – for the establishment of stations or for regular visits – of international agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, Amnesty International, and the United Nations—especially on the occasion of the latter’s half-century anniversary.
We are honored that Filipinos were among the participants in a tour of your country, to witness the lighting of your Ahí Naklakan, and condemn the Indonesian government’s harassment of that solidarity activity.

We are torn by that government’s contradictory roles in two situations demanding a just and lasting peace: a warm and effective mediator in the peace talks between our government and the Moro National Front and a foreign interventionist in the governance of your country.

We therefore make this additional call to the Indonesian government: In the light of your peacebuilding role in the Mindanao region of our country and elsewhere and your founding and dynamic long-time leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement, earnestly reflect on and reconsider your position in East Timor and whether your interests in our region might not be better served by ending your occupation of that country and building a new relationship with her people.

That would require a re-imagining of your politics, but, as we approach the third millennium, we are all, as nations and as peoples, called to re-imagine almost everything.

In closing, we say to the East Timorese people: May your Ahí Naklakan light the way to your freedom and rally other struggling peoples of our world to see it through to the dawns of their own just and lasting peace.

Risa Hontiveros-Baraquel
Secretary-General, Coalition for Peace.

PHILIPPINE SOLIDARITY FOR EAST TIMOR AND INDONESIA - PHILSETI
Press Statement, Nov. 12, 1995

The Indonesian government is doing it again! It has declared East Timor closed starting Thursday, November 9. It has stopped an international delegation of peace and solidarity workers who were going to East Timor to lay a wreath and pay respect to the Dili massacre victims - both the living and the dead.

The Indonesian government hopes to shut off East Timor once again from the rest of the world. But previous attempts have shown that it cannot isolate East Timor and the issue of its people.

We, in the Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia, a national solidarity formation of more than 60 people’s organization and NGOs, deplore this most recent action of the Indonesian government. We are concerned that such measure indicates the continuing intransigence of the Indonesian government on the East Timor issue.

We strongly urge the Philippine government as well as the international community, the United Nations and other international governmental bodies to take concrete steps to deter Indonesia from continuing its subjugation of the East Timorese people. Jakarta’s illegal annexation of East Timor goes against the wishes of the people of East Timor and is a mockery of UN resolutions recognizing the right to self-determination of the East Timorese.

(Sgd.) Renato Constantino, Jr. For the Steering Committee
10 November 1995
c/o PCISP 3B Potsdam St., Cubao, Quezon City, PHILIPPINES fax: +63-2-9120346

INDONESIA SPIKES GROUP’S JOURNEY

The New Zealand Herald, Nov. 10, 1995

JAKARTA, NZPA - Indonesian officials prevented a delegation of foreign dignitaries, including at least two New Zealanders, from boarding a flight to East Timor yesterday, says a delegation member.

The New Zealanders in the group were the Rev Ann Batten, an organiser of a 60-strong anti-nuclear group to Tahiti last month and a Labour Party list candidate, and a Maori rights campaigner, Naida Pou.

Patricia McKenna, from Ireland, said the group of eight, on an unofficial tour to the territory, had been barred from boarding the flight on the tourist resort island of Bali.

“None of us can get through. They won’t let us through. They wouldn’t give us a reason why. They said that it was to do with immigration,” Patricia McKenna said from Denpasar Airport in Bali.

An official of Merpati Airlines confirmed that eight people were prevented from boarding their plane. Military officials were not available for comment.

The move comes three days before the fourth anniversary of the so-called Santa Cruz massacre when troops opened fire on demonstrators at a funeral in the capital, Dili, killing at least 50 youths.

The incident provoked an international outcry and focused attention on Indonesia’s rule in the former Portuguese colony since its 1975 invasion.

EAST TIMOR SECURITY TIGHTENS AHEAD OF ANNIVERSARY

By Jim Della-Giacoma [abridged]

JAKARTA, Nov 10 (Reuters) - Indonesia has beefed up its security presence in East Timor ahead of the weekend anniversary of the 1991 killing of unarmed protesters, implying another foreign journalist and several tourists, visitors said on Friday.

The tightening follows the expulsion of seven foreigners on Thursday and barring of eight others who were members of a so-called peace pilgrimage from entering the territory.

“At least three other people, two of them Danish tourists, have been asked to leave as well,” Hugh O’Shaughnessy, a journalist with the Independent, told Reuters from the East Timor capital of Dili on Friday.

O’Shaughnessy, who is travelling on a tourist visa, said he had been told to leave Dili for security considerations.

Others expelled on Thursday said three Filipinas from their group were being put on a flight to Bali later on Friday.

Immigration officials were unavailable on Friday to confirm the expulsion of the latest group of foreigners.

Reed Brody, one of the seven expelled on Thursday, said authorities were intent on ensuring all foreign visitors had left East Timor ahead of Sunday’s anniversary of the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, when troops shot dead at least 50 people who were taking part in a procession to mourn the death of a pro-independence activist.

“We were told no tourist would be allowed in Dili before the 12th of November and we would have to leave for security reasons,” Brody said on Thursday.

Brody said the seven expelled and put on a flight to Bali with him included Namibian member of parliament Daniel Botha and American, German, Australian and Filipino activists.

“We have the rights of sovereignty,” Major-General Abdul Rivai, the commander of the Udayana military region which includes East Timor, told reporters in Jakarta on Friday.

“If through visiting foreigners can stimulate certain actions then we can expel them,” Rivai said.

He declined to comment on whether all visiting foreigners were being asked to leave East Timor ahead of Sunday.

Rivai spoke at a Heroes Day ceremony where Defence Minister Edi Sudrajat inducted 13 East Timorese men into the Indonesian League of Veterans for their parts in a 1959 rebellion against the Portuguese government at Viqueque in East Timor.

Some of the men, who were exiled to Angola, later return to join the pro-integration Apodeti party.

“Your struggle, either in Viqueque in June 1959 or during other events in the process of integration, is part of the struggle of Indonesia as a whole,” Sudrajat said.

Residents in Dili have reported increased military security in the town before the anniversary.
O’Shaughnessy said the city was quiet but tense.

The Indonesian foreign ministry said on Thursday foreigners were being kept from travelling to East Timor for their own safety because of continuing activities by anti-integration groups.

**INDONESIA “DISHONEST” IN BLOCKING TRIP**

BRUSSELS, Nov 9 (Reuters) - Indonesia was guilty of “appalling dishonesty” for using immigration rules to block a visit by “peace pilgrims’ to East Timor, members of the European Parliament said on Thursday.

The parliament’s Green group said it had complained to the assembly’s president after Irish Euro-MP Patricia McKenna and seven other dignitaries were barred from boarding a flight from Bali to Dili where they planned to commemorate Indonesian troops’ 1991 killing of unarmed protesters in the disputed territory.

“The Greens have made a complaint...arguing that it is intolerable for a (Euro-MP) to be stopped from promoting human rights,” the Greens said in a statement.

Indonesian authorities also expelled seven others from East Timor, breaking up a so-called peace pilgrimage by American, Japanese, Australasian and European individuals.

“Indonesia is trying to suppress any kind of scrutiny of its human rights record since it invaded East Timor in 1975,” McKenna said in the statement.

“How can its leaders expect to be taken seriously when they say they have done nothing wrong in Timor but are still refusing international monitors, human rights groups and journalists from going there and carrying out investigations?”

“The officials we talked to admitted to us that there was no immigration problem and that you don’t need a special visa to go from one part of Indonesia to what they claim is another part,” McKenna added.

The Indonesian foreign ministry said in a statement the barring order was made because of continuing activities by anti-integration groups in creating disorder in East Timor.

**MILITARY DEFENDS BAN ON VISITS TO EAST TIMOR**

Jakarta Post, November 11, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): Minister of Defense and Security Gen. (ret.) Edi Sudradjat defended yesterday the immigration authority’s decision on Thursday to bar foreigners from visiting East Timor.

Edi denied however that the order had come from his office or the Armed Forces office.

A number of ‘foreign dignitaries’ were barred from flying to Dili, capital of East Timor, on Thursday, while seven others, who were already in Dili, were asked to leave the province.

Among the foreigners ordered to leave Dili were Daniel Botha, a Namibian parliamentarian, Americans Reed Brody and Brian Brown, Australian aboriginal poet Lionel Fogerty, and Filipinos Maria Suplido and Myrna de Arceo.

These foreigners were believed to be planning to join a ceremony to mark the fourth anniversary of an incident in which East Timor protestors clashed with Indonesian troops. The Nov. 12, 1991, incident left 50 dead, according to an official investigation.

Edi condemned the foreigners motives in visiting East Timor. “It means that they are interfering in another country’s domestic affairs,” Edi said, adding, “We can’t tolerate anyone who undermines our integrity and stability,” Antara reported.

Rahardi Suroprawiro, director for supervision and operation at the Directorate General of Immigration, said that, given the situation in East Timor, the decision to bar foreigners from visiting East Timor was taken in the interest of the foreigners’ safety.

The military authority in East Timor has also defended the policy to momentarily close East Timor to foreign visitors, whose presence could create trouble.

Maj. Gen. A. Rivai, chief of the Udayana Command, said in Denpasar, Bali, that as a sovereign state, Indonesia has the right to take measures it deems necessary to maintain stability.

“If we had let them in, it is possible that their own safety could be endangered because they could become the target of people’s anger. So, the measure was taken in the interest of their own protection,” Rivai said, Antara reported.

In another development Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares said on Thursday that he would review a decree concerning the establishment of houses of worship he issued last July, which has been widely criticized by Moslem leaders in Jakarta as “discriminatory.”

Abilio was quoted by the Jawa Pos as saying that he would not “revoke” the decree, as ordered by Minister of Home Affairs Moch. Yogie S.M. but only “review” it.

The decree requires non-Catholics to obtain permission from the local Catholic parish priest before they can build, or repair, their houses of worship.

The minority Moslem community in East Timor have complained that the decrees has prevented them from repairing the mosques, orphanages, and schools that were damaged during last September’s racial riot in Dili and other cities in East Timor.

**MANILA RIGHTS GROUPS CONDEMN JAKARTA**

MANILA, Nov. 10 (UPI) - A coalition of Philippine human rights groups Friday condemned Indonesia for barring an international peace pilgrimage, including three Filipinos, from commemorating the 1991 massacre of East Timorese people in Dili.

“We deplore this new evidence of Indonesian high-handedness, their paranoia about keeping what is obviously no longer a secret,” said Renato Constantino Jr., chairman of the Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia.

He said the pilgrimage had not been intended to provoke trouble, but to acknowledge the victims of Indonesia’s illegal occupation in 1975.

On Thursday, Indonesian immigration officials blocked 15 dignitaries, already aboard a plane bound for the East Timorese capital of Dili, from leaving Bali. The party included Irish Senator David Norris and European Green Party parliamentarian Patricia McKenna.

About 10 other participants, including the Filipinos, were reportedly taken from their hotel room in Jakarta and were believed made to join the party in Bali for deportation.

“We are very concerned about the safety of the delegation,” Constantino said.

The Asia Pacific Coalition on East Timor or APCET, an international human rights group, condemned the move and worried over the fate of the Filipinos who were apprehended.

Japanese Catholic Bishop Aloisius Nobuo Soma, APCET’s chairman, who was to lead the pilgrimage, worried over their fate.

“We do not know their status now. We do not know if they were under arrest, if they were detained,” Soma said.

APCET has scheduled for Saturday a press conference in Singapore where Soma and the delegation were expected to attend.

It said member organizations from different countries including Japan, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, United States, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada were expected to picket the Indonesian Embassies in their respective countries on Monday and Tuesday.

The demonstrations will be highlighted by candle lighting ceremonies and prayer offerings for the 273 victims of the Nov. 12,
1991 massacre by Indonesian troops against East Timorese demonstrators.

Soma said the bodies of the victims were not returned to their families, and “almost the same number of those killed” are still missing.

East Timor was a former Portuguese colony until Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed it. Resistance by the East Timorese people had been and continues to be met with an iron fist.

Constantino, who also stands as APCET’s Manila representative, urged the Philippine government and the United Nations “to take concrete steps to deter Indonesia from continuing its subjugation of the East Timorese people.”

**INDONESIA DEPORTS RIGHTS ACTIVISTS FROM EAST TIMOR**

*by Andreas Harsono, American Reporter Correspondent, Nov. 13.*

DILI, East Timor – Indonesia expelled more than two dozen foreign activists from East Timor while stepping up its military presence in the internationally disputed area by setting up checkpoints on major thoroughfares and warning foreigners not to become involved in its domestic affairs.

A spokesman for the Indonesian immigration office said that the foreigners had been asked to leave East Timor on the grounds that their presence might encourage local people to stage protests in commemoration of the massacre of 270 protesters at Dili.

“The immigration authorities are fully empowered to supervise the movements of foreigners and expel them, if necessary, in accordance with the law,” said Rahardi Suprawiro in Jakarta.

According to Roman Catholic Bishop Aloisius Nobuo Soma of Japan, the expelled foreigners, including himself, are a group of international activists who were on a pilgrimage to lay a wreath and pray for the victims of the massacre.

“I regretted that the carrying of my work of the Catholic church had been prevented by the Indonesian government’s deporting me,” said Bishop Soma, who is the honorary chairman of the Manila-based Asia Pacific Coalition for East Timor, which organized the pilgrimage.

He said that the pilgrimage is also supported by world figures like Nobel peace laureate Mairead Maguire and singer Bono of the U2 rock band, who had each written letters to be read in the wreath-laying ceremony.

“There is no silence deep enough. No blackout dark enough. No corruption thick enough. No business deal big enough. No politician bent enough. No heart hollow enough. No grave wide enough to bury your story and keep it from us,” said Bono in his statement.

Indonesian soldiers opened fire and killed more than 270 East Timorese protesters in front of the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili during an anti-Indonesia rally on Nov. 12, 1991. An Australian student was killed in the massacre but a British cameraman was able to record the shootings and broadcast the killings worldwide, creating international outrage against Indonesia.

International activists like Irish senator David Norris, Maori leader Naida Pou, Aboriginal poet Lionel Fogerty, Namibian legislator Daniel Botha, New Zealand’s first female Anglican minister, Rev. Ann Batten, as well as journalists including Hugh O’Shaughnessy of the London Observer, Wilson da Silva of the Melbourne Sunday Age and John McGregor of The Australian, were among those expelled from Dili.

“It illustrates very clearly how afraid the Indonesians are of people observing what is going on in this territory. It will confirm the worst fear of the outside world as we approach the fourth anniversary of the Santa Cruz killings,” said O’Shaughnessy, who was expelled on Friday after having an argument with an immigration official who politely asked his “kind understanding to leave East Timor” but refused to use the word of “expulsion.”

Nine of the foreigners were already inside the airplane on Thursday from Surabaya, 500 kilometers east of Jakarta, to Dili when Indonesian officials asked them to leave the plane in Denpasar on the island of Bali. Fourteen others were expelled from Dili on Thursday and Friday.

Five of the activists, however, managed to climb Hill Fatucama of Dili to light candles at the foot of the “Christ the King” statue, a Dili landmark which is the second tallest statue of Christ on earth, second only to one above Rio de Janeiro.

Aboriginal poet Fogerty sang an Aboriginal song and repeatedly said, “This city has no love,” pointing to Dili below the hill.

Back in Dili, Indonesian soldiers clad in jungle camouflage are guarding checkpoints in a number of tense areas such as Comoro, Becora, Matadoro and areas surrounding the campus of East Timor University.

Plainclothes officers of the feared Satuan Tugas Intelijen (SGI), an intelligence unit under the direct command of officials in Jakarta, were seen briefing foreigners staying at the Portuguese-era Hotel Turismo on the beach of Dili, saying that the foreigners should report wherever they go to their respective guards.

“They drove me to the karaoke last night,” laughed journalist McGregor, adding that despite the tight security he was able to ship his pictures as well as his reports via another foreigner deported earlier.

In a related development, Indonesian Defense Minister Gen. Edi Sudrajat also condemned the foreigners’ motives in visiting East Timor, “It means that they are interfering in another country’s domestic affairs. We cannot tolerate anyone who undermines our integrity and stability.”

The military-led Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and claimed the territory as its province one year later.

**‘PEACE PILGRIMS’ SAY EAST TIMOR MISSION SUCCESSFUL**

*By Chris Johnson*

SINGAPORE, Nov 11 (Reuters) - A group of politicians and activists prevented by Indonesia from commemorating the 1991 killing of unarmed protesters in East Timor said on Saturday their mission to the territory had been a success.

Seven members of the multinational "peace pilgrimage" flew on Tuesday and Wednesday to the East Timor capital Dili, which has been ruled by Indonesia since its army invaded in 1975, but were later deported by immigration officials.

Another eight members of the group, including Irish Senator David Norris and Catholic bishop Aloisius Soma from Japan, were barred from boarding a plane to Dili in the Indonesian resort island of Bali on Thursday.

But Irish European MP Patricia McKenna said the measures taken by Indonesian forces against the visitors showed that Jakarta’s hold on East Timor was tenuous.

"The visit has been a success," McKenna told Reuters after a news conference. "Some of us didn’t get in and we are disappointed. But the fact that they (the Indonesian government) needed to bar us for ‘security reasons’ proves they don’t really have control of East Timor and it is not part of Indonesia."

"Does this group look like a threat to anyone’s security?"

She said each delegate would now return home to argue for parliamentary condemnation of Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony.

"There will be a special debate in the European parliament in the second week of December with a motion saying that until the situation in East Timor is resolved, no
European country should supply weapons to Indonesia,” she said.

Reed Brody, one of those expelled from Dili on Thursday, told reporters that Indonesian police had followed the visitors throughout their brief stay, on one occasion rounding them up on a beach at night.

Despite this, the local Timorese population had openly welcomed them, showing their support for independence from Indonesia at every opportunity.

Residents in Dili have reported increased military security in the run-up to Sunday’s anniversary of the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, when troops shot dead at least 50 youths taking part in a procession to mourn the death of a pro-independence activist.

The peace pilgrims had hoped to lay a wreath at the site of the massacre and pray for the victims and their families.

Brody said Jakarta had been more nervous by the approaching 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion on December 7, 1975, which has never been accepted by the local population.

“Repression has escalated in recent weeks with house raids, police beatings and a wave of new arrests to intimidate people and physically prevent protests,” Brody said.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia’s rule in East Timor and regards Portugal as the administering power.

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**EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR SAYS ACTIVISTS WOULD HAVE BEEN HURT**

by Andreas Harsono, American Reporter Correspondent, Nov. 16

DILI, East Timor – East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares hailed the expulsion of foreigners who were planning to lay a wreath at the site of the 1991 Dili massacre, saying that the organizers could better spend their money to build schools and to give scholarships to the East Timorese students rather than financing such a “provocative” visit.

“There will certainly be victims if the foreigners were permitted to visit the Santa Cruz cemetery,” said Osorio Soares in an exclusive interview with the American Reporter during his flight from Dili to Jakarta over the weekend, adding that the ongoing bloody conflict between the pros and cons of East Timor independence will certainly be renewed over the wreath-laying ceremony.

Indonesian security agents followed and harassed this correspondent throughout his visit to Dili.

According to the Indonesia-appointed governor, he was not in Dili when the foreigners were expelled from the East Timor capital but he believed the Indonesian military had a strong reason to deport the foreigners.

“If there is an action there must be a reaction. I’m afraid the reaction would be a bloody one.”

Indonesian soldiers opened fire and killed more than 250 East Timorese protesters in a rally in front of the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991, of which the foreigners as well as the locals planned to commemorate on Sunday, but banned by the Indonesian authorities.

The Indonesian authorities deported fourteen foreigners from East Timor last week which include an Aboriginal poet, a Namibian legislator, three Filipinos and two American human rights consultants. Another eight activists, including an Irish senator and a Catholic bishop from Japan, were barred from boarding a plane for Dili at the Indonesian resort island of Bali.

The group failed to lay a wreath at the Santa Cruz cemetery but five of them managed to visit the 27-meter “Christ the King” statue on the Fatucama Hill, a Dili landmark whose height is second after the Rio de Janeiro bronze figure, lighting candles and sending their solidarity message called “Ahi Naklahan,” a Timorese term for the light of peace, to the East Timorese people.

Japanese Bishop Aloisius Nobuo Soma, the chairman of the Manila-based Asia Pacific Coalition for East Timor, which organized the pilgrimage, regrouped the deported activists and conducted a joint press conference in Singapore on Saturday, saying that Indonesian authorities had harassed the foreigners wherever they go and questioned local people spotted with the foreign activists.

Reed Brody of New York said the police broke up their meeting on Wednesday night on a Dili beach after spied the participants who were having their dinner at a Portuguese restaurant. He said an immigration official, obviously under the command of the military, had instructed the foreigners to leave Dili the following morning.

Governor Osorio Soares, however, said that the pray is political in nature and needed to be forbidden because “it would create suffering among East Timorese people who had already had enough suffering.”

“That’s not the right path to help East Timorese people. The organizer can spend their money better if they use it to fight ignorance and poverty among the East Timorese,” he said, adding that currently 200 East Timorese students are waiting for scholarships to continue their studies.

Osorio Soares said the organizer must spend a lot of money to finance the foreigners to come to the territory. Citing an example, he said, “They can better use that money to finance some East Timorese here to continue their post-graduate studies in Australia.”

Plainclothes officers of the feared Satuan Tugas Intijien (SGI), an intelligence unit under the direct command of officials in Jakarta, were seen in the Santa Cruz cemetery on Sunday where around one hundred local people whose family members were killed in the massacre laid wreaths and prayed for the victims. The plainclothes officers also guarded churches, recreation parks along the Dili beach and others spied on people from pickup trucks.

The military-led Indonesia has in the past declared that East Timor, which they forcibly annexed in 1975, was open to anyone wishing to visit. They claimed that everything was normal in their “27th province.”

But the United Nations has never recognized Indonesian authority over the former Portuguese colony. Only Australia has officially accepted Jakarta’s sovereignty in exchange for a joint oil exploration of the Timor Gap that separates the island from the Australian continent.

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**DELEGATION EXPULSED FROM EAST TIMOR**

Green Left #211, November 15, 1995

BALI, Indonesia - On November 8, an international ecumenical delegation was expelled from East Timor. The delegation, which included Namibian MP Daniel Botha, Brian Brown of Freedom House, Australian Aboriginal poet Lionel Fogerty, Australian doctor Andrew McNaughton, Irish Senator David Norris and Bishop Soma of Nagoya, Japan, was organised by the Asia Pacific Coalition on East Timor (APCET). The following statement was issued from attorney and human rights campaigner Reed Brody, one of the US participants.

As an ecumenical delegation, we went to East Timor to hold a service in commemoration of the victims of the 1991 Dili massacre. Although we were prevented from carrying out the ceremony at the Santa Cruz cemetery, we were able to light candles and to say prayers at the statue of Christo Rey.

Equally important in our 24 hours, we were able to experience in a very small way what the East Timorese people must face every day under Indonesian occupation. We were constantly followed by police in full riot gear, and we were expelled from East Timor although we had done nothing wrong.

We also met with many East Timorese who bravely told us of the escalating repression of the past weeks - of riot squads sys-
tically breaking into people’s houses, beating people in the kidneys, liver, and backs of their heads in an attempt to intimidate or incapacitate them from coming out. We will each be bringing back candles that we lit in East Timor to light candles all over the world in solidarity with the people of East Timor.

**SBS - DATELINE TO COVER PILGRIM DELEGATION**

*Press release from SBS TV (Australia)*

“DATELINE” program, November 18, 1995

“I will use the Timorese to destroy the Timorese” says the new Indonesian military commander in East Timor. Reports of escalating intimidation of Timor independence supporters and foreigners - shootings, beatings, detentions and disappearances, are the order of the day.

On DATELINE on Saturday, November 18, Mike Carey reports on the recent events surrounding the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre.

This month an international delegation attempted to enter East Timor to light remembrance candles in the Santa Cruz cemetery where in 1991 Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators - killing over 200 people. Freelance journalist Wilson da Silva captured on film events surrounding the commemoration of the massacre. As seen in this report the delegation managed to light their candles on a nearby hill - despite the efforts of the Indonesia security forces to stop them.

Robert Kingham is an Australian aid worker who has lived and worked in Indonesia for the best part of the last nine years, the last nine months of which he spent in East Timor. In this exclusive DATELINE report Kingham explains in graphic detail the events which led to his leaving Dili this week. He spoke to Mike Carey in Singapore before returning to Australia.

Kingham was warned by a plain clothes official that he may experience some intimidation due to his presence in Dili inciting unrest. This did occur, and it led to Kingham leaving Dili. The International Red Cross is also a target. "...In fact in recent months the ICRC vehicle has been shot at twice, during the month of October...this is unprecedented," says Kingham. It was suggested to him by local officials that he "should not be seen alone in a car with the ICRC." Kingham explains that with the replacement of the regional military commander, Colonel Simbolon of the elite forces, there has been a dramatic increase in Indonesian military presence in Timor and a more systematic approach to a Timorese solution. As Kingham claims, neither are the Indonesians shy about their attitude. “On Indonesian Independence Day (August 17) Simbolon held a press conference for Indonesian journalists when he made the statement I will use the Timorese to destroy the Timorese.”

When asked about the severity of the situation Kingham replied, “It is continuous, it is bad, it is worse, every indication has been over the last few months that it is going to continue to get worse.”

Kingham claims that the Australian Government is well aware of what is going on in East Timor. “Yes, the Australian Government knows about it,” he says. “I have reported it to the Australian Embassy though sections of the Embassy have tended to dismiss my claims as paranoia...the concern from the Embassy seemed to be that I would speak to you, the press, about this.”

Also featuring in Carey’s report are comments from members of the international delegation on their return from Dili. Carey speaks to Bishop Aloisius Nobuo Soma, former Bishop of the Diocese of Nagoja, Japan; Lionel Fogarty, Aboriginal Poet; Paul Stewart of the Australian band Painters and Dockers whose brother Tony was killed by Indonesian troops in 1975; Senator David Norris, prominent Irish politician; Rev. Ann Batten, first New Zealand women ordained in the Anglican Church; and Reed Brody, human rights specialist consulting with United Nations human rights agencies.

**TRANSCRIPT OF KINGHAM INTERVIEW BY MIKE CAREY**

*Much of this program included already reported material, particularly press conference by Reed Brody, Bishop Soma, David Norris etc. - footage was shown of the delegation visiting the statue of Christ the King in Dili, of young Timorese school children in Dili etc. This posting contains interview with Robert Kingham.*

**MC:** Robert Kingham until recently worked for a major Australian NGO in Dili. He returned to Melbourne after a campaign of intimidation made his aid work impossible. So what sort of intimidation scares a long time aid worker into leaving East Timor?

**RK:** I had a visit from an un-uniformed official who suggested that the presence of foreigners in Dili had incited some unrest and that I may experience some troubles with my duties and also with a nighttime patrol of some uniformed officials, inches away from doors and windows, attempted forced entry, disconnected telephones and telephone line so that I couldn’t phone out. This went on from 1am to 5am.

**MC:** What of the ICRC? Was it intimidated too?

**RK:** In recent months the ICRC vehicle has been shot at twice, during the month of October. This is unprecedented though it was an issue that I was advised about by local government officials who were Timorese. They suggested that I should not be seen alone in a car with the ICRC delegate and that we should discontinue our practice of going for walks on the beach.

**MC:** Why is it happening?

**RK:** With the replacement for the regional military commander, Colonel Simbolon, from the elite forces Kopassus - there seems to have been a scaling up of the military presence and a more systematic approach to a ‘Timorese solution,’ if you like. On Indonesian independence day, Simbolon held a press conference for Indonesian journalists where he made the statement “I will use the Timorese to destroy the Timorese.” Indonesian journalists asked if they could print this and he said ‘You can put it in the biggest headlines you can manage in your paper’ and none of them did.

That’s the clearest indication there has been to a more systematic approach to incitement and to the encouragement of differences among Timorese to create unrest.

**MC:** Well in general how bad is it? There seems to have been people detained in recent months - there have been examples of people been beaten and that sort of thing.

**RK:** It is continuous, it is bad, it is worse - every indication over the last few months is that it is going to continue to get worse.

Numbers that can be confirmed of detainees have certainly escalated. But it is not a question of there being an incident - it is a continuous thing. You work with people who disappear.

**MC:** Has that happened to you?

**RK:** Yes,

- program shows a photo of a young man’s face. He has been very badly beaten with severe bruising particularly on his forehead and across his nose.

**MC:** Robert Kingham took this photo of Tito who’s just 20 years old. His story is typical. He was beaten with iron bars, then detained. Soldiers, he said, stood on his chest. He was taken to the military hospital. He was visited by the Red Cross delegate, after which he was interrogated and accused of implicating the military and being ungrateful for the treatment he had received. He was beaten again until he vomited blood. Then he was moved to the regional police detention centre where he was again beaten.
Melbourne but the concern of the embassy seemed to be that I would speak to you, to the press about this. It destroys the notion of a happy little Timor. I have worked in Indonesia for a long time. I believe that the relationship between Australia and Indonesia is indeed extremely important and I have worked very hard within both Indonesia and Australia for this. But I do not believe that kowtowing and being hypocritical - the difference between our rhetoric and our action - is anyway to win the hearts and minds of the Indonesian people or the Indonesian Government, whom in my experience respect backbone and consistency.

GUS DUR: I’M NOT AFRAID TO GO TO EAST TIMOR

Tiras, 23 November 1995. Slightly abridged
Gus Dur is the popular name by which Abdurrahman Wahid, chair of the 39-million strong Nahdatul Ulama organisation, is known.

Q: What are the details about your planned visit to East Timor?
A: I was invited to go by an association in Manila, the purpose being to say a prayer for peace in East Timor. For such a thing, I’m only too willing to go. The plan was for me to leave together with Princen on 7 November morning but on that day, my wife had a recurrence of a problem with her leg and I had to take her to hospital. This is why I wasn’t able to go but Princen went as planned.

Q: Was he prevented from going in Denpasar?
A: On 7 November, as soon as he arrived, he phoned me to say that he would not be able to leave for Dili because he had been refused permission. Actually, I had received several phone calls from armed forces officers and from the intelligence. I told them I was not involved in anything political. I had been asked to pray for peace and for that I would go. I wanted to show that East Timor is still a part of Indonesia and that I wasn’t afraid to go there.

Q: But your participation could be interpreted as support for people wanting to demonstrate on 12 November.
A: No, not at all. It was just a prayer for peace. To strive for peace means acknowledging that there has been a terrible tragedy and much loss of life there over the past 20 years, and on top of that, all the recent events, the social conflicts caused by religious and ethnic factors.

In fact, I was phoned by two major generals. I was asked [he didn’t say what], and replied that what I wanted to show was that we shouldn’t be afraid in this way. If we happened to meet any anti-integration people, we could just say we don’t agree with what they are saying, couldn’t we? If we isolate ourselves and refuse to meet with people, we will go on failing in our diplomatic efforts.

I actually appreciate the things Mbak Tutut [Suharto’s eldest daughter] has been doing. She had the courage to finance the meeting of East Timorese in Vienna... [Here, Gus Dur is mistaken. The East Timorese meetings funded by Tutut were held in the UK. The meeting in Austria was funded by the UN.]...even though her decision to do so was rather odd. But what was important was bringing the East Timorese in, whether Fretillin, Apodeti or even the separatists. Negotiations are the best way to find a solution to the question of East Timor. I appreciate things like that even though it means taking risks. I’d like people to know that Mbak Tutut is not the only one. But this doesn’t mean that I agree with everything she does, it’s only in this respect, ha, ha...

Q: Could it have been that you cancelled your trip because of the phone calls from the two generals?
A: No, not at all. All they did was ask. They didn’t forbid me from going there.

Q: But for some Muslims, the question of East Timor is still very sensitive...
A: Whether it’s sensitive or not, we must get used to behaving normally. Don’t politicise everything. A morally justified act need not provoke reactions from anyone as long as we are certain that what we are doing is right.

Q: But the point about you is that you are the leader of a huge number of people (umat) not all of whom understand your moral position on this.
A: Well, it’s precisely because I have such a following that I should have the courage to take the first step (be a pioneer). Just see. The NU has taken a good stand. The MUI ( Majelis Ulema Indonesia) is making a lot of fuss about East Timor, about Christmas greetings. And it’s not only me. There are others, like the late Kyai Siddiq, Kyai Ilyas, Kyai Sahal, and others. You could say that they are the moderates, in inverted commas. What is it that you are afraid of?

Q: Aren’t you afraid that this could be used to oust you from the NU?
A: They won’t get away with it. Let them do what they like. The fact is that they are not acting in conformity with the rules. If they want to push me out, they must do it through an extraordinary congress. And that can only take place at the request of two-thirds of the branches submitted in writing...
and with the endorsement of the Central Council. They haven’t been able to meet this condition till now. In fact, a lot of branches are calling for these people to be expelled. I don’t agree with that. It should be left to society to punish them for what they are doing. Just see, if they talk and no one takes any notice, it’s far better than the organisation using sanctions against them.

GREEN IRISH MEP QUIZZES
INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR ON EAST TIMOR BAR

Press Release by Patricia McKenna M.E.P., Nov. 23

Dublin green MEP, Patricia McKenna today challenged the Indonesian ambassador to the EU about why she was denied entry to East Timor earlier this month. The ambassador, Mr. Pudji Koentarso, gave a “hopelessly inadequate” explanation, she said.

Addressing the European Parliament’s development committee, Mr. Koentarso first said he knew nothing of the incident. He then contradicted himself by saying that foreigners had been refused access to East Timor earlier this month and those already in Timor had been expelled “as a preventive measure” because riots were feared on the anniversary of the 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre, in which over 271 pro-independence demonstrators were killed.

“This is a clearly ludicrous explanation as the delegation belonged to was a peace pilgrimage, who wanted to go to East Timor to express our solidarity with its oppressed people,” said Ms. McKenna. “The idea that riots would have been caused because of our presence there is ridiculous.”

The delegation which to which Ms. McKenna belonged included Senator David Norris, Bishop Soma from Japan and the brother of an Australian journalist killed in East Timor in 1975.

Ms. McKenna also questioned the ambassador about yesterday’s arrest and detention of 20 people fleeing East Timor for the last time bad... we’ll just send them out,” he said.

The ambassador similarly refused to say if Indonesia would allow a delegation from the European Parliament and TV companies to visit East Timor and carry out investigations on events over the past two decades of occupation. More info. Patricia McKenna 00 32 2 2845140

OFFICIAL CIRCULAR
BANNING TOURISTS FROM EAST TIMOR

DEPARTEMEN KEHAKIMAN R.I.
KANTOR WILAYAH TIMOR TIMUR
KATOR IMIGRASI DILI
Jl. de Colmera 18 Telp. 21862
DILI - 88110
CIRCULAR NUMBER: W27.Fa - IL.01.10-731

Dear Lady and gentleman tourists/visitors,

Based on article 42 immigration act number 9 of 1992, Republic of Indonesia immigration authority for East Timor announce to all foreign tourists or visitors who intend to visit Dili, that recent situation of Dili is not good enough for foreigners’ tourism nor visit intentions.

Looking forward to your own good in visiting this country, you are requested not to visit Dili or East Timor until the next pleasant time that will be announced by our head office in Jakarta later. In the meantime you are please to visit and enjoying your journey to other parts of Indonesia.

If we found foreign tourists or visitors in Dili or East Timor area, with all of our respectfulness we have to please them to leave as soon as possible.

Your kind and good cooperations are very appreciated.
Thank you.

Dili, November 17, 1995
Chief of immigration authority for East
Timor
Johanes S. Triswoyo
NIP 040017237

INDONESIA SAYS IT LIFTS EAST TIMOR TRAVEL BAN

[abridged]

JAKARTA, Nov 24 (Reuters) - Indonesia said on Friday it had lifted a travel ban on foreigners who wished to visit the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

“Starting from today (foreigners) may enter,” Yohannes Triswoyo, head of immigration in East Timor, told Reuters by telephone from the East Timor capital of Dili.

Triswoyo said foreigners with good intentions were welcome in East Timor as tourists or visitors.

“Foreigners that create riots, create something bad... we’ll just send them out,” he said.

A ban has been in place since about November 10 when all foreign visitors were asked to leave East Timor ahead of the fourth anniversary of 1991 Santa Cruz massacre on the 12th.

Travel agents and airlines had refused to take bookings from foreigners wishing to travel to Dili or told prospective clients all flights were full.

U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER VISITS

TOP UN RIGHTS ENVOY TO VISIT INDONESIA, EAST TIMOR

GENEVA, Nov 21 (Reuters) - Jose Ayala Lasso, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, will visit Indonesia and East Timor next month at the invitation of Jakarta, a U.N. spokesman said on Tuesday.

He is expected to meet “representatives of all different views” during his December 4-8 mission, she said. It will be followed by a trip to Cambodia from December 9-12.

“His exact programme is still being worked out,” spokesman Therese Gstaart told a news briefing as four East Timorese who had sought sanctuary in the French embassy in Jakarta left the compound for the airport and political asylum in Portugal.

It was not clear whether Ayala Lasso would be allowed to see imprisoned rebels, including guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao, who is in a Jakarta jail. Gusmao was captured in November 1992 and sentenced to 20 years in prison after a controversial trial.

But a U.N. source told Reuters: “The High Commissioner has received assurances (by the Indonesian government) that he will be able to see all the people he wants to see.”

East Timor has remained a major focus for rights groups and activists since troops shot dead up to 200 demonstrators in a Dili cemetery in late 1991.

Since late September, 39 East Timorese have left their Indonesian-ruled homeland by seeking sanctuary in embassies.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 after the departure of the territory’s Portuguese colonisers and annexed it the next year. The move was never recognised by the United Nations and Portugal says it is still East Timor’s administering authority.

Ayala Lasso will report back on his findings to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, which opens its next annual session in Geneva in mid-March.

The 53-member Commission, the U.N.’s main human rights forum, last February expressed its deep concern over “continuing
reports of violations of human rights in East Timor.”

At that time the Commission welcomed the government’s pledge to invite the High Commissioner and said it expected to examine his report at its next session. Jakarta’s invitation was seen as a way of avoiding an official resolution of censure.

In Cambodia, Ayala Lasso is expected to sign a memo of understanding with the government regarding the office of the U.N. Centre for Human Rights, according to U.N. sources. The Centre employs eight experts who monitor human rights there.

INDONESIA SAYS UN VISIT TO IMPROVE RIGHTS RECORD

[abridged]

JAKARTA, Nov 26 (Reuters) - Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas said next month’s visit by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights would help the country improve the implementation of human rights, the official Antara news agency reported on Sunday.

“Indonesia is keen to improve the implementation of human rights, and he (Jose Ayala Lasso) is the most senior U.N. official in charge of human rights,” he was quoted as telling reporters on Friday night.

Lasso’s five-day visit to Indonesia, which starts on December 4, is at the invitation of Jakarta.

Alatas said Lasso, whose visit would include a two-day trip to East Timor, would come to Indonesia in his capacity as a U.N. human rights official and not to conduct an investigation.

UN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER VISITS EAST TIMOR

JAKARTA, Dec 3 (UPI) – United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso said Sunday his visit to Indonesia and the troubled East Timor province was to promote and protect human rights, not to conduct an investigation.

Lasso met with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and was scheduled to meet with jailed East Timor independence leader Xanana Gusmão and influential Catholic Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo.

“I come to Indonesia and East Timor to speak about human rights issues,” Lasso said, adding his discussions with Alatas were “fruitful.”

“The point we have raised are those mentioned in reports of the U.N. and certainly the question related to East Timor,” Lasso said. He was scheduled to leave Monday for a two-day visit of East Timor.

“I have not come here for an investigation mission. I have come here as the High Commissioner of Human Rights with the purpose to promote and to protect human rights,” Lasso said.

He said he had received the cooperation of the government “to see whomever I want” and “to meet with whomever I mention.”

The 48-year-old Gusmão is serving a 20-year sentence for guerrilla activities in the fight for independence of East Timor, which was annexed by Indonesia nearly two decades ago.

East Timor, 1,250 miles (2,000 km) east of Jakarta, has remained a political thorn for Indonesia since Jakarta annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976, following a bloody invasion that toppled the eight-month-old Democratic republic of East Timor set up by left-wing Fretilin guerrillas.

The United Nations has not recognized Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor and regards Portugal as the administrative power.

Indonesia has endured constant international criticism over its handling of East Timor, particularly after its troops opened fire on pro-independence demonstrators in the capital province of Dili on Nov. 12, 1991.

The government admitted in an official report that 50 people were killed in the barrage, but international human rights groups put the death toll at more than 200.

In recent months, a growing number of East Timorese youths have entered foreign embassies in Jakarta, seeking asylum. To date, 43 youths have been granted asylum in Lisbon.

SIX ARRESTED TRYING TO REACH AYALA ALASSO

From LUSA, Dec 4 – Six people were arrested in East Timor this weekend, who carried a message to UN High Commissioner Jose Ayala Lasso visiting the territory this week, according to sources of the resistance in Dili. The contents of the message are not known. The six are Rui N. Lopes and José Valdo de Araujo (both students from Maliana), Caetano and Teodoro Soares (students in Cailaco), Cipriano Cardoso, a resident of Atabae, and Ainuco, who was arrested in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. Dili resistance sources report that their attempts at any expression of dissent have been frustrated by the strong security measures in Dili.

[Ayala Lasso confirmed to LUSA earlier that he intends to visit Xanana Gusmão during his visit to Indonesia]

ARRESTS OF EAST TIMORESE INTENDING TO MEET UN HUMAN RIGHTS HIGH COMMISSIONER AYALA ALASSO

CNRM Media release, 5 December 1995

At least six East Timorese hoping to meet UN Human Rights High Commissioner Jose Ayala Lasso, on a brief 25 hour visit to Dili today, have been arrested by the Indonesian military.

Five of them were carrying a message from the East Timorese Resistance for the High Commissioner. The message, whose contents have not been disclosed, has been confiscated. The arrested are: Rui N. Lopes, José Valdo de Araujo, both students from Maliana, Caetano and Teodoro Soares, students from Cailaco, and Cipriano Cardoso, from Atabae. On Sunday morning a police patrol also arrested a man called Ainuco near Dili’s Santa Cruz Cemetery.

These facts once again point to the hypocrisy and lack of credibility of the Indonesian government. Prior to this unwelcome visit, forced upon Indonesia by the United Nations Human Rights Commission last March, as a means of avoiding a highly critical resolution for its gross human rights violations in East Timor, Indonesian Foreign Minister Alatas claimed that Mr Ayala Lasso would be free to meet with all sectors of East Timorese society.

The reality, however, is the opposite. It is standard practice with official visits by international dignitaries to the occupied territory for tight security to be put in place throughout Dili to intimidate the local population from attempting to establish contact with the foreign visitors, or to demonstrate rejection of the oppressive Indonesian rule.

Dili sources (also LUSA News Agency 04/12 report) inform that there are large numbers of plain clothed military patrolling Dili streets. Even access to the Matikota Hotel, where the High Commissioner has been placed by his Indonesian hosts, is strongly controlled, making it virtually impossible for ordinary East Timorese to approach the UN Human Rights delegation.

Tight military control also makes it very difficult for the East Timorese to demonstrate during the visit. As LUSA mentioned, a demonstration is planned, but organisers will only be able to decide at the last minute whether to hold it.

CNRM hopes that, despite its brevity, the obstacles placed in his way by the duplicitous Indonesian occupation authorities, and the limited possibilities for contact with East Timorese people, Mr Ayala Lasso’s visit to East Timor may still be of some utility to the people of East Timor.

CNRM calls upon Mr Ayala Lasso to investigate, as a matter of urgency, the situa-
tion of those arrested, and in all probability severely mistreated, for attempting to contact him.

U.N. CALLS FOR STRONGER INDONESIAN RIGHTS BODY

By Jim Della-Giacoma

JAKARTA, Dec 4 (Reuter) - The U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso, urged Indonesia on Monday to strengthen its government-appointed national human rights commission to boost its effectiveness.

Ayala Lasso, on a six-day official visit to Indonesia and troubled East Timor, told reporters after meeting six members of Jakarta’s commission he hoped the body could be a “model of dynamism, efficacy and action.”

He arrived in Jakarta on Saturday for a visit that coincides with the 20th anniversary on December 7 of Indonesia’s military invasion of East Timor.

Indonesia annexed East Timor, as its 27th province, in July 1976. The United Nations however still regards Portugal as the administering power of the territory.

Ayala Lasso, due to start a two-day visit to East Timor on Tuesday, said he spoke with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas on Sunday and with the commission about strengthening the body.

“It will be very important to have a legal basis for the commission,” the Geneva-based Ayala Lasso said.

U.N. human rights officials have pointed out in the past that the fledgling 25-member commission, formed in 1993, exists under a presidential decree rather than an act of parliament.

“It is very important to have the commission with enough resources to let (it) work as actively as possible (and) to have the findings, resolutions and recommendations of the commission followed up in such a way that they could become a more and more effective element in the policy of human rights of Indonesia,” he said.

Alatas on Sunday rejected calls by Ayala Lasso’s commission for a re-investigation of the 1991 massacre in Dili, East Timor’s capital, of civilians by Indonesian troops.

Jakarta said 50 people died. Human rights activists and others put the figure at up to 200.

London-based Amnesty International said the commission had helped a limited number of human rights violations to receive public attention but full and impartial investigations into violations were not being done in Indonesia and East Timor.

“Limitations on the commission’s power and functions prevent it from being a truly effective mechanism for redressing human rights violations,” Amnesty said in a briefing note, a copy of which was received by Reuters on Monday.

Miriam Budiardjo, vice-chairperson of Indonesia’s commission, told Reuters that members had told Ayala Lasso they felt their independence was not an issue.

“We ourselves do not feel we are in any way impeded by being created by a presidential decree,” Budiardjo said after the meeting. She also said the body was sufficiently funded.

“In a way it is better, because having been established by a presidential decree it means our findings will be heard because we are made by the president,” she said.

“We have proven that this is right. We have made statements in which we have suffered from the government,” she added.

Earlier this year, the commission released findings alleging that Indonesian soldiers summarily killed six East Timorese villagers in January.

It also supported allegations by the local Roman Catholic Church and activists’ that the military had killed at least 16 villagers in Irian Jaya, bordering Papua New Guinea.

Clementino Amaral, an East Timorese commission member, said he told Ayala Lasso the commission would open a branch in the former Portuguese colony next year.

“I told him that indeed there are still violations of human rights in East Timor but, since this commission was founded, they had started to decrease,” he told reporters.

“In the Portuguese period, the violations of human rights were much greater than now, only at that time the world did not take so much attention of what was happening there,” he said.

UN OFFICIAL URGES TALKS TO SOLVE TIMOR CONFLICT

[slightly abridged]

Dili, East Timor, Dec 5 (Reuter) - The visiting U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights called on the Indonesia-appointed East Timor government on Tuesday to step up dialogue with local people to help solve human rights problems in the territory.

“I’ve asked the East Timor government to solve human rights problems by holding dialogues with the local people,” Jose Ayala Lasso told reporters after talks with governor Abilio Soares.

The city was calm at the start of Ayala Lasso’s two-day visit, which coincides with the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of the former Portuguese colony on December 7.

Ayala Lasso also held talks with local police and military officials and members of the local parliament. He was scheduled to attend a dinner with several Timorese leaders.

On Wednesday he was also due to meet outspoken East Timor Catholic bishop Carlos Belo.

Ayala Lasso, speaking through an interpreter, said he asked authorities to work together with the East Timorese to solve problems that had lasted for 20 years.

“The problems can be resolved through dialogue...and the dialogue should be on human rights. This is important,” he said without elaborating.

He said he had asked governor Soares whether the government had given proper compensation to the victims of the so-called Santa Cruz massacre in 1991.

Soares later told reporters the request for compensation had been forwarded to Jakarta but there had been no response.

A number of East Timorese leaders earlier told Reuters they were seeking a dialogue with Ayala Lasso on human rights issues and the large military presence in the territory but said they were not sure if such a meeting would take place.

“What I have now is an invitation for a dinner tonight with Ayala Lasso along with several other people,” East Timor parliamentarian Manuel Carrascalão said.

“I expect a special dialogue to address the issues of human rights violations and the excessive military presence. If we can’t do that, then the visit will mean nothing,” he said.

Ayala Lasso said an issue discussed with the security officers was the fate of the 35 East Timorese who tried to flee the territory by boat last month to northern Australia.

He said he was told that five of them were being questioned for being the alleged leaders while the rest had been released.

LASSO BEGINS TIMOR VISIT

Voice of America, 12/5/95. By Dan Robinson, Bangkok

Intro: A United Nations human-rights official has begun a two-day visit to the troubled territory, East Timor. VOA correspondent Dan Robinson reports the visit comes just before the 20th anniversary (December seventh) of the Indonesian military invasion of the former Portuguese colony:

Text: UN Human Rights Commissioner Jose Ayala Lasso flew to Dili – about two thousand kilometers east of Jakarta – after talks with Indonesian government officials

In Jakarta, he met members of the government-sanctioned National Human-Rights
Commission and urged its activities be strengthened. Members of the Commission visited East Timor, earlier this year, in the wake of shootings of civilians by Indonesian troops. Results of an investigation allege soldiers summarily killed villagers.

However, the Commission has been criticized by Amnesty International and other human rights groups for not doing enough about the situation in East Timor. It has announced plans to open an office in Dili in 1996.

In Dili, Mr. Ayala Lasso was expected to meet the leader of the Catholic community in East Timor – Bishop Carlos Belo – as well as Jakarta-appointed Governor Abilio Soares.

A Reuter news agency report quoted local figures in Dili as saying they hope to meet Mr. Ayala Lasso, but were still uncertain if they will be permitted to do so.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas is quoted as telling Mr. Ayala Lasso in Jakarta (Monday) Indonesia does not accept a call by the UN Human Rights Commission to re-investigate the 1991 Dili massacre.

In that incident, Indonesian soldiers killed 50 people after opening fire on a funeral procession in Dili. Human-rights groups and journalists who were present say the death toll may have been much higher.

Indonesian troops invaded East Timor December Seventh, 1975, and annexed the troubled territory in July of the following year. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia’s control of East Timor and considers Portugal the administering power.

Over the past year, East Timor has been hit by rioting – sparked by resentment of the continuing Indonesian military presence and social issues such as migration.

Indonesian president Suharto recently reiterated Jakarta’s resistance to any change in the status of the territory. Talks between Portugal and Indonesia, begun earlier this year, have made no significant progress.

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TIMORESE RAISE RIGHTS ISSUES WITH U.N. OFFICIAL

_By Lewa Pardomuan_

JAKARTA, Dec 6 (Reuters) - East Timorese leaders expressed concerns over human rights issues to the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso, during an impromptu meeting at his hotel room on his visit to the former Portuguese colony.

The talks on Tuesday night were hastily arranged by Ayala Lasso in the East Timor capital Dili after a dinner hosted by the Indonesia-appointed governor, Abilio Soares.

Senior police and military officers also attended the meeting.

Ayala Lasso’s two-day East Timor visit, which ends on Wednesday, coincides with the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of the territory on December 7.

“I told him about human rights violations here and how the situation needs improvement,” East Timor parliamentarian Manuel Carrascalão, one of the four leaders who met Ayala Lasso, told Reuters on Wednesday.

“I also expressed my hope the United Nations will help improve the state of affairs in East Timor,” he said by telephone.

Carrascalão and aid worker Florentino Sarmento had earlier expressed doubts they would be able to hold talks with Ayala Lasso.

The other leaders who met Ayala Lasso were Armando Maia, acting rector of the state-run East Timor University, and Arlindo Marçal, a Protestant priest.

Ayala Lasso is scheduled to meet East Timor’s outspoken bishop Carlos Belo in Dili on Wednesday.

“It was Ayala Lasso’s own initiative to see us that night. The meeting was actually scheduled for today. We know he has a very tight schedule on Wednesday which made it impossible for him to see us,” Carrascalão said.

Indonesia’s human rights record came under renewed scrutiny when government troops opened fire on civilians holding a pro-independence protest at a cemetery in Dili in November, 1991.

Jakarta says 50 people were killed but human rights activists and others put the figure at up to 200.

Aid worker Sarmento said that during the meeting with Ayala Lasso he called for United Nations help.

“I told him we want the United Nations to bridge the differences between East Timorese and Jakartas,” he said.

“East Timorese who are against integration with Indonesia feel their rights are being violated by the authorities in Dili,” he said.

“Jakarta thinks integration is a pure military occupation while Timorese think integration is a process of getting freedom,” he said.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year, a move not recognised by the United Nations.

Ayala Lasso had earlier on Tuesday called on the Indonesia-appointed East Timor government to step up dialogue with Timorese to help solve human rights problems.

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UN RIGHTS OFFICE IN EAST TIMOR BLOCKED

13 December 95

GENEVA (AP) – Indonesia has agreed to let the United Nations open a human rights office in its capital, but blocked a request for one in the disputed territory of East Timor.

The U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala-Lasso, was allowed a rare visit to East Timor last week, and said Wednesday that despite some improvements the overall situation in the territory remained bleak.

“There are very grave violations of human rights in East Timor,” including torture, illegal imprisonment and denial of free speech, Ayala Lasso told a news conference.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 in a move still regarded as illegal by the United Nations. Alleged abuses in the territory have drawn worldwide criticism.

During his visit, Ayala Lasso held talks with Indonesian government officials and human rights activists, and met imprisoned East Timorese pro-independence leader José Alexandre Gusmão. He said Gusmão was in good health and relatively good spirits despite a 20-year jail sentence.

Indonesia agreed to Ayala Lasso’s visit to escape embarrassing condemnation by the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

UN RIGHTS CHIEF SAYS “GRAVE VIOLATIONS” IN EAST TIMOR

_by Robert Evans, [abridged]_

GENEVA, Dec 13 (Reuters) – United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala-Lasso, just back from a visit to Indonesia, said on Wednesday he believed there were “very grave” rights violations in East Timor.

But he said although the Indonesian government had refused to allow him to open an office in Dili, the Timorese capital, it had agreed he could post a representative in Jakarta who would be able to visit the former Portuguese colony.

“In my opinion there are very grave human rights violations in East Timor. We could see that from the general environment... and from conversations I had with several groups,” Ayala Lasso told a news conference.

He said he had learned that torture was used against political detainees. “The fact that people who express views opposing the government risk imprisonment is a grave violation of human rights in itself,” he added.

Ayala Lasso, a former Ecuadorian diplomat, made an official five-day visit to Indonesia earlier this month and spent two days
in East Timor where he saw local leaders who want independence, as well as officials.

He was allowed to visit jailed East Timorese guerrilla chief Xanana Gusmão, serving a 20-year-sentence for leading the armed resistance to the Indonesians, and found him concerned about the survival of his people under Indonesian rule.

When he asked him how he was, Ayala Lasso said, Gusmão replied: “As well as a man deprived of liberty can feel.”

He said Gusmão gave him a message, whose contents who declined to reveal, for U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali who is sponsoring talks between Indonesia and Portugal and between Timorese factions on the area’s future.

Ayala Lasso said he had asked the Indonesian government to allow him to open an office in Dili, but had been told this would run against Jakarta’s stand on East Timor’s status – that it is now part of Indonesia.

Instead, he said, the Indonesian authorities agreed after some discussion to an office in Jakarta and promised that the official who would run it would be able to travel to Dili and carry out investigations without interference.

The government had also pledged that it would allow non-governmental organisations from outside to carry out their own inquiries inside Indonesia on human rights, he added. He did not say which groups this might apply to.

Ayala Lasso said he felt the Indonesian authorities had taken some steps that were positive on the overall rights situation in the country, including the establishment of a national commission on human rights.

He said he had been assured by reliable people in the legal profession that the commission was independent, but it suffered from a shortage of funds. He had also urged the government to pass a law giving it a firm juridical basis.

The U.N. official said demonstrations against him in Jakarta, both when he visited Gusmão when he went to parliament, had not unduly concerned him although on one occasion clearly aggressive protesters surrounded his car and banged on it.

“The police were more or less there, I never felt in danger,” he added. He declined to say whether he believed the protests were organised by the government itself.

**LASSO SAID ‘VIOLATIONS’ RIFE IN EAST TIMOR**

*Reuter, in Jakarta Post, 14 December 1995*

Comment from TAPOL: UN Human Rights Commissioner Lasso’s consent to the idea of having a UN human rights office in Jakarta to oversee the human rights situation in East Timor means that he has accepted Jakarta’s sovereignty claim over East Timor, in clear violation of the UN’s position on East Timor’s status. If this is how things eventually happen, this could be the most contentious part of his findings and decisions. Nor should we take at face value his acceptance of assurances about the National Commission’s independence. Take the Timika investigations: The Commission went further probably than the regime would have like. However, there were obviously constraints upon it to avoid implicating Freeport in the atrocities. To this day, its intentions to examine the role of Freeport have not borne fruit.

Geneva – UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso said yesterday he believed there were ‘very grave’ human rights violations in East Timor.

But he said the Indonesian government had agreed he could post a representative in Jakarta who would be able to visit the former Portuguese colony.

‘In my opinion there are very grave human rights violations in East Timor. We could see that from the general environment... and from the conversations I had with several groups,’ Ayala Lasso told a news conference.

Ayala Lasso, a former Ecuadorian diplomat, made an official five-day visit to Indonesia earlier this month and spent two days in East Timor where he saw local leaders.

He was allowed to visit East Timorese separatist leader ‘Xanana’ Gusmão, serving a 20-year sentence for leading an armed rebellion against Indonesian rule in East Timor. He said Xanana gave him a message, whose contents he declined to reveal, for UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali who is sponsoring talks between Indonesia and Portugal and between Timorese factions on the area’s future.

Lasso said he had asked the Indonesian government to allow him to open an office in Dili, but had been told that this would run against Jakarta’s stand on East Timor - that it is now part of Indonesia.

Instead, he said the Indonesian authorities agreed after some discussion to an office in Jakarta and promised that the official who would run it would be able to travel to Dili.

The government had also pledged that it would allow non-governmental organisations from outside to carry out their own inquiries inside Indonesia on human rights, he added.

He said he felt that the Indonesian authorities had taken some steps that were positive on the overall rights situation in the country, including the establishment of a national commission on human rights.

He said he had been assured by reliable people in the legal profession that the commission was independent but it suffered from a shortage of funds. He had urged the government to pass a law giving it a firm juridical basis.

The UN official said demonstrations against him in Jakarta had not unduly concerned him although on one occasion clearly aggressive protesters surrounded his car and banged on it. ‘The police were more or less there, I never felt in danger,’ he added.

**GOVERNMENT ON PROTESTS DURING AYALA LASSO’S VISIT**


**Recent Events in Indonesia, December 31, 1995**

Youthful demonstrators invaded Jakarta’s foreign embassies in December to protest, both “pro” and “con,” the ongoing East Timor issue. The Australian, Dutch, and Russian embassies were affected. The protest in the Australian embassy was sparked by burnings of the Indonesian flag in Australia, which irked Indonesian patriots.

Demonstrators with opposing views clashed at the Dutch embassy, causing minor injuries to several Dutch diplomats. Riot police ended the three-day sit in, escorting the youths to buses. All 112 demonstrators agreed to leave the Dutch and Russian embassies. They were questioned and released within the mandatory 24 hours. The Russian embassy denounced the occupation as an unacceptable infringement of diplomatic rights.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said protestors to Indonesia’s rule were free to leave, like the 43 others who have gained political asylum in Portugal. However, asylum did not appear to be the objective of the latest group of “fence jumpers,” who seemed more bent on attracting international attention.

The incident coincided with the last day (Dec. 7) of a 6-day visit to Indonesia by U.N. High Commissioner on Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso. Lasso’s tour included two days in East Timor. The seventh round of the U.N.-sponsored tri-partite talks to
ABILIO ARAUJO VISITS EAST TIMOR & SUHARTO

ABILIO TO SPEND XMAS IN DILI?
Suara Merdeka, 15 November 1995. Abridged

President Suharto has proposed that the anti-integrasi leader, Abilio Araujo should be invited to Dili to see for himself the religious harmony between various groups in Indonesia, in the province (of East Timor).

Lopez da Cruz announced this after meeting the President to report on the repatriation of ten fighters for integration in 1959 who are expected to return (sic) to Indonesia soon.

‘The President agreed to grant “grasi” [1] to Dr Abilio and said it would be good for him to spend Christmas together... so that he could return and explain the situation to his friends in Portugal,’ said da Cruz. ('grasi' means ‘a pardon’).

Further according to da Cruz, the new Portuguese government has decided to remain neutral on the question of East Timor and will not side with either the pro or anti-integration groups. It is also willing, according to da Cruz, to hold dialogue with all Timorese, including those who are Indonesian citizens.

ABILIO ARAUJO MEETS SUHARTO

Kompas, 5 and 7 January 1996

The following are translated extracts from two articles in Kompas, reporting on the visit to Indonesia by ex-president of Fretilin, Abilio Araujo:

5 January:

Abilio Araujo accompanied by special ambassador Lopez da Cruz, the Indonesian ambassador in London, J.E. Habibie, Antonio Maria Araujo and Rogerio Pereira, the delegation was described as a ‘Portuguese anti-integration delegation’ met with members of the National Commission for Human Rights.

Members of the ‘Portuguese group’ asked questions about the possibility of self-determination for the people of East Timor. Charles Himawan of the Commission said self-determination could also be a concept within a state. Commission members asked whether the clause in the Portuguese Constitution which treats East Timor as a Portuguese colony (sic) could be repealed but were told that none of the four major Portuguese parties was prepared to take such an initiative.

They concluded that there were still many misunderstandings between Portugal and Indonesia. The Araujo team suggested that the Commission prepare a ‘joint writing’ (? Kompas uses the English words) on the legal position of the two countries. The Commission undertook to do this.

Referring to the many criticisms from Portugal about development in East Timor, the Commission asked the Araujo team to convince Portuguese businessmen that foreign investment is the cornerstone of development in East Timor.

7 January:

This item consisted of an interview with Abilio Araujo the day after he had a one-hour meeting with President Suharto. Before this meeting, his group had been received by a number of ministers including the foreign minister, the research and technology minister Habibie, the education minister, as well as leaders of the businessmen’s organisation, Kadin. Some of the answers have been abridged.

Q: After meeting our leaders and seeing Indonesia for yourself, what is your impression?
A: My impression of Indonesia and in particular of Jakarta is very positive. This visit of mine has opened up a new stage in my understanding of Indonesia, the people as well as the state. I have seen a great deal of development activity in Indonesia. I am sure I have a lot to learn from Indonesia.

Q: What do you think is the best solution for the question of East Timor?
A: I continue to support government efforts to reach a solution through tripartite dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal under UN auspices. Three years ago, I said that reconciliation between East Timorese would make an important contribution to a solution.

Q: Is reconciliation the best way?
A: For me as an East Timorese who knows only a little about the history of East Timor [it seems strange that Abilio should have said this; there may be errors in Kompas’s translation of his replies which must have been spoken in English] in the pre-colonial era, the colonial era and the present day, I consider that stability is the primary necessity in East Timor in order to create social harmony.

Q: Can you say something about your meeting with President Suharto?
A: It was a great honour for me to meet President Suharto yesterday. My meeting with His Excellency President Suharto was an event of very great importance to me. During that one-hour meeting, I learnt a great deal about history. I also learnt to respect President Suharto’s role as the leader of a great state and nation.

During our meeting, President Suharto expressed his support for reconciliation between all East Timorese citizens and at the same time, he also opened his arms wide to all East Timorese who want to contribute their thoughts to developing East Timor. I told him that this was something that gave me very great pleasure indeed.

I told the President that I am not very good at light conversation I also told the President that I can’t make any promises but that I will go on doing whatever I can, especially with those East Timorese who have confidence in me. In particular, I told President Suharto to go on loving East Timor. I will do everything in my power to ensure that the people of East Timor can fit in with the rhythm of world developments. After my return, I will tell my friends in Lisbon and the Portuguese Foreign Minister about my meeting (with President Suharto).

Q: How do you yourself see the problem?
A: I think that there are still problems. That is why we must work together, hand in hand, to create mutual trust. I think that many people want to see a solution. If we all love East Timor, we must all put aside personal interests and open ourselves up to dialogue.

DOING BUSINESS WITH SUHARTO

Publico, 6 January 1996. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros, Abridged

Abilio Araujo is one of a consortium to construct a dam in East Timor.

Lisbon – In Jakarta, Abilio Araujo met yesterday with Suharto. Officially, the meeting was yet another in the Timorese “reconciliation” process. However, beneath the political statements, business dealings were underway - business such as Indonesia’s dam building project in East Timor.

Abilio Araujo, who continues to refer to himself as Fretilin’s representative in Portugal, currently in Jakarta and received today by Suharto, is one of a group of Timorese constituting a consortium which will be supervising the construction of the Ira Lalaro dam, a considerable Indonesian business undertaking in East Timor.
The project was discussed last April in Amsterdam during a meeting called and chaired by the Indonesian Ambassador to London, J. E. Habibie. Brother of the influential Minister of Science & Technology in Suharto’s government, Habibie had already played an important role in the so-called reconciliation meetings which, not by coincidence, were also held on British soil.

It is also no coincidence that the dam building consortium includes the names of the two most prominent figures in the “reconciliation” process: Lopes da Cruz, Suharto’s roving ambassador who headed the delegation from Timor to the “reconciliation” meeting, and Abilio Araujo, who led the delegation of Timorese exiles.

Lopes da Cruz and Abilio Araujo were at the Amsterdam meeting. In addition to Habibie, the following were also present: Timorese Manuel Tilman, resident in Macao and also linked to the “reconciliation” process; Manuel Macedo, as leader of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association; and Paulus Tannos, Company Chairman of Summa Dinamika Energy, chosen by the Indonesian Electric Company to construct the dam.

In the minutes of the meeting (which Publico had access to), Lopes da Cruz, Araujo and Tilman emerge as members of the consortium which will supervise the project. The name of Abilio Osorio Soares, Governor of East Timor, and absent from the Amsterdam meeting, also figured as one of the consortium.

The minutes referred to a previous meeting held in London – presumably when one of the “reconciliation” meetings was being held there – and describes the people involved in the project as “being mainly concerned about playing an active role in the development of the East Timor region.”

According to the Minutes, “the meeting concluded that all the participants would agree to help and to actively participate in the development of the Ira Lalara dam project.”

The consortium, formed by a representative of Summa Dinamika Energy, and by a company to be formed by Lopes da Cruz, Abilio Osorio, Abilio Araujo, and Manuel Tilman, and open to “other prominent members” who may join, would be in charge of supervising the project and attracting investments for the dam construction.

J. E. Habibie was “requested” to agree to be an Advisor to a Supervisory Group, whose job it would be to recommend which companies would work with Abengoa (another Indonesian private company, described as one of the main contractors) on the dam construction engineering studies.

At the President’s residence yesterday, Publico tried repeatedly to contact Abilio Araujo and Francisco Lopes da Cruz in Jakarta, as well as Manuel Tilman in Macao. It proved impossible to speak to any of these members of the consortium, so the question of whether the Ira Lalara dam would be among the subjects to be raised by Abilio Araujo in Jakarta went unanswered.

What is certain, however, is that Abilio Araujo was received yesterday by Suharto in the Indonesian President’s official residence. The audience, which earlier this week was denied by the Indonesian Minister of Information, lasted about one hour, and was the highlight of a series of meetings attended by Abilio, who also met with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Plan Co-ordination, Science and Technology (brother of the Ambassador to London), and Education and Culture. He also met with the Chairman of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

A further meeting with Minister Ali Atalas will mark the end of his visit. Yesterday, after the audience with Suharto, the delegation led by Abilio Araujo issued a statement listing the main items discussed with the Indonesian President. Top of the list was Suharto’s support for the continuation of “reconciliation” and the wider intra-Timorenese dialogue, and for the recognition of the “historic and socio-cultural peculiarities” of the Timorese.

Reports of new arrests in East Timor also reached the outside world yesterday. This time, according to a local source quoted by the LUSA agency, twelve Timorese were arrested, accused of organising illegal meetings. According to the same source, seven of the detainees were later released, but the five who remain in detention are said to be undergoing torture in Dili.

The idea for a comprehensive development scheme, centering on a hydroelectric plant in Los Palos was developed by potential Japanese investors and others in the Japan-Timor Association when East Timor was still a quiet Portuguese colony. A Japanese development consultant firm drew up detailed development plans (in English and Portuguese.) Specifics on the hydroelectric project are part of a 70-page project report (Digest), Feb. 1975, which I have. Other aspects of the project are “development in agriculture and stockbreeding, fishing industries, as well as processing plants for their secondary products...as well as sightseeing business and living water system.”

~ Jean Inglis

JAKARTA, Jan 19 (Reuters) - Indonesia said on Friday it plans to build a 27 megawatt (MW) hydropower plant in East Timor, tripling capacity in a territory that has yet to offer all its citizens round the clock electricity.

The official Antara news agency quoted the local head of the state-run electricity firm PLN, Heri Siswanto, as saying on Thursday that an environmental impact analysis was being conducted ahead of the plant’s construction on Iralalaro lake, near the eastern tip of Timor island.

He was speaking in the territory’s capital Dili.

The plant, expected to be completed by 2003, would provide enough power for domestic consumption and to attract new industries to the area, Indonesia’s poorest, he said.

Indonesia has ruled the East Timor since invading the former Portuguese colony in 1975. The United Nations does not recognise its rule and Jakarta faces dogged opposition by guerrilla bands and clandestine groups.

Present power in East Timor amounts to 11 MW, Antara said.

Siswanto said in March 1995 that five out of 13 regencies in East Timor received 24-hour electricity, with the rest having power for up to 12 hours a day.

More recent figures were not immediately available.
ABILIO ARAUJO’S MEETING WITH SUHARTO

Diario de Noticias (DN), 8 January 1996.
By Abel Coelho de Morais. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon — “I believe that the present situation in East Timor could be improved and, perhaps, even really changed,” said Abilio Araujo, speaking by phone from Jakarta to DN about his meeting with President Suharto last weekend.

According to the Timorese politician and businessman, there is willingness in Indonesia “to find a solution” for East Timor, as well as the hope that “Portugal co-operates in the search for that solution.” The meeting with Suharto took place at the President’s official residence, the Sandalwood Palace, and was also attended by the Indonesian Ambassador to London, Lopes da Cruz, and the President’s official interpreter. It lasted for “one hour and five minutes” (according to Araujo, official circles viewed this as an exceptionally long meeting). Abilio Araujo also met with Ali Alatas, and said that, on his return, he would be reporting back on that meeting to Jaime Gama (new Portuguese Foreign Minister).

Araujo admitted that when he had set off on his trip he had been “extremely worried” because of Jakarta’s growing opposition to the “intra-Timorese meetings.” However, he said that Suharto had assured him that “if they (the meetings) were the wish of the Timorese, the meetings would continue.” The next such meeting will be held after the forthcoming Ministerial meeting between Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the UN, due to take place in London on 16th of this month.

Araujo explained he had not made statements to the Portuguese or Indonesian press because he was “caught in the crossfire” and did “not want to get involved in arguments” which could reduce the impact and damage the political and economic interests in question.

Concerning the contradictory reports coming from various corners, the Timorese politician attributed them to sectors in the Jakarta Government or to circles close to the main wings, namely the “military” and “technocrats,” who are seeking to influence the direction in which the regime is heading.

On the other hand, it is clear that Araujo’s approximation to Jakarta has contributed to diminish the protagonism of others outside Timor who have maintained a privileged relationship with Indonesia. According to Araujo, the high-level treatment afforded to his group and the “very cordial atmosphere at all the meetings,” are indications of the role he can play and evidence that Jakarta considers him an indispensable interlocutor in the Timor issue.

In response to questions about the criticism from the Resistance, Araujo said he thought the time had come for “the other side to think about” whether or not it is serious about finding a solution, or whether it just wants “to make Timor a way of life.”

On the financial aspects of his trip, Araujo admitted that he had gone to Jakarta to negotiate important business: “agro-industrial projects, the construction of a cement factory, which Timor does not have,” investments in the tourist trade and the marble industry. The building of a hydroelectric dam at the Ira Lalara lake, in Los Palos, was at the centre of these talks. The dam, which would be served by a sizeable subterranean watercourse, was described as a “mega-project” by Araujo, who added that the “geological studies of the area” are already underway.

ABILIO ARAUJO CONCERNED ABOUT TIMOR’S DEVELOPMENT

A Capital, 12 January 1996. Original Language Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Timorese politician, Abilio Araujo, thinks that priority should be given to development in East Timor, even if that means that Indonesia’s occupation of the territory continues. In an interview with the LUSA agency, two days after he returned from a visit to Indonesia, during which he was received by President Suharto, Araujo admitted that he had changed his views on the question of Timor.

After years, as Chairman of Fretilin, of calling for self-determination for the former Portuguese colony, the politician-entrepreneur now thinks that independence “in the absence of development would be like going into reverse.”

“Right now, the country that is able to develop East Timor is Indonesia, which is already there,” said Araujo. He explained the U-turn in his views by saying that the talks between Portugal and Indonesia on the territory could drag on for “another 10, 15 or 20 years.”

Araujo said that his having abandoned the fight for independence did not mean he had decided to support the territory’s integration with Indonesia. “Nowadays, I do not address such questions (integration or independence), but see things in a different, broader perspective.” He saw a need to put greater emphasis on developing East Timor than on the decision about its political status.

Araujo himself is determined to promote development there, which is why he is backing the construction of the Lospalos dam project... He also intends to get other projects underway (for example, production of tomatoes for export), and challenges other Timorese entrepreneurs and specialists to invest in the territory.

“I want to catapult Timor onto the same level as other more developed countries in the region,” such as Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia, he said. ... “I don’t care whether I give the advantage to Indonesia. What I do care about are the Timorese.”

The businessman said he was prepared to sacrifice his political career in exchange for
the construction of the hydroelectric dam, which has led him to associate with some leading figures of the Indonesian regime, such as the Indonesian Ambassador to the UK, Habibie (brother of the Minister for Science and Technology), and the Governor of East Timor, Abilio Osorio.

Araujo emphasised, however, that prioritising development in East Timor could not be dissociated from respect for human rights, as he believed the two concepts were inseparable. ....

With regard to his meeting with Suharto, Araujo said he had been given the President’s assurances that “measures to improve the situation in the territory were going to be taken.” He declined to go into details, however, until after his meeting on Friday with Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama. He would only say that he informed Suharto about the strategy which, he believed, would create a suitable atmosphere in which development in East Timor could thrive. The basis for said strategy would be: pacification, demilitarisation, Timorisation of the administration, and reconciliation.

On the subject of demilitarisation, Araujo considered Indonesia’s military presence in East Timor to be “exaggerated to an extreme,” because the real number of troops is actually “far greater than the official number.”

**I WANT TO MEET WITH XANANA**

Diario de Notícias, 17 January 1996, By Abel Coelho de Morais. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Abílio Araujo is preparing a further trip to Indonesia, and wants to meet with Xanana Gusmão. He says there are “currents” within the Jakarta regime that are seeking “a solution” for Timor.

“The Indonesian Government accepts that Xanana is part of the solution to the problem of Timor,” said Abílio Araujo, during an interview with Diario de Notícias (DN), just hours before Foreign Minister Jaime Gama revealed that he was prepared to meet the Timorese Resistance leader in Jakarta. Xanana Gusmão ought to take part in the reconciliation meetings, said Araujo, adding that he had received Indonesia’s assurances that an end has been put to its policy of transmigration to Timor.

**DN: How would you describe the outcome of your trip to Indonesia and meeting with Suharto?**

Abílio Araujo (AA): On balance it was extremely positive ... Indonesia respected the terms and framework of my visit. The trip was embarked upon within the scope of the reconciliation meetings that I initiated in 1993 and, in that respect, all my meetings with the Indonesian authorities were with a view to appealing to Jakarta to allow the intra-Timorese dialogue to continue. The authorities and the President himself assured me that the dialogue would continue. Also, with regard to the demands which came out of the reconciliation meetings, Indonesia’s policy of transmigration to Timor has now been cancelled. I was assured that, given the special circumstances and the situation in the territory, the Government has refrained from promoting it.

**DN: What can the Timorese hope to achieve from the intra-Timorese dialogue?**

AA: ... the approximation of Timorese leaders around issues - such as the “Timorisation” of public, social, political and economic life - on which they could reach consensus.

**DN: Is that subscribed by all those taking part in the meetings?**

AA: Those who are here on the outside, and those within (Timor) all talk in private about it. Until now, however, we (and I include myself here) have not been able to synthesise a single, coherent thought about those issues. That is why I believe the dialogue has an important role; there are objectives which I feel are shared by everyone: safeguarding the physical integrity of the Timorese, and maintaining the cultural identity of the Timorese.

**DN: Is that it? Do you think that the most that can be expected from Indonesia is respect for human rights and preservation of cultural identity? Can the expectations be raised?**

AA: I think we can legitimately expect more. However, we have to start somewhere.

**DN: Is any issue being put forward that goes beyond cultural identity and human rights?**

AA: Once we get consensus on those issues, we can then raise them with Indonesia. In Jakarta I realised that there is an underlying desire to improve or even change the situation. However, that depends largely on the Timorese. We must remember that, until some time ago, two radically opposed positions existed - integration and referendum. It is between these two irreconcilable positions that I am seeking a third way, in order to find a force which can generate new energy.

**DN: Should that new energy be extended to all the Resistance leaders?**

AA: The information I have suggests that they will be the same ones as were in Austria. But we need to have further meetings. I am one of those who believes that such meetings should take place in Timor.

**DN: Would the participation of Xanana in such meetings be possible?**

AA: I hope so, and I shall be doing whatever I can to ensure Xanana is present at the meetings.

**DN: What is your view of the human rights situation in East Timor?**

AA: I still think that there are cases of human rights violations, when troops enter people’s houses at any time they like with impunity. That is one of the matters I raised in Jakarta, and the central commands have already assured me that they would be taking steps to avoid it happening.

**DN: Was the subject of human rights raised with Suharto?**

AA: Yes, in a general way ... But I do not wish to go into any detail now.

**DN: You mentioned Xanana Gusmão: are you in touch with him?**

AA: Not directly. When I was in Jakarta, I passed on my best wishes to him through mutual friends, and he wrote me a very nice letter. ...

**DN: Do you plan to meet with Xanana when you go back to Indonesia?**

AA: I am going to try to arrange a meeting with Xanana next time I am in Indonesia. In fact, I would like the main purpose of that visit to be to meet with him and discuss the ground we are breaking.

**DN: Are the Indonesian authorities likely to consent to such a meeting? And won’t some sectors of the regime be displeased if it ever did take place?**

AA: ... I do not think that the Indonesian authorities will be putting obstacles in the way, and if they were to do so, they would have to be justified. With regards the other sectors within the regime, I think that if we are all determined that Xanana play his role in this process, my meeting with him would really be a contribution towards finding a solution.

**DN: Is there a place for Xanana in the search for a political settlement? And is his place recognised by Indonesia?**

AA: In Indonesia Xanana is seen as a person with a past which is worthy of respect, and that is an asset. For that very reason, he cannot be left out of a solution to the problem of Timor.
TRYING TO GET OUT

During this period, there was a tremendous escalation in the number of East Timorese trying to get out — either by entering embassies in Jakarta or by boat to Australia. In an effort to put these articles in some order, they are arranged according to which embassy the people went into. Articles which are not embassy-specific appear below.

TIMORESE EXILES FACE FRESH HURDLES IN PORTUGAL

By Samantha McArthur

LISBON, Nov 18 (Reuters) - Five East Timorese youths who flew into Lisbon on Saturday join a group of exiles who face the uphill struggle of resettling in Portugal while haunted by the conflict that they have fled.

Usually speaking little or no Portuguese, they need to find work and somewhere to live as well as adapt to big differences in climate and food.

"The biggest obstacles are the language and the difficulty of finding work," Luis Cardoso, a Timorese refugee himself and spokesman for the exiles in Lisbon, told Reuters.

"Of course, if you have experienced Indonesian occupation you're just happy to be here and you don't think too negatively," he added.

The latest arrivals, who say they are fleeing political persecution in their Indonesian-controlled homeland, join 49 others who came to Portugal via Jakarta's British, Dutch and U.S. embassies in the past two years.

The five youths scaled the French embassy fence on Thursday - just hours before 21 others arrived in Portugal having left the Japanese embassy after a similar break-in.

Portugal, the old colonial power in East Timor, says it will not turn away a single Timorese.

Most of exiles arrive speaking only their native Tetum and they need special language tuition to take up places in schools and universities.

During this time the state provides accommodation, food and a monthly grant of 17,500 escudos (120 dollars) which is standard for Portuguese students.

"It is when they finish studying and try to get jobs that we run into problems," Cardoso said, admitting they occasionally encounter prejudice.

"Finding accommodation when they start to have families is very tricky," he said. Lisbon's housing market is notoriously tight and apartments are very expensive.

In addition to the practical hurdles, the refugees are haunted by what they have left behind.

"They have very little contact with friends and family in Timor because the Indonesians impose restrictions and they don't want to make life difficult for their relatives," Cardoso said.

"(They) are constantly living with the war just over their shoulders, always thinking about it."

He rejected Indonesian claims the asylum-seekers were economic refugees:

"Without exception all want to return."

The dramatic embassy break-ins have helped to draw the world's attention to the plight of the territory but Cardoso stressed fear, not publicity, was the motivation.

"They come because they are afraid, persecuted," he said.

Portugal pulled out of East Timor amid its own post-revolutionary chaos in 1975 and Indonesia swiftly invaded, annexing the territory a year later.

The United Nations has never recognised the Indonesian occupation and regards Lisbon as the administering power.

Whatever the difficulties faced by Timorese adapting to Portugal, Cardoso says there is no comparison with living under Indonesian rule.

"There people have been uprooted from their land, they go hungry and are oppressed and frightened. After so much suffering how could we grumble about problems here?"

TERROR FUELS ASYLUM-SEEKING BIDS

By Jim Della-Giacoma

JAKARTA, Nov 19 (Reuters) - A combination of terror and despair mixed with a dash of political opportunism seems to be fueling the wave of East Timorese young men seeking political asylum, Timorese and diplomats say.

Indonesian officials deride the men as dropouts looking for a free ride to Portugal, but a prominent East Timorese said the problem is directly related to the military crackdown on the island in the wake of rioting in September and October.

"The situation here in East Timor is one of terror, tension and persecution," Armando Maia, vice-rector at the East Timor University, said by telephone from Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony.

Maia spoke to Reuters hours before the latest batch of five Timorese men left the French embassy in Jakarta for Lisbon. Since late September 39 Timorese men, aged between 19 and 26, have left by the same route after entering the British, Dutch, Japanese and French embassies.

"I am not surprised these youngsters choose to go to foreign embassies, as people in their position are generally in a hopeless situation," Maia told Reuters last week.

Diplomats say chronic unemployment in the territory, where government jobs and small businesses are dominated by outsiders, means many young people have little prospect of finding work.

The asylum-seekers are mostly well-educated by East Timor standards, including a number of university students.

"These people are without hope and all they are dreaming of is a job and a girlfriend. They do not want to change house everyday to avoid the police," a European diplomat said. He added that voluntary exile in Portugal looks attractive despite the cost of leaving one's family and homeland.

Luis Cardoso, a Timorese exile in Lisbon, said one could not compare the difficulties faced by new arrivals adapting to Portugal with life under Indonesian rule in East Timor.

"There, (in East Timor) people have been uprooted from their land, they go hungry and are oppressed and frightened. After so much suffering how could we grumble about problems here?" he told Reuters.

Indonesia has maintained a disproportionately heavy presence in East Timor, 2,000km (1,240 miles) east of Jakarta, since its December 1975 invasion as it still faces a small group of pro-independence rebels as well as regular social unrest.

Last month residents described how soldiers fired repeatedly into the air as they conducted door-to-door searches at night in Dili for suspects after days of rioting. Maia said regular street-side searches and ID checks continued last week.

Diplomats said the recent entry by activists was different than the 12-day occupation of the U.S. embassy compound by 29 Timorese last November during a Asia-Pacific Economic Conference meeting.

"They don't seem to be making a great political case out of it anymore," said one diplomat.

Those who participated in the last three break-ins quickly accepted Portugal's standing offer of asylum for all East Timorese and left for Lisbon around 36 hours after entering the missions.

While Indonesia declared East Timor its 27th province in July 1976, this is not recognised by the United Nations which regards Portugal as the administering power.

On Friday the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Belo, called on the government to examine the causes behind the recent asylum seeking bids.
Belo told local reporters the Indonesian government could not just turn a blind eye to the problems in East Timor. But on the same day Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, speaking in Japan, blamed Portugal for encouraging the most recent wave asylum seekers.

“It’s a game and it’s getting a little bit boring. Nobody is persecuting them, everybody knows that, and one by one, every embassy has rejected their requests for asylum,” Al atas said.

PRD/SPRIM STATEMENT ON EMBASSY OCCUPATIONS

STATEMENT BY INDONESIANS IN SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMORESE PEOPLE (SPRIM) AND PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC UNION

7 December, 1995

The reality in East Timor, is not that which is promoted by the Suharto Regime. That the integration of East Timor into Indonesia was a process of self-determination by the people of East Timor. This propaganda is a lie because to this day, in reality, the Indonesian government under the Suharto Regime has carried out military intervention against the people of East Timor in pursuit of their own interests that is East Timorese integration into Indonesia. This has meant 20 years of brutal oppression, which is rejected by the East Timorese people themselves.

In reality the United Nations has already passed a resolution rejecting all of the Suharto regime’s actions, and have held negotiations between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal; in which the UN acknowledged Portugal as the sovereign power in East Timor. The Suharto regime however, has never shown any genuine conviction and has never been serious about resolving the issue of East Timor. Aside from this, other countries have “adapted” themselves to the issue of East Timor (such as the UN which is not consistent).

The terrible conditions experienced by the people of East Timor, caused by the Suharto regime, are not very different from the conditions faced by the people of Indonesia; where the freedom to organise, express opinion both verbally and in writing which and so on, as a criteria indicates that there is no peoples’ sovereignty in Indonesia. In this case because Suharto’s regime applies a packet of five repressive political laws who’s nature is extremely undemocratic.

Because of this, in view of the conditions mentioned above, today, we, from the organisation PRD (Peoples’ Democratic Union) supported by the national trade union PPBI (Centre for Labour Struggle), SMID (Student Solidarity for Indonesian Democracy), STN (National Peasants Union), JAKKER (Peoples Art Network) and SPRIM (Indonesian People’s Solidarity Struggle with the Maubere People) jointly with East Timorese are currently occupying the Dutch and Russian Embassies.

SPRIM’s program includes the following demands:
1. withdrawal of all Indonesian military and police from East Timor
2. a referendum on independence in East Timor

Wilson, National Coordinator, SPRIM

CHRONOLOGY OF EMBASSY INVASIONS BY EAST TIMORESE

JAKARTA, Dec 7 (Reuters) - A total of nearly 100 East Timorese staged break-ins at the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta on Thursday.

The following is a chronology of similar incidents, involving mainly East Timorese seeking political asylum in Portugal, East Timor’s former colonial ruler:

1986
- Four East Timorese claiming to be members of Fretilin (the Revolutionary Movement for an Independent East Timor) break into Dutch embassy, wanting to go to Portugal. The bid fails.

1989
- June 19 - Six East Timorese seek asylum at the embassies of Japan and the Vatican. Their demands for asylum are unsuccessful and they all leave the embassies within three days.

1993
- June 23 - Seven East Timorese students enter the Finnish and Swedish embassies.
- June 24 - The four students in the Finnish embassy give up their demands for asylum, and they all leave the embassies within three days.

1994
- November 12 - As Indonesia prepares to host an Asia-Pacific economic summit, 29 East Timorese jump a fence into the U.S. embassy compound. November 12 was the 20th anniversary of the massacre by soldiers of up to 200 East Timorese in Dili.
- November 24 - After 12-day sit-in front of world’s media, the 29 protestors leave for asylum in Portugal.

1995
- September 24 - Five East Timorese youths enter the British embassy and ask for political asylum.
- September 29 - The five asylum-seekers leave the British embassy for Portugal.
- November 7 - Eight East Timorese run through the gate of the Dutch embassy and seek political asylum, only days before the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre.
- November 8 - Helped by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the eight leave for asylum in Portugal after little more than 30 hours in the Dutch embassy.
- November 14 - Twenty-one East Timorese climb a fence into the Japanese embassy shortly before the start of the annual Asia-Pacific economic summit in Osaka, Japan.
- November 15 - The Japanese embassy group leaves for Portugal, which says it will accept all East Timorese asylum-seekers.
- November 16 - Five East Timorese break into the French embassy and seek refuge in Portugal “or another country which could give them political asylum.”
- November 17 - The five in the French embassy leave for Portugal. Foreign diplomats fear speed with which recent asylum bids have been resolved will encourage further attempts.
- November 20 - Four East Timorese enter French embassy. Portugal accuses Indonesia of encouraging asylum bids to remove opponents and ease internal pressure in East Timor.
- November 21 - The French embassy four head for Lisbon on a now set route, with ICRC help. Alatas says the asylum bids are instigated from abroad. Lisbon calls such claims “absurd.”
- December 7 - Fifty-eight break into the Dutch embassy and about 40 enter the Russian embassy on the same day 20 years ago that Indonesian forces invaded East Timor after the Portuguese left.
ADITJONDRO
SOLIDARITY MESSAGE

December 7, 1995

STATEMENT OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE EAST TIMORESE AND INDONESIAN YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE DUTCH AND RUSSIAN EMBASSIES IN JAKARTA

As an Indonesian fighting for democratization in Indonesia and the liberation of East Timor from the fascist Indonesian occupation forces, I strongly support the actions taken by my younger colleagues in the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta.

I also strongly support their demands, namely the cessation of all terror in East Timor, the release of all East Timorese political prisoners, the withdrawal of all the Indonesian armed forces from East Timor, and the involvement of the great East Timorese leader, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, in all the negotiations to restore the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination.

The courage shown by these young East Timorese and Indonesian people is really admirable, knowing that the Indonesian oligarchic-military regime would not make their lives easier, if they leave the diplomatic sanctuaries of the two embassies into the Jakarta sidewalks. The act of the young Indonesian democrats is a proof to the world, that the Suharto regime can not continue to fool all its own people, all the time.

I strongly appeal to the Russian government to support the demand of the joint Indonesian-East Timorese young people in the Russian Embassy, to negotiate with spokespersons of the Indonesian regime within the safety of the embassy compound. The reason for this is that the Russian government itself has just recently painfully learned from the heroic struggle of the Baltic people, that colonialism is doomed to collapse.

I also strongly appeal to the Dutch government to support likewise demands of the joint Indonesian-East Timorese young people in the Dutch embassy. This is to proof, whether an former colonial master can indeed be a champion of human rights on the international scene, as the Netherlands have attempted to show on various occasions. In particular I appeal to the current Dutch foreign minister Kooymans to offer his mediation service in these negotiations between the young Indonesians and East Timorese and the Indonesian government, having witnessed himself a “sample” of the brutalities of Indonesian troops in East Timor during the notorious Dili massacre.

Finally, I appeal to all my younger colleagues in Indonesia, who are still loyal to the 1945 Constitution, which guarantees in its Preamble the right of every nation on earth to independence, to support the acts of their young colleagues in the Dutch and Russian embassies. What they are demanding is completely constitutional. So, let us all join hands to end the unconstitutional act of the Suharto regime and its fascist supporter, which for twenty years have attempted to deny a people their right to self-determination and independence.

Perth, 7 December 1995.
On the 20th anniversary of the unconstitutional invasion and occupation of Indonesia’s neighbour, East Timor.

George Junus Aditjondro
(an Indonesian citizen living in self-imposed exile)

EAST TIMORESE FORCED TO DEMONSTRATE FOR INDONESIA

Statement by four East Timorese youths forced into holding a pro-Indonesia demonstration before the Central Parliament Building, Jakarta, on 20 Nov. 1995

From CNRM, Dec. 7.

The following statement was issued by four East Timorese from Jakarta forced by BAIS on 20 November to demonstrate against ETese asylum seekers at National Parliament Jakarta. Video taped interviews of the same have been circulated to international TV networks. Transcript of text is appended.

GOD ALMIGHTY BE PRAISED

This is a true statement that we submit for consideration.

We are making this statement because we did not have the opportunity to be interviewed by journalists and therefore were unable to inform on facts that have come to our knowledge.

We hereby state that:

* THE ACTION WAS SPONSORED BY THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF BAIS, AMONG OTHERS:
1. Brigadier General Jeki Anwar (Head of BAIS - Military Secret Intelligence)
2. Brigadier General Jeki Anwar (Head of BAIS - Military Secret Intelligence)
3. Crispin Matos Gomes (23)
4. Venancio Oliveira (24)
5. Under 20 people were from East Timor, the majority being outsiders:
6. Jakarta natives
7. Kupang - approximately 20 people
8. Flores
9. Bima
10. Abau
11. Java
12. Under 20 people were from East Timor, and even so the participants were coerced and paid. The name of the East Timorese youth that opposed the demonstration from beginning to end are as follows:

1. Elitario Dos Santos Cruz (22)
2. Adolfo Dos Santos Neves (23)
3. Crispin Matos Gomes (23)
4. Venancio Oliveira (24)
5. They are the one who opposed [the action] from beginning to end. Their reason was that they did not understand the background nor the objectives [of the demonstration]. Furthermore their objective [BAIS] was to show the world that the East Timorese youths want to retain integration. However the real objective was to create dissent among the East Timorese. The name of the East Timorese - or Intel - supporting this action, are:
6. Ahmad Alkatiri
7. Teodorus
8. Martinu Fernandez
4. Alberto Dos Santos

These are the ones who will be sent on duty to East Timor to persuade and/or to accompany members of SGI (Intel) to Jakarta to take part in a similar action before the Parliament building. According to information received, East Timorese youths 7 years of age and over will be treated as in 1995 [sic] (mass kidnapping and killings).

This is our statement. We thank you for your attention.

The signatories:

Notes from the editor of Solidarity
Struggle of the People of Indonesia and of East Timor (SPRIM)

1. a.l. (in the original text) = among them; ket. (in the original text) = comments
Satuan Pengaman or SATPAM is translated as Security
2. Copied from the original with no changes - please do not change the content, the language, the words, the syntax etc.
3. The original was typed on a manual typewriter
4. The original was not signed

Three of the authors of this statement have been interviewed and [the interview has been] recorded on 8mm. handy cam. Video
b) THREE YOUNG MEN (Left: Venancio Middle: Eliterio Right: Crispin)
(Crispin)

0:26:40 - On 18 November 1995 we were called up by the head of security at the place where we work as security guards and told that we were to be involved in a meeting. When we got to the meeting place on the evening of 19 November, we were addressed by a number of officials from BAIS/BIA (Intelligence Agencies), headed by Brigadier General Zacky Anwar, and including Colonels Gatot and Supit Johannes. Zacky said to us that he needed our help for one hour only with a certain activity, without giving details. He told us that if we were asked, we were not to mention the names of those coordinating the activity. When I asked Zacky Anwar what exactly it was that we were going to do, he refused to answer. Because we asked the question, our names were noted down in a book and we were threatened with a pistol. They told us that if we cooperated, if later we have wives and children, or if we are sick, we are guaranteed of assistance with housing, financial support etc. We replied that we weren’t interested in their money, that we already had jobs. We refused to take the money (Rp 15,000) offered to us. Then on 20 November, we were taken from Jalan Cimandiri, Jakarta, to the Parliament building to participate in the pro-integration demonstration they had planned. It was the Intel staff themselves who prepared the banners and posters carried by the demonstrators. Native East Timorese present numbered only around 19 people. The rest hailed from Jakarta, Sulawesi, Kupang or the Moluccas. (Eliterio)

0:31:22 - Zacky and Supit told us that if we didn’t do as they told us, our families back in East Timor would be in trouble. It’s these kinds of threats made against us and our families that has prompted us to seek the protection of foreign governments through their embassies here in Jakarta.

0:36:50 - If those who have requested political asylum in recent weeks are not traitors in your view, then why did you get involved in the pro-integration demonstration? (Venancio)

Because we were forced to do so. They threatened us with weapons and offered us money, i.e. Rp 15,000. It was all a big lie designed to repair the terrible image which Indonesia has earned for itself.

0:44:10 - Were all those East Timorese involved in the pro-integration demonstration in agreement with you? (Crispin)

Yes, all of the native East Timorese participating in the demonstration are anti-integration. Like us, they were forced to be involved. They were subjected to the same threats.

EMBASSIES IN JAKARTA
REASSESS SECURITY

by Jim Della-Giacoma, [abridged]

JAKARTA, Dec 12 (Reuters) – Diplomats said on Tuesday they were reassessing the security of their embassies in Jakarta following a spate of invasions by pro- and anti-government protesters but there were limits to what they could do.

About 30 pro-Indonesian government protesters briefly invaded the Australian embassy compound on Tuesday during a protest over the burning of Indonesian flags in Australia. They also demonstrated support for East Timor’s integration.

European Union diplomats were due to meet on Tuesday evening for a debriefing hosted by the Dutch, whose compound was invaded by two groups last Thursday.

“The security aspect is very touchy and very important and now we realise where the limits are and you cannot do very much,” one diplomat said.

“Basically the security of an embassy is the obligation of the host country and they should take care of this.”

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said at the weekend that Indonesia never conformed em-
Protests have been taking place in Jakarta since 7 December – the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor – when more than a hundred demonstrators entered the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta. Within two days, they were forced to leave the safety of the embassy buildings, and were handed over to Indonesian police who entered the embassy compounds. They were questioned for 24 hours and some of those detained were allegedly ill-treated in police custody.

In an appeal on 8 December, Amnesty International expressed concern that even if all the demonstrators were released from custody, they remained at risk of harassment and further detention. The organization’s concerns have been borne out by recent events.

Petrus Haryanto, an Indonesian activist who entered the Dutch Embassy, was arrested on 11 December by plainclothes military officers at a clinic in Jakarta where he was seeking medical assistance. He was held in military detention but was released on the morning of 12 December. Petrus and another Indonesian are believed to have now been issued with a summons under a charge of “insulting the President.” On 15 December, the military announced that 32 of the protestors had been arrested and were being held for questioning in Surabaya.

“These cases show that the Indonesian authorities are continuing to harass and victimise activists involved in the embassy protests. The Dutch Government showed a callous disregard for their security in handling the protestors over to the Indonesian authorities on a disingenuous assurance that they would only be questioned for 24 hours,” Amnesty International said.

Amnesty International has been informed that the Dutch Government appears to have ignored a request for asylum from 26 East Timorese while in the embassy. The East Timorese claim that they requested asylum before they left the embassy.

“The Netherlands is a signatory to the Refugee Convention. It has a duty to protect those who request asylum,” Amnesty International said.

“By ignoring the request and allowing for the East Timorese to be taken from the embassy in police custody, the Dutch authorities may have placed the group at greater risk,” Amnesty International said.

According to the Dutch Government, the security of the embassy was threatened when pro-Indonesian demonstrators entered the embassy and attacked embassy staff and pro-independence activists on 8 December. The Dutch Government has stated in parliament that because the security of the embassy was threatened, it was imperative that the East Timorese leave, prior to any claim for asylum being heard.

**INTELLIGENCE CHIEF: EMBASSY FENCE SCALING BY EAST TIMORESE YOUTH TO DIMINISH IN 1996**

*From ANTARA (Indonesian Government), 29 December.*

Jakarta - The cases involving East Timorese, like the recent scaling of foreign embassy fences in Jakarta, are predicted to diminish in 1996, head of the National Intelligence Coordinating Body Soedibyo told reporters prior to a plenary cabinet meeting here Thursday.

He said East Timorese, including their youth, have become increasingly aware of the destructive effects of the propaganda and agitation launched by Portugal and the Ramos Horta group.

The society in Timtim has become increasingly aware that the young East Timorese who sought asylum in Portugal are now desolate. “Portugal turned out not to be their saviour. Integration still proved the best,” he said.

Soedibyo said that politically in 1995 many people who wanted to participate in development have chosen to set up mass organisations.

“From a positive point of view, this reflects the desire of the society to take active part in development,” he added.

This condition was favourable to all sides and will facilitate communication in solving problems in a rational and objective fashion.

He nonetheless admitted that there were certain groups in society pursuing negative emotional attitudes. But with the intellectual capabilities and experience gained from the past, these destructive attitudes would eventually be overcome by the government.

Soedibyo said that in 1996 the global issues which will still concern Indonesia are human rights and the environment.

Ramos Horta and Portugal will continue their agitation, but its effects on the East Timorese society would continue to decline, he added.

He also called for continued alertness against elements undermining the Pancasila state ideology and those trying to revive communism.

As regards the economy, the government with its extensive experience will keep prices well under control to maintain peace and calm in the society, he said.

**INDONESIA STUDYING WISHES OF SOME TO RETURN**

*ANTARA Press Cable, via Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs, 3 Jan. 1996.*

Deputy Chairman of the East Timor Legislation Samuel Alex Petruz said in Dili, Tuesday (Jan.2) that the government must carefully consider the wishes of some East Timorese youths previously requesting political asylum in Portugal to return to their home country.

He made the statement when asked to comment on the wishes of some East Timorese youths who have requested political asylum through foreign embassies in Jakarta to return to Indonesia.

“Even though those asylum seekers have expressed regrets, I personally think it is not necessary to accept them again,” he said.

Now they can always express their regrets, but on another occasion they may well repeat their action by again “scaling” the fences of foreign embassies in Jakarta, he added.

There are still many people in East Timor who are faithful to the integration principle and love Indonesia. Therefore, there is no need to spend so much attention to the wishes of a small number of young irresponsible people who have discredited the reputation of the country, Petruz said.

“They should be responsible for their difficulties of living in a foreign country. After all, they are the ones causing all their present problems,” he said.

However, about the four families now residing in Portugal and wish to return to their homeland, Petruz said, they must be welcomed because they were involved in the 1995 Viqueque Incident which gave inspirations to the decolonization process in East Timor.

“They should be considered heroes because they have always been loyal to the state and nation of Indonesia,” he said.

**JAKARTA EMBASSIES ON ALERT FOR TIMORESE INCURSIONS**

*JAKARTA, Jan 16 (Reuters) - Foreign embassies in Jakarta were on alert on Tuesday for more incursions by East Timorese political asylum-seekers, diplomats said.*

They said Indonesian police told at least two embassies that up to 100 Timorese might try to invade their missions to coincide with talks in London on the troubled former Portuguese colony.

“We are battening down the hatches here. Police have said about 100 East Timorese
might be involved. It may not happen,” one Western diplomat said.

Most embassies in Jakarta have increased security by erecting barbed wire on fences since the latest spate of invasions started in September.

Indonesian security forces have increased their presence outside missions.

On Monday five East Timorese youths left for Portugal via Amsterdam after seeking sanctuary in the New Zealand embassy compound in Jakarta’s Menteng residential district.

Two East Timorese women left for Portugal on Friday after spending two nights in Australia’s embassy.

Indonesia and Portugal return to the negotiating table for the seventh time in London on Tuesday to discuss the future status of East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 after the former Portuguese colonialists had left.

The United Nations still regards Portugal as the administering power in East Timor.

A total of 50 East Timorese have been granted refuge in Portugal since September after entering the Dutch, British, Japanese, French, Australian and New Zealand embassies.

The bids for political refuge by youths mainly from Dili, East Timor’s capital, were aimed partly at highlighting the plight of the East Timorese.

TANZ: MEMORIES OF THE HORROR

Publico, 14 January 1996. By Filipa Santos Costa. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – On the day two women refugees arrive in Lisbon, other recently arrived Timorese reveal details of their own arrests and torture.

The two first Timorese women to seek asylum at an embassy in Jakarta arrived yesterday in Lisbon. Tomorrow, another group of refugees will be leaving the New Zealand Embassy for Portugal. They share similar experiences, as the accounts of five refugees confirmed yesterday when they talked about the torture to which they were subjected while in detention.

Maria do Nascimento was three-years-old when Indonesian troops invaded the Eastern part of the island of Timor where she lived. Odilia Vitor was five at the time. They were to be the first two women who, 20 years later, would manage to escape from East Timor, after seeking asylum in an embassy in Jakarta. As has happened in the cases of all the other Timorese (until yesterday, all men) who took the same action, the embassy (in this case the Australian Embassy) refused to grant them refugee status and, after International Red Cross mediation, it was Lisbon that became their final destination.

What was different about their case was the fact that they were women. With the aid of an interpreter, Odilia spoke about the difficulties which would explain why the asylum seekers who invade embassies have, until now, always been men. Although “the consequences are worse for women when they are arrested,” they nonetheless “fight for liberation,” she said. There is the Timorese Women’s Popular Organisation, to which Odilia and Maria belonged, that raises money and material to help the armed struggle.

Meanwhile, in the Timor Centre in Lisbon, the Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People (CDPM) organised a press conference* with five young Timorese refugees. They all arrived in Lisbon late in 1995, after having taken part in the occupation of foreign diplomatic representations in Jakarta. Before seeking asylum, they had all been involved in activities against the Suharto regime, and all had been arrested on more than one occasion. They had all been interrogated, tortured, and imprisoned without trial.

Two showed the marks left by torture on their bodies to the people gathered at the press conference.

22-year-old Carlos Borromeu was the one out of the five who was most visibly overcome. The reason, he said, was that “sometimes, when we talk about our experiences, people do not believe us.” He was fifteen the first time he was arrested, during the visit of Pope John Paul II to Dili. After that, he was re-arrested six times - including in the aftermath of the 12 November Santa Cruz massacre, in which his own brother was killed.

“Twenty years are not twenty days or twenty months. It is a very long time to be suffering,” he said in reply to a reporter’s question about the forthcoming negotiating round between Portugal and Indonesia in London. “There have already been several rounds, which produced no specific results.” In ‘95, the Indonesians did worse things than on 12 November. Without specific results (from the negotiations), ‘97 will be even worse,” he said.

A pattern emerged from the testimonies of the refugees: torture, that always commences by the prisoner being held with his hands in the air, while Indonesians beat him on the back and chest - never on the face where marks would be more visible. 23-year-old Valdemar da Conceição said they applied electric shocks to his penis, and then made him sit on a chair, with his feet placed under the legs of the chair. He showed the marks of beatings on his back, and a large hole left by a bullet, when he was shot in the back during the Santa Cruz massacre. 21-year-old Martinho Gonçalves said that every day he was forced to walk on top of thorns. 27-year-old Alfredo Rodrigues who, since he was five, lived in the bush with the guerrillas, told how he was captured in Los Palos after being shot five times.

In addition to these, and the other refugees who have arrived recently, there will be a further five who asked for asylum last Friday at the New Zealand embassy in Jakarta. According to the Red Cross, they too should be leaving tomorrow for Portugal.

NOTE FROM CDPM:

The press conference at the Timor Centre was, in fact, jointly organised by the CDPM and the Timorese Resistance Representation in Portugal.

On 13 January, coverage was given to the press conference by three Portuguese TV channels (SIC, Channel 1 and TV1) in their evening News programmes.

Chronology of embassy asylum bids by East Timorese

JAKARTA, Jan 29 (Reuters) – The following is a chronology of recent break-ins at foreign embassies in Jakarta by East Timorese, mainly students, seeking asylum.

1993

June 23 - Seven East Timorese students enter the Finnish and Swedish embassies. Those in the Finnish mission leave the next day, while those in the Swedish embassy leave the building on July 2 after government assurances for their safety.

December 29 - The seven who broke into the Finnish and Swedish embassies in June fly to Portugal. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said they were allowed to go on humanitarian grounds.

1994

November 12 - As Indonesia prepares to host an Asia-Pacific economic summit, 29 East Timorese jump a fence into the U.S. embassy compound. November 12 was the third anniversary of the massacre by soldiers of up to 200 East Timorese in Dili.

November 24 - After 12-day sit-in in front of world’s media, the 29 protestors leave for asylum in Portugal.

1995

September 24 - Five East Timorese youths enter the British embassy and ask for political asylum. They go to asylum in Portugal on September 29.

November 7 - Eight East Timorese run through the gate of the Dutch embassy and...
seek political asylum, only days before the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre.

November 8 - Helped by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the eight leave for asylum in Portugal after little more than 30 hours in the Dutch embassy.

November 14 - Twenty-one East Timorese climb a fence into the Japanese embassy shortly before the start of the annual Asia-Pacific economic summit in Osaka, Japan. The next day they leave for asylum in Portugal after Lisbon accepts them.

November 16 - Five East Timorese break into the French embassy and seek refuge in Portugal “or another country which could give them political asylum.”

November 17 - The five in the French embassy leave for Portugal. Foreign diplomats fear speed with which recent asylum bids have been resolved will encourage further attempts.

November 20 - Four East Timorese enter French embassy. Portugal accuses Indonesia of encouraging asylum bids to remove opponents and ease internal pressure in East Timor.

November 21 - The French embassy four head for Lisbon on a now set route, with ICRC help. Alatas says the asylum bids are instigated from abroad. Lisbon calls such claims “absurd.”

December 7 - On the 20th anniversary of Indonesian invasion of East Timor, 112 East Timorese and their Indonesian supporters enter the Russian and Dutch embassies as a protest against Jakarta’s rule in East Timor. All leave under police escort within days. A last minute request by more than 20 Timorese for asylum is refused by the Dutch.

1996

January 10 - Two East Timorese women enter Australian embassy asking for asylum in Australia. They go to Portugal two days later.

January 12 - Five East Timorese men jump the fence of the New Zealand embassy leaving on January 15.

January 25 - Twelve East Timorese enter the Polish embassy asking for asylum in Poland.

January 29 - Four East Timorese youths enter the French embassy in the third such incident in three months, hours before the 12 in the Polish embassy are due to leave.

TO RUSSIA

Because of the simultaneity of the Dutch and Russian Embassy incursions, many articles discuss both. They are put with the Russian section, for consistency.

EAST TIMORESE STORM EMBASSIES

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Dec. 7. (AP) – More than 100 East Timorese stormed the Dutch and Russian Embassies just before dawn Thursday, occupying the buildings and demanding that an independence petition be delivered to a U.N. representative. The protests marked the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of the former Portuguese colony.

Vladimir Kalinin, an official at the Russian Embassy, said the 47 youths at his Embassy were calm as they awaited word that the petition had been given to the U.N. representative in Jakarta. He said they had scaled a wall before dawn, surprising guards.

“We only want a referendum for East Timor and we shall stay here until we get referendum, even to the last drop of our blood,” one protester told reporters.

Indonesia annexed the territory after its troops intervened in a civil war that broke out in 1975. The Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor has been fighting since then for independence. It was unclear whether the protests Thursday were related to that group.

The United Nations recognizes Portugal, which ruled East Timor as a colony for more than 200 years, as the territory’s administrative power.

The protesters also asked to meet with the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso, who is in Jakarta discussing human rights problems with leaders.

Another 58 Timorese youths had already forced their way into the Dutch Embassy early Wednesday with similar demands, and police said they detained 13 East Timorese youths who were trying to force their way into the French embassy Thursday.

Protesters in Australia and the Philippines also marked the invasion anniversary. Several U.N. resolutions have called for Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor.

In November 1991, several hundred East Timorese protesters calling for independence were killed by Indonesian troops, and numerous abuses have been reported since then by human rights activists.

EAST TIMORESE STAGE SPECTACULAR EMBASSY PROTESTS

By Jim Della-Giacoma

JAKARTA, Dec 7 (Reuters) - East Timorese protesters stormed the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta’s main business district on Thursday in a spectacular mass protest against Indonesian rule of their homeland.

A Dutch diplomat said 58 protesters forced their way into his country’s embassy, while a Russian official said there were about 40 in his mission.

The break-ins, with protesters climbing over embassy fences, took place before dawn and marked the day almost 20 years ago to the hour in 1975 when Indonesian forces invaded East Timor after its former Portuguese colonial masters had departed.

In East Timor, 2,000 km (1,250 miles) east of Jakarta, a police official said Dili, the capital, was “safe and controlled ... everything is normal.”

Jakarta police told Reuters a planned raid on the French embassy early on Thursday was thwarted and that 19 people were arrested. They gave no details.

About 70 protesters claiming to be East Timorese staged a pro-Indonesia demonstration outside the Dutch embassy about six hours after the break-in, witnesses said.

The protesters, with banners, shouted “Open the gate” and “We won’t leave until they (East Timorese in the mission) come out” as police kept a close watch.

From the Russian and Dutch compounds, protesters waved banners saying variously: “Free East Timor” and “Referendum in East Timor.”

They shouted “Free Xanana Gusmão” from the Russian embassy.

Gusmão, 47, is the imprisoned leader of East Timor’s Fretilin rebels who seek independence. He was jailed for life in 1993 but President Suharto later reduced the term to 20 years.

Some protesters shouted through the railings that they were Indonesian, not Timorese. A security official described them as student activists.

The break-ins were the biggest of their kind by East Timorese and could embarrass government officials.

They occurred on the last day of an official visit to Indonesia, including East Timor, by the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso.

“We cannot give any comment right now. That is correct, 58 people are in the compound,” a Dutch diplomat told Reuters.

He did not say whether the protesters wanted political asylum but added that ne-
gottations between the embassy and the Indonesian government had started.

An embassy guard said they had entered the embassy compound by using each other as steps to scale the fence.

A Russian embassy official, who estimated the number in his embassy at around 40, said: “They are sitting calmly in the compound after handing us ‘a commitment’ to be delivered to the local office of the United Nations.” He gave no further details.

He said they had jumped over the embassy’s wall, which was “unfortunately low,” at 3.00 a.m. (2000 GMT Wednesday).

This was about one hour ahead of the Dutch embassy invasion.

Henry Fournier, head of the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Jakarta, told Reuters he had not been contacted yet by the Dutch or the Russians.

He said details were sketchy on the purpose of the East Timorese action. “There seems to be no word on what they want. There has been no mention of asylum,” he said.

The ICRC had arranged passages to Portugal for a total of 43 East Timorese involved in break-ins at the British, Dutch, French and Japanese embassies between September and last month.

Indonesia named East Timor its 27th province in 1976 but the United Nations still regards Portugal as the territory’s administering power.

EAST TIMORESE PETITION RUSSIAN EMBASSY

PETITION FROM THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF EAST TIMOR PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA

1. INTRODUCTION

This day marks twenty years since the invasion of our homeland by the troops of the aggressor, the Soeharto regime. This day marks twenty years of our struggle for independence, our struggle against the troops of the Suharto regime. And for all of these twenty years of struggle, we and our people have been hunted, tortured, killed, arrested and exiled. And for all of these twenty years, our suffering, our unending suffering, has been forgotten by the nations of the world, including Russia.

And for the last twenty years we have exhausted all our means of struggle to show to the whole world, to the international organisations, that our country has been occupied illegally, that our people have been massacred inhumanely, that our mothers have been raped and killed. And on this day, too, we have realised that it seems that there is not one nation in the world, not one government in the world, including that of Russia, which has been able to understand our aspirations, to understand our suffering and to understand the reality we have faced over our journey of the last 20 years. And because of all this, we have decided to enter the Russian embassy. Our aim is to convey to his excellency the Russian ambassador our realities, our hopes and our demands. We hope that you, Mr Ambassador, will understand our position and will pass on this petition to the United Nations and to the Russian government, and that this petition will then receive the consideration it is due according to international law.

Long before we took the decision to jump the fence of your country’s embassy, we realised that if we did so we would be accused by the mouthpieces of the Suharto regime as people without shame, people who only want to go overseas without paying, people with no sense of nationalism or patriotism, and all such accusations routinely made by Ali Alatas. We realised all of this.

And at the same time, Your Excellency, we realised that entering your embassy in this way, by jumping over the fence, would disturb the tranquillity and the smooth administration of your embassy. We realised all of that, and we thought that Your Excellency and your staff would not be too happy to accept our presence. However, we have been forced to take this action, namely:

1) Regardless of any economic, political, military and strategic interests, the government of Russia has a moral responsibility to respect and actively participate in all efforts for the resolution of conflicts between countries and states. We are convinced that if all the states of the world were to truly live in accordance with the principles of international law, then peace and justice would prevail throughout the world. And the principles of international law give us the right to self determination; at the same time not a single UN resolution has legitimised the aggression and integration of East Timor.

2. In Indonesia, where the Suharto regime is so cruel, so repressive and so disrespectful of its own laws, let alone international law, it is not possible for us to hold a demonstration opposing the regime openly and publicly. If we did so, we would certainly be arrested, tortured and killed, as has happened to so many of our comrades who have gone before us over the last twenty years of our struggle for freedom. To make quite clear what we mean, we remind Your Excellency of the Santa Cruz massacre of 1991, where it was not just our brothers and sisters who were killed, but where a for-
sia. All of these measures of Soeharto have since, bit by bit, been laid bare by the unfolding of history itself. The climax came in the meeting between East Timorese which took place in Austria, where Guilherme Maria Gonçalves who at that time had participated in the Provisional Government of East Timor and was a chairperson of the Puppet Parliament, openly stated that he withdrew his consent to the petition. He took this principled stand because at the time he signed the petition he was forced to do so, and because the outcome of integration has so greatly disappointed all parties in East Timor.

This statement by Guilherme Gonçalves has opened up all which had previously been tightly wrapped and concealed by Soeharto’s propaganda. We ask: if the people of East Timor wanted to integrate, why has it been necessary to have so many arrests, so much killing and torture?

**B - ‘DEVELOPMENT’ - A SPECIOUS ARGUMENT**

As well as arguing that ‘integration is the will of the people,’ Soeharto has tried to legitimise his annexation of East Timor by using arguments about ‘DEVELOPMENT.’ For Suharto, ‘DEVELOPMENT’ is an argument which can be used to legitimise the murder and massacres which have occurred in East Timor. Soeharto has forgotten the most basic and central problems concerning ‘development.’ These include:

1. Who is ‘development’ for? Who carries out ‘development’?
2. What intrinsic values does ‘development’ hold, and what is its use to the people of East Timor, if it is set against the approximately 300,000 people who have lost their lives, and the many more whose whole history, religion and culture has been pushed aside for the last 20 years?
3. Without the Suharto regime, why couldn’t the people of East Timor be able to develop their own country, in accordance with their own desires and hopes.

We are not put off by this talk of ‘DEVELOPMENT’ and we will not accept it as a theory to legitimise us becoming slaves and becoming alienated from our own society. If Soeharto wants his ‘DEVELOPMENT,’ he should just take it and give it to his own family. For us, freedom is more important, and the value of freedom cannot be measured by the standards of Soeharto’s ‘DEVELOPMENT.’

**C - THE PROBLEM OF EAST TIMOR MUST BE RESOLVED INTERNATIONALLY**

We have already stated that the problem of East Timor is an international problem. This is because the parties in conflict are Indonesia and the international community, not just Indonesia and Portugal. Because of this, since 1975 the United Nations has attempted to resolve this problem.

As a product of all the efforts made by the UN Secretary General, a tri-partite meeting between Portugal, the Secretary General and Indonesia took place. The tri-partite talks produced a great deal, but only on paper. One of the resolutions adopted by the meeting was for meetings between the foreign ministers and East Timorese people, and for the need to broaden meetings between East Timorese themselves. All of these kinds of meetings have been held. But no prospects for the resolution of the problem of East Timor has emerged. This is caused by:

1. The Soeharto regime has never been serious and has never indicated any good faith about finding a resolution. This is clearly indicated by its reluctance to implement UN resolutions on East Timor, and by the fact that it has never implemented any of the points of the resolutions which it has itself agreed to, whether these be in the tri-partite meetings or in the meeting between East Timorese in Austria.
2. The apathy and lack of seriousness with which the countries of the world, including your own country, show towards the East Timor problem.

In our view, the support which certain countries, including your own, have given the Soeharto regime, has made Soeharto even more rigid in his views, and has encouraged him to become even more brutal in his determination to maintain East Timor as Indonesia’s 27th province. And his view is confronted by that of our own, which is that we will continue our struggle. And so, there will never be peace, and more victims will continue to fall.

And who is responsible for all of this? Our answer is clear: the international community, including your own country, is morally responsible!!!

**III. OUR POSITION**

We hereby affirm that:

1. Whatever the excuses for it, we do not accept integration!
2. In view of the political developments in the Middle East, and the signing of a peace accord in the Balkans, we demand the international community acknowledge that the war in East Timor is twenty years old and it is time that it ended!
3. The demonstration staged on 20 November by a handful of Indonesians posing as East Timorese is proof of the bad faith of the Suharto government in seeking a solution to the East Timor problem.

**IV. OUR APPEAL**

We appeal:

1. To the people of Russia to support our struggle!
2. To the western powers to give every support to Portugal in its efforts to seek a solution to the problem of East Timor.
3. To all nations of the world to comply with all resolutions passed on East Timor and to withdraw all forms of support granted to the Suharto regime!

**EAST TIMORESE IN EMBASSIES NOT YET SEEKING ASYLUM**

**By Jim Della-Giacoma**

JAKARTA, Dec 7 (Reuters) - More than 100 East Timorese and their supporters were holed up in the Dutch and Russian embassies after spectacular invasions on Thursday but there was no indication that they wanted to leave Indonesia.

The raids, which diplomats said involved 105 people, triggered rowdy pro-Indonesian protests later in the day outside both embassies in Jakarta's main business area.

Both embassies were stormed at around the same time 20 years ago, in 1975, that Indonesian forces invaded East Timor several months after its former Portuguese masters had left.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said the protesters were free to leave Indonesia – like 43 others who won political asylum in Portugal after staging similar break-ins in recent months.

"If they want to leave Indonesia, please. But this time, we have not heard that demand... We are still studying what they want," he told reporters.

Henri Fournier, head of the Jakarta office of the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), said: "Nobody

invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor on December 7.

some non-East Timorese, had asked to meet the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso, due to end a six-day visit to Indonesia on Thursday.

Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman Ghaifur Fadyl tacitly ruled this out, saying: “Mr Ayala Lasso is here at the invitation of the Indonesian government and he will follow the programme which has already been set out for him.”

Police, meanwhile, said a planned raid on the French embassy early on Thursday was thwarted and that 19 people were arrested. They gave no details.

About 70 protesters claiming to be East Timorese staged a pro-Indonesia demonstration outside the Dutch embassy after the break-in, witnesses said.

The protesters, with banners, shouted “Open the gate” and “We won’t leave until they (East Timorese in the mission) come out” as police kept a close watch.

A similar protest was held outside the Russian embassy.

Protesters inside the two compounds waved banners saying variously: “Free East Timor” and “Referendum in East Timor.”

RUSSIA CALLS JAKARTA EMBASSY SIT-IN “UNACCEPTABLE”

MOSCOW, Dec 7 (Reuters) - Russia denounced the occupation of part of its embassy in Jakarta by East Timorese protesters on Thursday as an unacceptable infringement of diplomatic rights.

We regard as unacceptable the penetration onto embassy territory. This goes against generally accepted international norms,” foreign ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin told reporters.

He declined to comment, however, when asked if Russia would take steps to remove the 50 or so demonstrators who broke into its compound in the Indonesian capital in the early morning.

The East Timorese break-ins were launched 20 years to the day, and almost to the hour, since Indonesian forces invaded East Timor after its former Portuguese colonial masters left.

Some 58 East Timorese and their sympathisers also broke into the Dutch embassy in Jakarta on Thursday.

Indonesia has refused to hold a referendum in East Timor, 2,000 km (1,250 miles) from Jakarta, on the territory’s future.

It says East Timor was incorporated legitimately into Indonesia following a vote by tribal leaders in 1976, the year it proclaimed the territory as Indonesia’s 27th province.

The Russian embassy break-in was in the hands of the diplomats on the ground who were in contact with the Indonesian authorities, Demurin said.

INDONESIA SAYS TIMOR PROTESTERS FREE TO LEAVE

JAKARTA, Dec 7 (Reuters) - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Thursday that East Timorese protesters holed up in the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta were free to leave the country.

But Alatas told reporters the protesters had made no clear demands so far.

“If they want to leave Indonesia, please. But this time, we have not heard that demand,” he said after accompanying the visiting U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso, at a meeting with President Suharto.

The protesters stormed the two embassies before dawn on Thursday in a spectacular mass action against Indonesian rule of their homeland.

A Dutch diplomat said 58 were in his embassy, while a Russian diplomat said there were 47 in his mission. The Russians earlier put their figure at “around 40.”

“We are still studying what they want. If we don’t know what they want, what can we do?” Alatas said.

He said he had heard they wanted a meeting with Ayala Lasso, who leaves Indonesia on Thursday night after a six-day visit, including a trip to East Timor.

Ayala Lasso, with Alatas, refused to comment.

The embassy break-ins were launched on the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s military invasion of East Timor following the departure of its former Portuguese masters.

TIMORESE SPEND COLD NIGHT AT EMBASSIES IN JAKARTA

JAKARTA, Dec 8 (Reuters) - More than 100 mainly East Timorese protesters who have invaded the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta spent a cold night at the missions but had not yet asked for asylum, officials said on Friday.

The protesters were provided with food, drink and cigarettes by staff of the Russian and Dutch embassies and are expected to meet with officials from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) later on Friday.

“Yes, they spent the night here and we gave them food, drink and also cigarettes,” said an official at the Russian embassy, where 57 of the protesters are holed up.

Another 58 are at the Dutch embassy.

Both groups entered the embassies’ compounds before dawn on Thursday, the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s military invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor on December 7.

But unlike previous occasions when East Timorese had entered embassy compounds, the two groups have not asked for asylum. Violence flared at the Dutch embassy late on Thursday when pro-Indonesia counter-demonstrators broke into the mission, injuring a number of diplomats, witnesses said.

The Dutch embassy official said ambassador Paul Reitz Brouwer was among those injured when the protesters hit the back of his head with sticks. He gave no further details.

A Dutch Foreign Ministry spokeswoman told Reuters in The Hague on Thursday that Indonesian Ambassador Johannes Kadariah had been summoned to the ministry and told of the Netherlands’ concern over the assault.

Russian foreign ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin on Thursday said his country denounced the occupation of the
embassy as an unacceptable infringement of diplomatic rights.

“We regard as unacceptable the penetration on to embassy territory. This goes against generally accepted international norms,” he told reporters.

The protesters at both embassies have called for a referendum in East Timor and a repeal of what they called repressive political laws.

Indonesia has refused to hold a referendum in East Timor, 2,000 km (1,250 miles) from Jakarta, on the territory’s future.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesian rule in East Timor and regards Portugal as the administering authority.

TASS: TIMOR “DISSIDENTS” ARE STILL IN COMPOUNDS

JAKARTA, December 8 (Itar-Tass) – “The action of the East Timor protesters, who forced their way into the territory of the Russian embassy here on Thursday, was intended to draw the world community’s attention to the problem of East Timor,” one of them told Itar-Tass today.

There are now 58 East Timorese and young people from other areas of Indonesia on the compounds of the Russian embassy. They claim to be representatives of the “Union of People’s Democracy,” which is behind this protest action. Chairman of the Union’s Presidium Budiman said that they “demand a referendum on East Timor to determine its future.”

Indonesia claims that such a “choice” was made in 1976, but it has never been recognised by the international community.

“It is necessary,” Budiman added, “to make the Indonesian government fulfill the principles earlier agreed by it with Portugal and the United Nations. This refers primarily to the ending of terror against the people of East Timor, withdrawal of Indonesian troops from that territory, and release of political prisoners.”

“By breaking into the territories of the Russian and Dutch embassies,” Budiman said, “the East Timorese are striving to tell the world out loud about the Indian government’s failure to honour these principles.” They also want concrete steps by all the indicated sides to resolve the East Timor problem.

“We are not seeking political asylum. We are pursuing a common goal – to democratise Indonesia,” the activist stated.

TIMORESE WANT TO LEAVE THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY

JAKARTA, December 8 (Itar-Tass) – “The East Timorese, who scaled the fence of the Russian embassy here on Thursday, want to leave it, but their safety must be guaranteed,” Itar-Tass was told by Human Rights Champion, Director of the Independent Human Rights Institute Princen, who is very well known in Indonesia. He had talks with the East Timor “dissidents” on the territory of the Russian embassy today morning and later described them as “favourable.”

Princen said that he planned to meet shortly the commander of the Jakarta military area in order to secure safety guarantees for the East Timorese and to prevent another incident like the one that occurred on Thursday evening at the Dutch embassy, where a fight broke out between the supporters and opponents of East Timor’s annexation by Indonesia in 1976. Dutch diplomats tried to intervene. Some of them were injured, including the Dutch ambassador.

Princen plans to establish contact with the representative of the International Red Cross in Jakarta. “I shall try to make him protect all those who are now on the territory of the Russian embassy after they leave its bounds,” Princen stated.

Safety guarantees for the group that broke into the Russian embassy “have already been received from Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and from the police authorities.” However, Princen believes that “this is obviously not enough – reliable guarantees are needed.”

Contacts with the human rights champion were among the demands voiced by the East Timorese, who want to get personal safety guarantees from the authorities. The representative of the International Red Cross in Jakarta today avoided meeting the East Timorese, which is among their demands, referring to “lack of instructions” on this score from Geneva.

EAST TIMOR INDEPENDENCE CHAMPIONS STILL IN RUSSIAN EMBASSY

JAKARTA, December 8 (Itar-Tass) – A group of 58 East Timorese and young Indonesians from other parts of the country, including two women, are still on the territory of the Russian embassy in Indonesia. They have spent the night outside under the roof of the embassy’s parking lot. A dozen of police cars and vans are parked outside the bounds of the embassy. One car is constantly posted in the gap between the two barriers, forming a path to the embassy. The situation was calm this morning both on the territory of the embassy and outside it.

Russian diplomats are exerting vigorous efforts and establishing various contacts with a view to finding a way out of the current situation. Prominent human rights champion, Director of the Independent Human Rights Institute Princen of Holland, who is very well known in Indonesia, has had talks with the East Timorese a short while ago. A meeting with him was demanded by the “dissidents,” who want the authorities to guarantee their personal safety when they leave the Russian territory. The International Red Cross representative in Jakarta has avoided meeting the “dissidents” for the time being, saying that he had “no instructions” on this score from Geneva.

GLIMMER OF BREAKTHROUGH IN EAST TIMOR PROTESTS

By Lewa Pardomuan

JAKARTA, Dec 8 (Reuters) - The first glimmer of a possible breakthrough to end spectacular East Timorese protests in the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta emerged on Friday when a leading human rights activist met some of the demonstrators.

Johannes Princen told reporters the 57 held up in the Russian embassy since early on Thursday were willing to leave, provided they had security guarantees.

There was no immediate sign of movement in the Dutch embassy. A diplomat said he saw no quick fix for the 55 people protesting against Indonesian rule of East Timor in the mission.

Other embassies were on alert for more possible break-ins by East Timorese and their sympathisers, as well as protests by members of a pro-Indonesian group who injured four Dutch diplomats on Thursday after forcibly entering their embassy.

Princen, head of the Jakarta-based Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, said after leaving the Russian embassy he was uncertain whether the protesters would leave.

“They told me that they are willing to leave provided the government gives them the necessary security,” he said.

Princen said the East Timorese could be handed over to the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and for the Indonesians among them to be taken to the independent Legal Aid Institute, another rights’ group.

Unlike previous embassy break-ins, diplomats said there had been no requests for political asylum and some of the protesters were non-Timorese.

All 43 East Timorese involved in four other embassy break-ins since September were granted asylum in Portugal, East Timor’s former colonial master.
“They have not requested political asylum,” one Dutch diplomat said. Asked if the protesters could be there for some time, he said: “That is what we are afraid of.”

He said there were 55 protesters in his mission’s compound – not 58 as initially reported on Thursday. He said 25 were from East Timor, 29 from the main Indonesian island of Java and one from Irian Jaya, bordering Papua New Guinea.

A Russian diplomat said there were 57 protesters in his embassy compound. There was no clear ethnic breakdown, but most of them were believed to be from East Timor, 2,000 km (1,250 miles) east of Jakarta.

The two embassies were invaded before dawn on Thursday, the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s military invasion of East Timor on December 7 after the Portuguese left. Violence flared at the Dutch embassy late on Thursday when the pro-Indonesia counter-demonstrators broke into the mission.

A Dutch diplomat said four colleagues, including Ambassador Paul Brouwer, were injured by protesters with sticks.

“They are in no danger but some have serious wounds that needed hospital treatment,” the diplomat said.

A Dutch Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said in The Hague on Thursday that Indonesian Ambassador Johannes Kadarisman had been summoned and told of the Netherlands’ concern over the assault.

Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin denounced the embassy occupation. “We regard as unacceptable the penetration on to embassy territory. This goes against generally accepted international norms,” he told reporters in Moscow.

The protesters at both embassies have called for a referendum in East Timor and a repeal of what they called repressive political norms,” he told reporters in Moscow.

Violence flared at the Dutch embassy late on Thursday when the pro-Indonesia counter-demonstrators broke into the mission.

Throughout the day they encountered pressure from embassy staff who requested that they soon have to leave the embassy building. Although on the previous day the embassy staff had explicitly stated that they would provide complete protection to the PRD and East Timorese activists.

Negotiations were held between H.J.C. Princen with the PRD and East Timorese activists. An agreement as reached that they would leave the embassy an go the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) offices at Jl Diponegoro, Central Jakarta.

6.00pm - A Pluit Jaya company bus driven by Ajat arrived at the Russian embassy. Police prevented the bus from entering and apparently the embassy staff agreed with police on this. Protesters by Dita Sari that the bus must be allowed to enter the embassy grounds were not heeded by either the security personnel or the embassy staff.

The PRD and East Timorese then left the embassy building, going directly to the bus which was parked in front of the gate. When they passed the crowd of pro-integration youths, the shouts of abuse became even louder, and vulgar acts followed: the bus was pounded and the activists spat at. The activists who had, from the beginning, clearly held a peaceful action did not react to this, directly getting on board the bus. The embassy staff immediately closed the gate after all the activists had left the embassy grounds.

Outside the agreement began, five police carrying clubs climbed on top of the bus. The bus left the embassy in the direction of the YLBHI offices as agreed. Dita Sari and H.J.C. Princen lead the bus in a separate vehicle. When they were near the Hotel Indonesia, the bus separated itself and disappeared. It is known for certain that the bus was heading for the Jakarta Raya Police Head Quarters, which was not part of the agreement reached by the embassy staff, H.J.C. Princen and the activists.

At the time of preparing this report no information has been obtained on the whereabouts of the PRD and East Timorese activists. The bus has also disappeared, and at this moment PRD is attempting to trace them, as there is a fear that they may be at risk.

1. ACTIVISTS IN THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY

INDONESIAN ACTIVISTS:
1. Romanus
2. Raymond
3. Ronald
4. Robert P
5. Tony
6. Romulus
7. Roby
8. Agustinus
9. Aloysius
10. Andreas
11. Antonius
12. Angel
13. Beni
14. Benard
15. Dody
16. Ud
17. Beni
18. Didien
19. Ujang
20. Naning
21. Hari
22. Mamok
23. Aris
24. Fajar
25. Heri
26. Haris
27. Bimo Petrus
28. Yohanes
29. Dandi
30. Rauf
31. Ichak
32. Chacha
33. Anang
34. Inyo
35. Badman

EAST TIMORESE:
1. Mariano S. Lopez
2. Ermengildo Lopez
3. Emilnio Freitas Quitas
4. Antonio Viera
5. Leolildo Dos Santos
6. Arsenio Pereira Da Silva
7. Marito Dos Santos
8. Carmilio Amaral
9. Florensis De Jesus Amaral
10. Thomas Alfredo Candara
11. Leonel M.R. Lopez
12. Mario Soares
13. Carlos De Jesus, S
14. Esu De Queiros
15. Arnero Ximenes
16. Jose Maria L. Delima
17. Bendito Jovo M.F. Delima
18. Jorge Manuel F. Dasilva
19. Juvenicio Donato Da Costa
20. Marino De Jesus Sousa M
21. Jaime Camacho
22. F. Soarez Peraia
23. Eustaquio S.P. Guteres
24. Isaura De Cruz
25. Leonito Riberio
26. Eusebio Guteres

PEOPLES’ DEMOCRATIC UNION (PRD) UPDATE

Translation of a report received by AKSI from the Peoples’ Democratic Union (PRD) on the Morning of December 8, 1995.

Also included is a list of East Timorese and Indonesian activists who were planning to enter the Russian Embassy on the morning of December 7. Due to the fact that direct communication to and from the embassies remains difficult, it remains unclear at this time which of these people have succeeded in entering the embassies as planned (and is now therefore under arrest), who still remains outside and who was arrested before or during the attempt.

**Report from the Russian Embassy, 8 December, 1995**

On the morning of December 7, 58 PRD and East Timorese activists entered the Russian Embassy in Jakarta. What follows is a chronological report.

Mid-day - PRD activists were still in the embassy building, while the pro-integration youths were still outside shouting abuse. While they were there, the activists slept on matts and banners which had been erected in the embassy.

Throughout the day they encountered pressure from embassy staff who requested that they soon have to leave the embassy building. Although on the previous day the embassy staff had explicitly stated that they would provide complete protection to the PRD and East Timorese activists.

Negotiations were held between H.J.C. Princen with the PRD and East Timorese activists. An agreement as reached that they would leave the embassy and go to the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) offices at Jl Diponegoro, Central Jakarta.

At the time of preparing this report no information has been obtained on the whereabouts of the PRD and East Timorese activists.
They were driven in a convoy directly to Jakarta’s police headquarters. A police source said on Thursday they would go first to a police station “to register.” He gave no details.

It was not clear if the same group of people who entered the Dutch embassy on Thursday were responsible for hurling abuse and stones at those who left the Russian mission.

Unlike previous embassy break-ins, diplomats said there had been no requests for political asylum and some of the protesters were non-Timorese.

All 43 East Timorese involved in four other embassy break-ins since September were granted asylum in Portugal.

A Dutch diplomat said there were 55 in his mission’s compound — not 58 as initially reported on Thursday. He said 25 were from East Timor, 29 from the main Indonesian island of Java and one from Irian Jaya, bordering Papua New Guinea.

E. TIMOR PROTEST AT RUSSIAN EMBASSY ENDS

JAKARTA, Dec. 8 (UPI) — Fifty-eight protesters vacated the Russia nation to mark the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion to East Timor.

“Yes, they left the embassy at sunset,” an embassy official confirmed.

The 58 youths — 46 East Timorese and 12 Javanese — stormed the Russian Embassy in the pre-dawn hours Thursday, while another 55 sought refuge at the Netherlands Embassy.

Witnesses said that after leaving the embassy, the 58 youths boarded a bus and were taken to Jakarta police headquarters for questioning.

Dozens of anti-riot police with rattan clubs and supporters of the Indonesian government were waiting outside the gates of the embassy. The government supporters denounced the protesters and attacked some of them.

The 58 left the embassy after negotiations between Indonesian authorities and embassy officials that also involved human rights activist H.J.C. Princen.

An embassy official said Princen was called to mediate when the youths sought guarantees of their safety if they left the embassy compound.

However, it was not clear whether the protesters, especially the non-East Timorese, would be taken to court.

RUSSIAN EMBASSY EAST TIMORESE AND INDONESIAN SUPPORTERS ABDUCTED BY POLICE

CNRM Media Release, 9 December 1995

On 7 December, the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor, 113 East Timorese and Indonesian youths entered the Dutch and Russian Embassies in Jakarta to protest against the illegal occupation of East Timor. They demanded a serious discussion with Indonesian authorities regarding the demilitarisation of the territory, an end to human rights violations, and respect for the East Timorese people’s right of self determination. Indonesia responded by inciting a group of (mostly East Indonesian) thugs, posing as East Timorese, to trespass into the Dutch Embassy in violation of most basic diplomatic conventions, and attack the protesters, staff members (including the ambassador), and cause material damage. The 55 (29 Indonesian, 26 East Timorese) protesters remain in the embassy, adequately cared for.

The 58 youths who entered the Russian Embassy (48 East Timorese, 10 Indonesians), and were initially promised protection, came under strong pressure from the embassy staff to leave. Outside the fence, a group of thugs kept on shouting abuse at the youths during the day. Well-known Indonesian Human Rights lawyer H.J.C. Princen was called in to negotiate with the youths in the embassy, and an agreement was reached on 8 December, that they would leave for the Indonesian legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) not too far away, after Princen obtained promises from the Indonesian military that the youths’ security would be guaranteed.

At 18.00 hrs on 8 December, a hired bus arrived at the Russian Embassy to pick up the East Timorese and Indonesians. Police did not allow the bus to enter the grounds, so the youths had to pass the group of pro-Indonesian thugs outside, who abused them, made obscene gestures and spat at them, pounding their bus. As soon as the group had left the Embassy and boarded the bus which was supposed to take them to the YLBHI, five police armed with clubs, insisted to board it as well, despite the protests of Princen and PRD leader Dita Sari that this was contrary to the agreement. The bus then left for YLBHI, with Princen and Dita Sari leading the way in separate vehicles.

The bus never reached YLBHI. It was hijacked by the police on board. The bus, and its East Timorese and Indonesian passengers have since disappeared. They are suspected
to be at Indonesian military intelligence headquarters in Jakarta, but this has not been confirmed at the time of writing (some 30 hours after being last seen). H.J.C. Princen has publicly denounced the deception and breach of agreement by the Indonesian military.

CNRM deplores this dishonourable act by the Indonesian military. It once again shows the duplicity and lack of credibility of the Suharto regime authorities, which is a basic reason for the lack of proper resolution of the East Timor issue.

CNRM calls for appropriate action to protect the well being of the East Timorese and Indonesian youths so crudely abducted by Indonesian authorities. Based on past experience, there is all reason to assume that they are exposed to severe mistreatment.

**INDONESIA POLICE CONTINUE TO QUIZ TIMOR PROTESTERS**

**JAKARTA, Dec 9 (Reuters) -** Indonesian police on Saturday continued to question 57 East Timorese and their supporters who broke into the Russian embassy, a police official said.

“The questioning has not finished yet because we lacked police officers,” an official from the Jakarta police headquarters told Reuters by telephone.

He said half of the protesters, who left the embassy on Friday, had been questioned and that the interrogations would continue on Saturday.

The official declined to give further details.

A leading human rights activist, Johannes Princen, said he planned to meet again a 55-member group of East Timorese who broke into the Dutch embassy on Thursday.

The protesters broke into the Dutch and Russian embassies before dawn on Thursday, the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor.

They are still being de-

The protesters from the Russian embassy left to a hail of abuse from onlookers as they walked through two lines of riot police to the bus just outside the main gates.

Stones were hurled at the protesters, who were branded “traitors” and “dogs” by an angry group of about 20 men.

Princen, head of the Jakarta-based Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, said the Timorese were still inside the Dutch embassy.

Officials from the embassy were not immediately available for comment.

The protesters at both embassies had called for a referendum in East Timor and a repeal of “repressive political laws.”

Indonesia has refused to hold a referendum in East Timor on the territory’s future.

Sources close to the Timorese in the Dutch embassy said on Friday night there were no plans for them to leave soon.

Unlike previous embassy break-ins, diplomats said there had been no requests for political asylum and some of the protesters were non-Timorese.

All 43 East Timorese involved in four other embassy break-ins since September were granted asylum in Portugal.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesian rule in East Timor and regards Portugal as the administering authority.

**CDPM CHALLENGES DUTCH AND RUSSIAN GOVERNMENTS**

**Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People (CDPM, a Portuguese solidarity group) communiqué, 12 December 1995. Translated from Portuguese, summarized.**

**Is Holland fit to carry on representing Portugal’s interests?**

**The struggle for Timorese self-determination has entered a new phase.**

**Dutch and Russian governments are responsible.**

On the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor, the fight for self-determination in East Timor entered a new phase as young Indonesians joined forces with Timorese and peacefully occupied the Russian and Dutch Embassies, to remind the international community of its responsibilities. The CDPM praises the courage, political vision and determination of these young people.

This act of solidarity by young Indonesians reflected the extent to which the Suharto regime is being increasingly openly challenged from within, and the important role East Timor has played in the struggle for democracy in Indonesia.

When the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights refused to meet the young Indonesians and Timorese, he missed an opportunity to hear first-hand accounts of the systematic human rights violations perpetrated in both countries.

The reaction of the Dutch Government, through its Ambassador in Jakarta, was disgraceful and casts a shadow of shame across the entire European Union. Such behaviour was a slap in the face for international law and humanitarian principles.

The Dutch and Russian Governments cannot plead ignorance of Indonesia’s systematic violation of human rights, both at home and in East Timor. They are, therefore, to be held responsible for whatever happens to the young people who occupied the two Embassies.

Holland is no longer fit to represent Portuguese interests in Indonesia. Portugal, the Administering Power of East Timor, cannot allow Timorese - Portuguese citizens - to be treated in such a way. Neither should Portugal tolerate the refusal of help to others - citizens of a dictatorship - who have expressed their solidarity with a people, illegally invaded and colonised, who are fighting for their rights.

**SUCCESSFUL INDONESIAN/EAST TIMOR ACTIONS IN JAKARTA**

By James Balowski, Green Left, Dec. 13

In successful joint actions, Indonesian and East Timorese activists have managed for the first time to focus the spotlight - in the Indonesian press and public - on their demand that Indonesia withdraw from East Timor. The joint actions began on December 7 in the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta.

The 58 activists, who entered the Russian embassy on December 7, were arrested when they left the next day. They were later released, and the Indonesian leaders of the action were able to hold a press conference in Jakarta. The East Timorese were taken to inter-city bus stations and set back to their campuses in East Java.

Twenty nine Indonesian and 27 Timorese activists in the Dutch embassy were arrested on December 9 when Dutch diplomats allowed Indonesian police into the compound. They were still in custody on December 10, but are expected to be released also. Another nine people, including seven activists, were arrested attempting to enter the embassies. They are still being detained.

Budiman Sudjatmiko, president of the People’s Democratic Union (PRD), told Green Left Weekly after his release that the PRD would not give up on its campaign against the Indonesian government’s occupation in East Timor. “We will continue this struggle and the struggle for democratisation in Indonesia, including the repeal of all repressive political laws. We are now demanding that all our members and East Timorese friends still detained be released immediately.”

The PRD, which coordinated the embassy occupations, was formed in 1994 and is an umbrella organisation supported by the Centre for Labour Struggle (PPBI), Student Solidarity for Indonesian Democracy (SMID), National Peasants Union, the People’s Art Network and the Indonesian Peo-
people’s Solidarity Struggle with the Maubere People (SPRIM). For several months PRD and its affiliated organisations have been building an East Timor solidarity campaign in Indonesia.

In a pre-recorded video interview sent to Green Left Dita Sari, the PPBI general secretary explained that the December 7 embassy sit-ins were a part of a campaign to raise awareness among Indonesian workers, students and farmers about the similarity between their struggle for greater freedoms and the repression and violence experienced by the East Timorese. “The bullets which riddle the bodies of Maubere patriots are the same bullets which kill Indonesian pro-democratic activists,” she said.

Both embassy break-ins began around 4.20am. Shortly after, large numbers of military and police surrounded the embassies. A number of other Timorese activists, not associated with the PRD occupations were arrested on the same day. Amnesty International reported that one person was arrested on his way to Jakarta and another outside the Thai embassy. Fifty others are believed to have been arrested outside the French Embassy.

Unlike other recent embassy break-ins, the protesters did not request political asylum. Dita Sari told Green Left Weekly that this was quite intentional. “The actions were specifically designed to pressure the government to address our demands and to promote an awareness in Indonesian society of the plight of the East Timorese people.”

The others of the 150 Timorese and Indonesian people who participated in the embassy actions are said to have been notified to present themselves at the police stations of the cities where they live. Two of those youths, Arlindo Sanches and José Soares, were pressured to renounce any future actions, and were released conditionally.

In Jakarta, another 26 Timorese are under constant surveillance by the authorities, while four others, who worked for security firms, were fired after they denounced being subjected to pressure by the military to take part in actions in favor to integration of ET into Indonesia.

The communiqué also reports the forced recruitment of Timorese to infiltrate amongst student activists, with the objective of causing disturbances among them, thus providing the authorities with an excuse to arrest them.

The communiqué also refers that Lopes da Cruz, ET’s roving ambassador, is promoting a series of colloquia and dialogs among the Timorese youths studying in Indonesia, apparently with the objective to prepare some leader of the Timorese resistance for future political manoeuvres.

Translator’s comment: I know the report is confusing, and I’m not sure what the last sentence means, but... the original is equally confusing.
TO THE NETHERLANDS

Because of the simultaneity of the Dutch and Russian Embassy incursions, many articles discuss both. They are put with the Russian section, for consistency.

EIGHT ASYLUM SEEKERS AT DUTCH EMBASSY

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Macao, Nov 7 (LUSA) - Eight East Timorese males entered the Dutch embassy in Lisbon in the early afternoon today and asked to be granted political asylum by the Dutch government, the vice-chief of the embassy, Dick den Haas, told LUSA over the phone. The eight referred the possibility of obtaining asylum from a different European country, including Portugal.

“They asked for protection and we have already informed the Dutch government about this case, which raises a new question for us,” said Dick den Haas. The diplomat said that the Indonesian government had been informed also. “They alleged that their position in Indonesia is not safe, that they are persecuted and have no freedom,” said the diplomat. “We now await instructions from the Dutch government and will look after them until the we learn of the decision,” said Dick den Haas, adding that the question will have to be dealt with between the Dutch and Indonesian governments.

This is not the first time in that East Timorese request political asylum from the Dutch embassy. In 1986, four East Timorese students made this request, and left the embassy two days later, after the Indonesian authorities guaranteed they would be safe.

Berlin, Nov 7 (LUSA) - The Dutch Foreign Minister will make a decision relative to the [above] asylum request “in the next few days,” Djoekoe Koekkoek, responsible for the Asia-Pacific issues in the Ministry, told LUSA over the phone. Koekkoek stated that the Minister had already established contacts with the Portuguese and Indonesian authorities in order to resolve the question quickly.

According to a communiqué by the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, the Dutch embassy in Lisbon has guaranteed that the asylum seekers would receive the best possible treatment, and that the Portuguese government will be kept informed of every step of the matter.

Meanwhile the eight have reportedly expressed intention of being repatriated [sic] to Portugal.

DUTCH EMBASSY REJECTS ASYLUM FOR EIGHT TIMORESE

Kompas, 8 November 1995. Abridged

The Dutch embassy announced Tuesday that a request for asylum from eight Timorese youths who entered the embassy on Monday has been rejected. The matter has now been handed on to Portugal which has said it is willing to receive the eight Timorese. Their departure will be handled by the ICRC.

Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesperson Ghaffar Fadyl told Kompas: ‘If they want to leave, go ahead. They say they’re being hunted down but the fact is that they aren’t.’

The Dutch embassy spokesperson said the eight men arrived at the embassy at 12.30 Monday and immediately asked for asylum. The matter was under discussions until 9 pm. He refused to say anything about their identities.

According to a source in the embassy, the eight Timorese, all in their early twenties, forced their way into the embassy. Security officials were busy handling a crowd of people applying for Dutch visas and were unable to hold back the eight. Once inside the premises, Dutch officials took them to one side and thereafter, guarding around the embassy was intensified. No one was allowed to get anywhere near where the eight were located.

EIGHT ASYLUM SEEKERS LEAVE TO PORTUGAL

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Berlin, Nov 8 (LUSA) - The eight Timorese asylum seekers who took refuge in the Dutch embassy in Jakarta, will leave to Lisbon today, Djoekoe Koekkoek of the Dutch Foreign Ministry told LUSA today.

Koekkoek revealed that the departure is being organized by the International Red Cross. “The eight Timorese are very pleased with this solution,” stated Koekkoek, adding that “they really wanted to leave Indonesia, and staying in the Dutch embassy was not a solution.”

An Indonesian official who requested anonymity said that five of the asylum seekers were workers and the other three were students. The youths were identified by the Indonesian authorities as: Antonio da Costa Rangel, 21 years old., Ivan Manuel Soares, 20, Nixon Alves da Cruz, 19, José Luis, 20, José Freitas da Cruz, 22, Alvaro de Deus Martins, 24, José Leong, 22, and Vasco da Conceição, 25.

TIMORESE ASYLUM-SEEKERS TO LEAVE

By Jim Della-Giacoma

JAKARTA, Nov 8 (Reuters) - Eight East Timorese men who sought asylum in the Dutch embassy in Jakarta on Tuesday will leave for Portugal via Amsterdam on Wednesday evening, an official of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said.

Henri Fournier, head of the ICRC delegation in Jakarta, told Reuters that Dutch and Indonesian authorities had approved a plan to fly the eight to Amsterdam under ICRC supervision at 7.30 p.m. (1230 GMT) on Wednesday.

“These gentlemen are going to leave tonight,” Fournier said.

“On the request of the Dutch government and with the full acceptance of the Indonesian authorities, the ICRC has been asked to facilitate the immigration to Portugal of these eight persons from East Timor,” he said.

The Portuguese government, the former colonial power in East Timor, had pledged to accept them, he added.

The eight youths ran through the gates of the embassy soon after midday on Tuesday, seeking asylum in the Netherlands.

According to an embassy spokesman, the eight said they were on the run from the Indonesian military. They spent the night on the embassy premises after being given food and drink.

Major-General Abdul Rivai, the commander of the Udayana military district which includes East Timor, denied the eight were being chased by authorities.

“There is no such story that the eight who are seeking political asylum are being chased by security officials,” Rivai was quoted by the official Antara news agency as telling reporters in East Timor’s capital, Dili, on Wednesday.

Timorese sources said they believed the eight had arrived in Jakarta recently from East Timor.

Antara named the eight, confirmed by other sources, as Alvaro Martins, 27, Antonio da Costa Rangel, 21, José Luis L, 20, Vasco da Conceição, 25, Nixon João do

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An Indonesian official who requested anonymity said that five of the asylum seekers were workers and the other three were students. The youths were identified by the Indonesian authorities as: Antonio da Costa Rangel, 21 years old., Ivan Manuel Soares, 20, Nixon Alves da Cruz, 19, José Luis, 20, José Freitas da Cruz, 22, Alvaro de Deus Martins, 24, José Leong, 22, and Vasco da Conceição, 25.
Alves, 22, Ivan Manuel Soares, 20, José Freitas da Cruz, 20, and José de Leong, 22. There have been several similar attempts to seek refuge involving embassies in Jakarta recent years.

In September, five East Timorese sought refuge in the British mission. Nearly all such asylum seekers have ended up in Portugal.

Indonesia, which has ruled East Timor since an invasion nearly 20 years ago on December 7, 1975, had said it would not bar the eight from leaving but denied their claims, and those of other Timorese, of persecution and human rights abuses.

EIGHT TIMORESE ARIVE IN LISBON

Translated from the Portuguese, full text

Lisbon, Nov 9 (LUSA) - The 8 Timorese who requested political asylum from the Dutch embassy in Jakarta on Thursday, and arrived in Lisbon today, consider that escaping East Timor is, right now, the only alternative for Dili’s youth.

Antonio Rangel, 21 years old, spokesperson for the group, speaking with translation aid from Luis Cardoso, CNRM leader, told journalists that the pressure in Dili is enormous and young people have no choice but to flee.

Rangel explained that the group left Dili on the 4th, and arrived in Jakarta on the 7th, at which time it requested asylum from the Dutch embassy. Along their course, they were ‘always accompanied’ by Indonesian military.

Rangel states that 30 youths left Dili, but that the whereabouts of the other 22 are not known. Rangel reports that gunshots are heard in Dili every night, and that neither he or the others in his group had slept in their homes for many nights.

“There almost are no Timorese youths in Dili, many have fled to the mountains and others have stepped into the clandestinity,” said Rangel, adding that many youths have been arrested and some must have been killed for their destinations are unknown.

To Antonio Rangel, “it is the intention of the Indonesian army to eliminate the Timorese youth,” hence many try to flee East Timor. “There are many Timorese youths who want to come to Portugal,” he said, adding that “Portugal is the one who has the responsibility to receive the Timorese.”

The eight youths have all completed their high school education and intend to pursue their studies in Portugal, if possible.

Only one of the youths has family in Portugal – a sister who has come long ago – but they all have many friends here.

The group who requested asylum from the British embassy about 2 months ago awaited the eight at the airport, and their encounter was very emotional. The sad expressions of the youths were at that moment transformed, with smiles mixed with tears.

Around their neck the youths wore a black ribbon, “in mourning for their friends who disappeared,” explained Luis Cardoso.

These youths, who had also participated in the Santa Cruz procession in 1991, will now stay at the University Residence of the Mosteiro, in Santos-o-Novo [Lisbon], where the other Timorese who arrived recently are also hosted, Manuela Machaz of the Social Security Ministry told journalists. According to Machaz, the youths will have free room and board, and the usual monthly stipend.

Later on, they will attend Portuguese classes, and will decide whether they wish to continue with their studies, or a different alternative.

Besides Manuela Machaz, a representative of the Foreign Ministry, a representative of the Portuguese Red Cross, and others, were at the airport. The trip was arranged by the International Red Cross.

OVER 50 EAST TIMORESE AND INDONESIANS IN DUTCH EMBASSY

From AKSI National Secretariat, Dec. 7, 1995. For info: PO Box 458, Broadway, NSW 2007, Australia Phone: 02 690 1230, Fax: 02 690 1381. E-Mail: links@peg.apc.org

This is to confirm that Wilson, Secretary-General of Pusat Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia (Indonesian Centre for Labour Struggles) and Petrus Haryadi, Secretary General of Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (SMID - Indonesian Students in Solidarity with Democracy) are in the Dutch Embassy with several other Indonesians and many East Timorese (estimated total 52).

Wilson is also national coordinator of SPRIM (Solidaritas Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia untuk Maubere) (Indonesian in Solidarity Struggle with the Maubere People).

Budiman Sudjatmiko, President of Persatuan Rakyat Demokratik (PRD - Peoples Democratic Union), is in the Russian Embassy with other Indonesians and East Timorese.

Neither the East Timorese or Indonesians are asking for asylum at this point. But they are demanding a meeting with representa-tives of the Indonesian regime discuss their demands on Timor. They are also asking that prominent human rights lawyers be witnesses to the meetings.

Please note that at some point the Indonesians will have to leave the Embassy.

Please send messages of support to the East Timorese and SPRIM Indonesians in the Embassy. Send messages to your local Dutch and Russian Embassies or telephone direct to Jakarta. (Dutch embassy 62-21-5251515. Russian Embassy 62-21-322162)

EAST TIMORESE YOUTH PETITION TO DUTCH GOVERNMENT

PETITION FROM THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF EAST TIMOR, PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF NETHERLANDS

7 December 1995

1. INTRODUCTION. Today it is twenty years since the invasion of our homeland by the troops of the aggressor. This day marks twenty years of our struggle for independence against the army of the Suharto regime. And for all of these twenty years of struggle, we and our people have been hunted, tortured, killed, arrested and exiled. For all of these years our endless suffering has been forgotten by all the nations of the world, including the Netherlands.

Today we have exhausted all our means of struggle to show to the whole world and to the international organisations, that our nation has been occupied illegally, that our people have been massacred inhumanely, that our mothers have been raped and then killed. And on this day, too, it seems that there is not one country in the world, including the Netherlands, that has been able to comprehend our aspirations and our suffering or to understand the reality we have lived for the last 20 years. Because of all this, we decided to “OCCUPY” the Dutch embassy with the aim to convey to Your Excellency the Ambassador of the Netherlands our reality, our hopes and our demands with the certainty that you, Mr Ambassador, will understand our position and will forward this petition to the United Nations and to the government of the Netherlands for their consideration in accordance to international law.

Long before we took the decision to “JUMP” the fence of your country’s embassy, we realised that we would be accused by the Suharto regime to be shameless people whose only desire is to get a free ride overseas, people with no sense of nationalism or patriotism, and all similar accusations routinely made by Ali Alatas. We realised all this.
On the other hand, Your Excellency, we also realised that ‘THIS ACTION OF JUMPING OVER YOUR EMBASSY’S FENCE’ would disrupt the tranquillity and the smooth administration of your embassy. We realised all of that, and we thought that Your Excellency and your staff would not be overjoyed with our presence. However, we have been compelled to take this course of action because:

1) The Netherlands is a member country of the United Nations. Regardless of any economic, political, military and strategic interest, the government of the Netherlands is morally bound to respect and actively participate in seeking resolutions of conflicts among countries and nations. We are convinced that if all the nations of the world were to truly live by the principles of international law, then peace and justice would prevail throughout the world. It is the principles of international law that give us the right to self determination; because not a single UN resolution has legitimised the aggression and the integration of East Timor.

2. In Indonesia, where the Suharto regime is so cruel, so repressive and so disrespectful of its own laws, let alone international law, it is not possible for us to hold a demonstration “THAT OPPOSES” the regime openly and publicly. If we were to risk it we would certainly be arrested, tortured and killed, as has been the case for so many of our friends who have died over the last twenty years in the name of our struggle for freedom. To make ourselves quite clear we would like to remind Your Excellency of the Santa Cruz massacre of 1991, where it was not just our brothers and sisters who were massacred, but where also a journalist of Dutch descent, Kamal paid with his life only because he was witness to our demonstration...

Because of all that has passed, on this day we have chosen to hold our demonstration in Your Excellency’s Embassy with the hope to freely and peacefully prove to the whole world, including to the government and the people of your country that we are still alive, that we still are convinced of our right to self determination, and that we still do not accept the integration of our nation into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and that we shall continue to reject it because:

1. Integration was the result of the aggression and the manipulations of the Soeharto regime;
2. The United Nations has never recognised Indonesia’s claim over East Timor;
3. The Soeharto regime’s aggression and invasion of East Timor has been condemned in United Nations resolutions;
4. The United Nations continues to recognise Portugal as the administering power in East Timor, and as the only party competent to conclude the process of decolonization of East Timor;
5. Because of all the above, the East Timor question becomes an international problem, which must be resolved at an international level.

Your Excellency the Ambassador
Before we submit our demands, allow us to relate to you all the problems we have been facing and to explain the practices employed by the Soeharto regime.

A - INTEGRATION: THE RESULT OF THE SOEHARTO REGIME’S MANIPULATIONS

Whenever and wherever they are, Soeharto and Ali Alatas never miss an opportunity to claim that integration was the aspiration of the people of East Timor; that integration was the outcome of a process of self determination.

Our position is quite clear: integration never was the aspiration of our people. Instead it was the outcome of a staged military intervention - in 1974 the Soeharto regime launched Operasi Komodo (Komodo Operation), followed in 1975 by Operasi Seroja (Seroja Operation) and which culminated with the open military intervention of December 7 1975. After East Timor was occupied by the troops of the aggressor, the Soeharto regime, Soeharto ordered the formation of a puppet parliament, which along with the regime-backed Provisional Government of East Timor, presented a petition to the regime requesting the integration of East Timor into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. All of these Soeharto’s practices have since, bit by bit, been laid bare by the unfolding of history itself. The climax came at the meeting between East Timorese representatives held in Austria, where Guilherme Maria Gonçalves who at that time was active in the Provisional Government of East Timor and was the leader of the Puppet Parliament, openly stated that he withdrew his consent to the petition. He took this stand because at the time he signed the petition he was forced to do so, and because the outcome of integration has been a great disappointment to all East Timorese.

This statement by Guilherme Gonçalves has opened up all which had previously been tightly wrapped and concealed by Soeharto’s propaganda. We ask again: if the people of East Timor did freely choose integration, why has it been necessary to arrest, to kill and to torture? Or is there another reason?

B - ‘DEVELOPMENT’ - AN ARGUMENTATIVE THEORY

Other than the theory that ‘integration was the will of the people,’ Soeharto has also tried to legitimise the annexation of East Timor by using the guidelines of the ‘DEVELOPMENT’ theory. For Suharto, ‘DEVELOPMENT’ is the means of legitimising the murders and massacres which have occurred in East Timor.

Soeharto has forgotten the most basic and fundamental problems of ‘development,’ such as:

1. Who is ‘development’ for? Who carries out ‘development’?
2. What intrinsic values does ‘development’ hold, and what are the benefits for the people of East Timor, if set against the approximately 300 000 people who lost their lives, and the many more who have been dispossessed of their history, religion and culture for the past 20 years?
3. Couldn’t the people of East Timor develop their own country, in accordance with their own desires and hope, without the intervention of the Soeharto regime?

We are not going to argue over ‘DEVELOPMENT’ and we will not accept it as a theory to legitimise the enslaving and alienation of our own people. If Soeharto wants his ‘DEVELOPMENT,’ he should just take it and give it to his own family. For us, freedom is more important, and its value cannot be measured by the standards of Soeharto’s ‘DEVELOPMENT’.

C - THE EAST TIMORESE QUESTION MUST BE RESOLVED AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

We have already stated that the East Timorese question is an international matter. This is because the parties in conflict are Indonesia and the international community, not just Indonesia and Portugal and it is for this reason that since 1975 the United Nations has attempted to resolve this problem.

As a result of the UN Secretary General’s efforts, a tri-partite meeting between Portugal, the Secretary General and Indonesia took place. The tri-partite talks were very fruitful, but only on paper. One of the points of the tri-partite resolution was to hold meetings between the foreign ministers and East Timorese people, and for the need to extend the meetings between East Timorese themselves. All of these kinds of meetings have been held. However, no prospects for the resolution of the problem of East Timor have been forthcoming because:

1. The Soeharto regime has never been serious and has never shown any good will toward negotiating a solution to the problem. This attitude is clearly indicated by its reluctance to implement all UN resolutions on East Timor, and by the fact that it has never intended to implement any of the points of the resolutions which it itself agreed to, whether these be in the tri-partite
IV. OUR APPEAL

Timor problem.

In our view, Soeharto’s attitude and the support which certain countries, including your own, have given his regime, have made Soeharto even more unyielding in his views, and have encouraged him to act with even more brutality in his determination to retain East Timor as Indonesia’s 27th province. This attitude will always be conflicting with our own - that we will continue our struggle. Hence there will never be peace, and more victims will continue to fall.

And who is responsible for all this? We say that the international community, including your own country, is morally responsible!!!

II. OUR DEMANDS

In view of the facts as summarised above, it is now time for us to make our demands. We hereby demand:

1. That the government of the Netherlands support our struggle;
2. That the government of the Netherlands pressure the Soeharto regime to:
   - Cease all terror in East Timor and release all political prisoners;
   - Withdraw its armed forces from East Timor;
   - Free all political prisoners as proof that the Suharto regime is truly committed to implementing the resolutions agreed upon during the Intra-Timorese dialogue;
   - Agree to involving Xanana Gusmão in all negotiations;
3. We demand that the Dutch government send a parliamentary mission to investigate the killing in 1975 of a New Zealand journalist and of 5 Australian journalists in BALI.

III. OUR POSITION

We hereby affirm that:

1. We reject integration, whatever the reason!
2. In view of the political developments in the Middle East, and the signing of a peace accord in the Balkans, we demand that the international community acknowledge that East Timor has been at war for twenty years and it is time it ended!
3. That the demonstration staged on 20 November by a handful of Indonesians posing as East Timorese is further proof that Suharto is as contemptible as ever and has no interest in seeking a solution to the East Timor problem.

IV. OUR APPEAL

We appeal:

1. To the people of the Netherlands to support our struggle!
2. To the West to continue to support Portugal in its endeavour to find a solution to the problem of East Timor.
3. To all nations of the world to comply with all resolutions passed on East Timor and to withdraw all forms of support to the Suharto regime!

ONLY IN THIS WAY IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE PEACE, JUSTICE AND SOLIDARITY AMONGST ALL THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD!!!!

The signatories:
[not given]

EAST TIMORESE PROTESTS TRIGGER VIOLENCE AT EMBASSY

by Mantik Kusjanto, [slightly abridged]

JAKARTA, Dec 7 (Reuters) – Violence flared in Jakarta on Thursday following a spectacular invasion of two embassies by 115 mainly East Timorese when a rival group broke into the Dutch mission in the Indonesian capital, witnesses said.

They said pro-Indonesian protesters briefly entered the Dutch embassy after shouting abuse at 58 East Timorese and their sympathisers holed up there since early morning.

Some of them entered the embassy building in a break-in that lasted for about 20 minutes, the witnesses said.

A Dutch Foreign Ministry spokeswoman told Reuters in The Hague two Dutch diplomats were injured when the counter-demonstrators broke into the embassy in Jakarta.

The spokeswoman declined to identify the diplomats or specify the nature of their injuries. She said Indonesian Ambassador Johannes Kadarisman had been summoned to the ministry and told of the Netherlands’ concern.

Kadarisman had guaranteed that the Indonesian authorities would allow the protesters to leave the embassy unhindered, she said. The protesters had not to her knowledge asked for asylum in the Netherlands, she added.

The East Timorese break-ins were launched 20 years to the day, and almost the hour, since Indonesian forces invaded East Timor after its former Portuguese colonial masters left.

The counter-demonstrators invaded the Dutch embassy about 12 hours after 58 people, mainly East Timorese, entered the building at night, shortly after 47 people forced their way into the Russian embassy.

Police said a raid on the French embassy, situated like most others in Jakarta’s main business district, was thwarted around the same time and 19 people were arrested. They gave no details.

Human rights activists put the number of arrests during the day at 30.

A Russian diplomat told Reuters the number in his embassy later rose to 57.

“Eleven more people penetrated into embassy territory from the back yard during the morning,” he said. Foreign diplomats said the mix of people, including non-East Timorese, could protract negotiations to get the protesters out of the embassies.

A group calling itself Indonesians in Solidarity with East Timorese People (SPRIM), which claimed part responsibility for organising the break-ins, demanded the withdrawal of Indonesian military and police from East Timor.

Its demands, issued in a statement, included a referendum on Timorese independence and a repeal of what it called repressive political laws. It said 123 East Timorese and 61 Indonesians took part in the embassy break-ins.

U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso ended a six-day visit to Indonesia, which included two days in East Timor, by holding talks with jailed East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão.

“I met Gusmão this afternoon and had a conversation with him but I could not elaborate,” Ayala Lasso said when asked if Gusmão had asked him for help.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said the protesters in the embassies were free to leave Indonesia – like 43 others who won political asylum in Portugal after staging similar break-ins.

Henri Fournier, head of the Jakarta office of the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), said: “Nobody has talked to me about a request for asylum.”

DUTCH EMBASSY IN JAKARTA ATTACKED AND DAMAGED BY PRO-INTEGRATION YOUTH

The following is a translation of a chronology sent to AKSI by the Indonesian Center for Labour Struggle (PPBI).

Political Attaché wounded in attack

Today, December 7, 1995, scores of activists from the Peoples’ Democratic Union (PRD) and East Timorese youth launched an action at the Dutch Embassy in Jl. H. R. Rasuna Said, Jakarta. They entered the embassy building, requested dialogue be held with the Indonesian government, UN representatives, the International Red Cross, East Timorese representatives and H.J.C. Princen as mediator.
The issues to be discussed in this dialogue are:
1. A referendum on self-determination for the people of East Timor;
2. The withdrawal of the repressive 1985 political laws;
3. Freedom to enter/leave any countries.
The final point refers to the asylum bid by large number of East Timorese.

The government immediately sent fully armed troops to guard the embassy. The was also a reaction from around 200 youths (suspected to be members of the Pancasila Youth – although this cannot be absolutely confirmed). Upon arriving at the embassy, they threw rocks at the windows and damaged property inside. The troops guarding the area were not seen to take any action.

The safety of PRD and East Timorese activists in the embassy building were threatened by a physical attack against them by the crowd of youths. What follows is a complete PRD report, directly from the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta.

At around the same time, around 50 other PRD and East Timorese activists entered the Russian Embassy in Jl. Thamrin, Jakarta. The sat in ranks on the floor of the embassy building. After waiting several minutes they were received by embassy staff who stated that they would provide full protection, as one of the embassy obligations. The head of the embassy also provided medicines and food for the activists.

The Russian Embassy has already contacted the Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs and requested that a resolution a soon as possible. There has been no concrete reaction from the Department up until now. Outside the embassy grounds scores of pro-integration youths could not be avoided. With out weapons, the PRD and Timorese activists who had in fact held a peaceful demonstration were forced to defend themselves. Nine people were injured, including the Dutch Political Attaché who was able to protect them from the attack by the crowd.

1. Edward Hoek (Political Attaché), wounded by a rock thrown by the pro-integration crowd;
2. Ima (SMID), collapsed unconscious;
3. Natalino (East Timorese), wounded by a blow to the hand;
4. Edgar (East Timorese), cut on the right leg by flying glass;
5. Soares (East Timorese), wounded in the left arm and bused from a beating;
6. Leopoldo (East Timorese), right hand wounded by flying glass and a knife;
7. Andi Arief (SMID), wounded by flying glass;
8. Yanto (SMID), left leg torn by flying glass;
9. Natalino Mota, wounded in the head by a rock.

All of these violent acts by the pro-integration crowd were carried out INSIDE THE DUTCH EMBASSY BUILDING. Aside from the wounding suffered by the activists, the embassy also suffered material damage as a result of the violence.

This occurred the middle of these negotiations between Wilson (PPBI), Petrus (SMID), and Putu (East Timorese representative) with Mr Kemp (UNDP representative), Mr Fornier (International Red Cross representative), and embassy staff. Because of the attack, both UN representative decided to leave the embassy and the negotiations broke down.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas meanwhile, gave an interview at the Department of Foreign Affairs in Jl Pejambon, Jakarta. He failed to responded seriously to this incident.
“That’s a ordinary occurrence. An that’s just usual,” as broadcast by the current affairs program Seputar Indonesia on RCTI television at 7pm.

5.15pm - The crowd resumed their attack. Physical confrontation could not be avoided, and many more victims fell. The security personnel, did not prevent the violent acts, instead stood in the grounds behind the embassy, encircling the grounds.

7.15pm - Embassy staff made a protest to Ali Alatas who answered only that President Soeharto guaranteed the security and safety of the Dutch embassy and those inside, and requested that the PRD activists along with the East Timorese quickly leave the embassy. There was no reaction from the Department of Foreign Affairs about the damage which occurred.

Wilson (PPBI), Petrus (SMID), and Putu (East Timorese) were called by Mr Hoke who informed them of President Soeharto’s response. He also asked the three representatives to consider this response.

7.35pm - The PRD and East Timorese activists refused to leave the embassy until their demands were fulfilled.

At the time this chronology was compiled, all of the activists remained in the embassy building and were preparing themselves for further attacks. The embassy grounds have been encircled by thousands of police, soldiers from the army and plain-clothed security personnel.

JAKARTA, Dec 8 (Reuters) - The occupation of Indonesia’s East Timor protest drama appeared finely balanced on Saturday as police quizzed demonstrators who left the Russian embassy and defiant colleagues stayed in the Dutch mission, diplomats said.

While temperatures rose on day three of the saga, police ringed the Dutch mission to prevent raids by pro-Indonesia demonstrators who broke into the main building and injured four diplomats on Thursday, reporters said.

At Jakarta police headquarters, most of the 57 East Timorese and their sympathisers who left the Russian embassy on Friday were still being interrogated. The exact numbers were unclear.

“That is now, questioning is still going on. It is too early to say if they will be released today,” police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Imam Heryatna said.

He said they would be released after questioning but gave no time. By law, people can be held without charge for 24 hours.

“If they are arrested, the Dutch have a problem. The 55 in that embassy will not want to move until they have firm guarantees of safety,” said one diplomat close to the crisis.
Unlike previous embassy break-ins by East Timorese, there have been no requests for political asylum.

“As long as they are within our premises, we have the responsibility for them,” one Dutch diplomat said.

In all, 112 East Timorese and their Indonesian sympathisers, protesting against Indonesia’s rule of East Timor, stormed the Dutch and Russian missions on Thursday – the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of the former Portuguese colony.

At police headquarters, protesters from the Russian mission, who arrived by bus around 6.00 p.m. (1100 gmt) on Friday, were red-eyed and lying on a waiting room floor, witnesses said.

They had agreed to leave the Russian embassy after mediation by Johannes Princen, a leading Indonesian human rights activist, and an apparent safe-conduct guarantee.

Princen also visited the Dutch embassy on Friday. A source close to the protest said later: “They have not yet decided what to do but they are still sticking to their demands.”

Dutch diplomats said the 55 in their mission appeared more hardline than those who left the Russian embassy.

Sources close to the protesters said the original plan was for the East Timorese in the two groups to stay for 20 days, while the other Indonesians would stay for five days.

The protesters from the Russian embassy, who originally threatened to set fire to themselves if their demands were not met, left the mission to abuse from pro-Indonesian onlookers.

A similar group of some 20 people gathered outside the Dutch embassy and rattled the main gate on Saturday. “Open the doors.” “Come on out,” they yelled at the protesters inside.

Reporters said riot police with sticks later stood in front of the gate. They were among about 60 police and army members guarding the perimeter fence.

Violence flared late on Thursday when counter-demonstrators broke into the mission. The Dutch said four people, including Ambassador Paul Brouwer, were injured by protesters with sticks.

**OCCUPATIONS END**

AP, Dec. 9, 1996 [abridged]

JAKARTA, Indonesia (AP) – Police removed 55 East Timorese demonstrators from the Dutch Embassy today after they had holes up there for nearly three days to protest Indonesian rule of their homeland.

The move came a day after police removed 58 other protesters from the Russian Embassy. Both groups stormed the embassies on Thursday, the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor.

The protesters ousted today were seen leaving Dutch embassy in two white buses, accompanied by 40 soldiers and policemen.

“They were taken to the police headquarters, like those youths from the Russian Embassy,” said Lt. Col. Silvanus Wenas.

Dutch diplomats refused comment. The Dutch previously criticized the Russians for allowing the police to remove the protesters, and had vowed not to let that happen in their own compound.

Lawyers from the Institute for the Defense of Human Rights said they were still trying to meet with the group ousted from the Russian embassy after being denied access Friday. Police said the protesters were in good health.

The protesters reportedly were not seeking asylum.

**POLICE ARREST DUTCH EMBASSY OCCUPIERS**

From AKSI News Service, 10 December

Following extensive and intensive negotiations with the Dutch Embassy and lawyers from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, the Dutch Embassy invited Indonesian police into the grounds to arrest the Indonesian and East Timorese protesters inside the embassy. The Dutch Embassy had shifted the talks into their cultural centre claiming it was not diplomatic territory and therefore that the police could come inside.

The Indonesian leaders and members of the Peoples Democratic Union (PRD) and the East Timorese activists refused to the last to voluntarily comply with the Dutch Embassy’s actions. The PRD has lodged a formal protest to the Dutch Embassy regarding their intimidatory behaviour towards protesters.

The protesters - 29 members of PRD and 26 East Timorese - were then forcibly taken away to military intelligence headquarters, although the Indonesian government is continuing to say they were taken to police headquarters. It is expected that after questioning by military intelligence they will be taken to police headquarters.

Amongst the Indonesian leaders in the Dutch Embassy re Wilson, Secretary-General of Indonesian Centre for Labour Struggles (PPBI); Petrus Haryadi, Secretary-General of Students in Solidarity with Democracy in Indonesia (SMID) and Andi Arief a PRD and SMID leader from Jogjakarta.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian PRD leaders and members and the East Timorese who had been abducted from the Russian Embassy have been released. PRD sources state that no torture took place. PRD President, Budiman, who was in the Russian Embassy has since been speaking to the press. A further press conference will be held today by PRD.

PRD and East Timorese activists will be maintaining pressure in Jakarta to ensure the Dutch Embassy group is also released.

There are also a number of other East Timorese and Indonesians who were arrested attempting to get into the Embassies or who have been picked up in their homes and at bus and train stations.

PRD has appealed that protest actions take place in Australia and around the world on Tuesday 11 December.

**DISGRACEFUL DUTCH EMBASSY ACTION**

CNRM Media Release, 11 December

The escape from detention by Indonesian authorities on Sunday night (10 December) of Wilson, the leader of the PRD group of Indonesian supporters of East Timorese rights who had staged a protest action at the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta, has allowed the true story to emerge.

Wilson provided a detailed account of the experience in the Dutch Embassy of group of 29 Indonesian and 26 East Timorese who had entered the compound on Thursday 7 December to protest against the 20 year illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor, demanding a resolution of the problem. Excerpts follow.

On Saturday morning protesters were transferred to the second floor of the embassy, after government-supported thugs, like those who had invaded the embassy on 8 December, reappeared outside the gates armed with knives, metal rods etc. The embassy staff took much fright from the clear sympathy shown to the thugs by the Indonesian police and military guarding the embassy.

By 13.00 the protesters were told by Political Counsellor Mr Hoek that the Ambassador and the Dutch Foreign Minister would not tolerate the demonstrators to remain in the embassy, and that they would be evicted in order to safeguard the security of the embassy staff. In response the protesters started a hunger strike, demanding the embassy to guarantee their security.

At 18.00 the protesters were met by Human Rights lawyer Mr Princen, the Dutch Ambassador, the Political Counsellor, and a Indonesian Legal Aid lawyer, Mr Rambun. They asked the protesters to leave, saying they would guarantee their security. Given the fate of those who had believed 'security guarantees' at the Russian Embassy earlier, they refused to accept.
At 19.00 the Dutch Ambassador with the Political attaché, accompanied by a large group of Indonesian military and police faced the demonstrators, asking that they leave ‘voluntarily.’ They decided not to. After this the Ambassador opened the embassy gates to Indonesian riot police and military, intelligence operatives, who forced the protesters into waiting buses.

Hearing no other alternative, the 55 youths left under full police escort to police headquarters in South Jakarta. A Dutch Embassy official, Mr Theo Pieters, accompanied them, leaving them shortly after they reached their destination around 20.00 hrs.

Throughout the night all group members were photographed, finger printed, and statements were taken. No food was supplied. The next morning, the activists staged a small ceremony on the occasion of human rights day.

At 11.00 am they were charged as suspects under section 167 of the Indonesian penal code (carrying maximum 4 year jail penalty), after being threatened with a subversion charge (carrying life penalty). Some among them, particularly leaders Wilson and Puto, were tortured with burning cigarette butts during interrogation. After being charged, the group continued to be held for further interrogation until evening time.

At 20.00 hrs (at the end of the legal 24 hour detention period), Mr Pieters of the Dutch Embassy reappeared to witness the group’s alleged transport by bus to Pulo Gadung bus station, from where they were supposedly going to be sent home. The youths were not happy about being taken away in this manner, and asked Mr Pieters to accompany them to the bus terminal. He refused.

At this point group leader Wilson escaped from the bus, and was immediately chased by intelligence personnel. He managed to avoid them and reach safety. Nothing further has been heard from the remaining group members, and its is feared they have been taken to Barkostranas or BIA military intelligence headquarters for further questioning. Such questioning is notorious for its regrettable handling of this group.

CNRM deplores this sequence of events, and asks international human rights agencies to take all appropriate actions to protect the East Timorese and Indonesian activists from further mistreatment and torture. It demands that the Dutch Embassy assume responsibility for its regrettable handling of this tragic affair, seeking to locate the 54 missing youths, and monitoring their situation so as to protect them from the usual well documented violence of Indonesian military authorities.

LUSA (Dec 11) reports that both Wilson and Puto escaped from the bus, and cites statements by Puto to France Presse. Puto doesn’t know the whereabouts of the other 53. Puto states that during the police interrogation, the 55 were physically attacked and tortured, including cigarette burns, and not allowed to sleep during the 24 hours. He stated “Requesting asylum is now the only alternative we have. We don’t feel safe here because we will continue to be prosecuted by the authorities.”

POLICE FREE EAST TIMORESE PROTESTERS

Hongkong Standard 11 Dec. 95; http://www.hkstandard.com

JAKARTA: Indonesian police freed 55 East Timorese protesters and sympathisers last night, 24 hours after they ended a three-day occupation of the Dutch embassy in Jakarta.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Imam Heryatna said the protesters were freed after questioning.

“They were released after we recorded their details. But the objective of their action was not clear,” he said. “No legal action will be taken against them.”

The release ends a saga that began before dawn on Thursday when a total of 112 East Timorese and their Indonesian sympathisers staged a daring invasion of the Russian and Dutch embassies in central Jakarta. The protesters’ demands included the withdrawal of military forces from East Timor, 2,000 kilometres east of Jakarta, and a referendum in East Timor on its political future.

Indonesia has refused a referendum on East Timor.

The embassy break-ins coincided with the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s military invasion of East Timor, shortly after the Portuguese colonists left. Indonesia made the territory part of its sprawling archipelago a year later. The United Nations still regards Portugal as the territory’s administering power.

INTERVIEW WITH TWO ACTIVISTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN DUTCH EMBASSY SIT-IN

From AKSI (Action Solidarity Indonesia) News Service, 12 December 1995

The following is a translated transcript of an interview with two participants in the action at the Dutch embassy December 7-9, 1995. It was made on the evening of Mon. December 11, in a safe house in Jakarta and was transcribed and translated that same night. The two interviewed are Puto (an East Timorese activist) and Bebek, a PRD (Persatuan Rakyat Democrati, Democratic Peoples’ Alliance) activist from a town in Java.

Q: Can you start by telling the story of what happened in the leadup to your entry into the embassy?

P: We had long been organising for a big action on December 7, because this is a very significant date for us. It commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the forcible and brutal entry of Indonesian troops into East Timor. For the last twenty years, we have been unable to forget this. So many of our people have suffered, have been tortured and have lost family members. So we knew that on this December 7 we would have to hold a big action, to show to the world that East Timor still lives and is struggling for its rights.

B: We also wanted to show that from amongst the Indonesian people there are those who want to accompany and support the East Timorese people in their struggle for independence.

P: Yes, we have found that there are Indonesian people who also love democracy, so much so that they have been prepared to join our action, and support us in our struggle to make East Timor an independent and sovereign state.

B: Yes, but although it is true that in Indonesia many support the struggle of the East Timorese people in their hearts, but they do not indicate this support in the real work they carry out. Now we’ve seen that organisations like SMID (Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi, Student Solidarity for Democracy in Indonesia), PPBI (Centre for Indonesian Worker’s Struggle), Jaker (Jaringan Kebudayaan Rakyat, People’s Culture Network), SPRIM (Solidaritas Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia - Maubere - Indonesian - Maubere Peoples’ Solidarity Struggle) and STN (Serikat Tani Nasional, National Farmers’ Union) combined in the umbrella organisation PRD, these are the first to really prove their commitment by joining together in political action with the East Timorese. So this was a historic action.

Q: Can you describe your entry into the Dutch embassy on the morning of December 7?

P: We already had a tight network, connected by couriers, through which we had decided that at 4 am we must go into the embassy. Those who were going in were divided into a number of groups. Some were at the east of the embassy, some to the west, and then at the assigned time, a signal was given that we should start to move. And so we quickly jumped the fence, those
who were short jumped up on the shoulders of the bigger ones. Some of us got caught on the fence and were injured as we crossed over. Although a few members of the security forces were present, they were unable to prevent us entering. But police patrols were coming past, and those activists who came slightly late were not able to get into the embassy. Quite a few of them had to run and scatter.

B: Speaking for myself, my own stomach was gouged by the fenceposts of the embassy, because my foot got caught between the bars, forcing me down onto the tips of the bars. Some got caught and were hanging there on the fence, but we all eventually got through. A friend of ours Petrus (see second document), who is sick, had difficulty getting over the fence, but eventually he succeeded.

Q: And then what happened?

P: When we went in, from 4 am until 7 am, we held a demonstration. Then some of the political staff of the embassy came to talk with us. They asked us what our demands were. We had three demands: the withdrawal of all military troops from East Timor; the release of all East Timorese political prisoners, both in and outside of East Timor; and self-determination via a referendum.

B: It was a new feeling to be able to demonstrate with impunity in front of the soldiers and police outside of the fence. We taunted them and all they could do was stare at us and walk up and down. We held up our posters, and would suddenly point them down the road in one way or another. This would make them panic, because they went to great efforts to prevent journalists from getting pictures of us. They seized the cameras off every journalist who passed by. Some tried to take photos of us from the end of the road, but they seized the cameras of them too.

Q: Did these negotiations with embassy staff go on for long?

P: From the start, we wanted to talk with the UN representative [High Commissioner for Human rights] Ayala Lasso, with Princen [respected human rights activist], the International Red Cross, and with a representative of the Indonesian government. We were successful in speaking to two of these: the embassy invited Princen and a representative of the UN in Indonesia, Jan Kamp [UNDP]. But no representative of the Indonesian government came to speak to us, I think that they were scared to face us, because they knew that what we would say would be the truth.

Q: There was a couple of demonstrations by a pro-integration group at the embassy. What were these like?

P: At that time, we saw that the situation outside was becoming very serious. The ambassador suggested that we go to the back section of the embassy compound. So those pro-integration people came into the embassy grounds when we had already shifted to the back part of the embassy. This was about 10 am, and it happened when we were resting, when some of us were bathing.

About thirty of them jumped the fence into the embassy compound, where they held a demonstration, shouted abuse and threw rocks at us, although none of us were hit at this time. They stayed in the embassy compound for about one hour, but they weren’t so brutal this first time. After that, at about 4 o’clock, there was a much bigger action by them. About 200 of them jumped into the embassy compound.

Q: Did the security forces assembled outside the embassy try to stop them?

B: They did not, indeed they encouraged them. At that time, we were in the embassy garage, resting. After our lunch, waiting for our delegation, including Puto, who were inside the embassy participating in negotiations. And then we were attacked. We tried to resist, and a physical clash took place.

This was witnessed by the permanent UN representative to Indonesia, Jan Kamp - in fact he had to run to save himself. He saw the Dutch ambassador being wounded in the head. Blood was streaming from his wound - he had been hit by a thrown rock by a steel pipe. We all saw how brutal and violent these people were. They smashed the windows of the embassy. Three other members of the embassy staff, in addition to the ambassador, were wounded.

Q: Were any of the East Timorese or PRD demonstrators wounded?

P: Six people were hit by rocks and others were hit by broken glass. One of our comrades, from Solo, was hit by a rock in the back, and he lost all physical sensation down his right side and found it difficult to move his arm.

Q: Were there any indications that this pro-integration group who entered the embassy were backed up by the Indonesian security officials who were present?

P: They were very clearly backed up by ABRI. Some, we believe were even forced to participate.

B: We were convinced that this action had been engineered by the security forces for a number of reasons. First, how was it that they were able to get into the embassy when at that very time the embassy was being guarded so tightly by a very large number of troops? Second, many of them were witnessed climbing the fence by stepping up onto the shoulders of soldiers. Third, they arrived at the embassy site, and then departed it, in a high quality, air conditioned bus (bis patas ac). They left from polda (the regional police headquarters) and returned to polda.

P: And indeed, they were mostly not East Timorese, but also included a mixture of people from Flores, Ambon and Kupang. Their leaders were also not East Timorese. Also, the mass media said that those people who participated in the pro-integration actions were East Timorese who studied in Jakarta. But we checked among those of us who do study in Jakarta or other parts of Java, and not a single one of them knew them. This is despite the fact that the community of East Timorese students in Java is very close.

Q: How did you manage to keep your spirits up while you were in the embassy, after these attacks for example?

B: We simply kept at the forefront of our minds the aims of our mission, of our struggle, that together we were joining in struggle to advance our joint interests. We kept alive our spirits, by telling funny stories, by singing songs, we did all kinds of things to make sure that our spirits did not fade. One particular thing which made all of us be able to keep our spirits high, was the role of one particular woman comrade who when at first she managed to jump the fence was in very high spirits, but at the time of the attack by the pro-integration group she suffered a great shock and trauma. But shortly thereafter, she recovered and was in very high spirits again. This made it much easier for the rest of us - that she, who had been in such great terror, was in such good spirits.

P: The other thing which enabled us to maintain our spirits was the fact that were so solid and unified as a group. This feeling of unity gave us a great strength, a great spirit.

Q: So there was no friction, no suspicion between the groups of East Timorese and Indonesian protesters in the embassy?

B: There was nothing like this, we all knew and trusted our leaders, we knew that we were being led by the right people, people we believed in, people we had chosen. There was no suspicion, only unity, and everything went according to our plans. When we first jumped the fence, we all hugged each other, the East Timorese and the Indonesians. We hugged, we were crying, so we all really felt, including the East Timorese that we were joined in the same struggle, that we were solidly united. That was a great experi-
bassy, after having their security guaranteed by foreign minister Alatas, Suharto himself, and Wiranto, the commander of the Jakarta military region - but then what happened? Our comrades, who came out of the Russian embassy by bus and who asked to be taken to the office of the Legal Aid Institute, were instead taken to the Regional Police headquarters (Polda). This made us even more convinced of the need to keep going, and made us decide to go on hunger strike.

Q: After that, was there another meeting with the embassy staff?
P: There were no more meetings. Indeed, the embassy was completely empty. From 10 am on the Saturday morning, there were absolutely no embassy staff present - right up to the time we were taken out. Even the embassy security guards were not present.

Q: And so the final meeting?
P: This took place at about 4 pm, after the Indonesian security personnel came into the embassy grounds. It lasted about five minutes, and was attended first by Princen and then by the Dutch ambassador. At that point, we requested asylum.

Q: You made this request to the ambassador?
P: Yes, to the ambassador. We requested political asylum from the ambassador. Princen also agreed to this. But as soon as he left, the security forces began to force us out.

Q: Were the security forces already present at the time of this last meeting?
P: Yes, they were in the same room, on the second floor of the embassy building.

B: They were as close as you and I, not just a few metres away, but a few centimetres.

Q: How many security forces were present?
P: There were about two hundred, inside the embassy - even through such things as sharing jokes (such as when the Dutch ambassador told us not to smoke in his air-conditioned rooms by saying 'smoke - nee')

Q: During those three days in the embassy, how did you view the role of the Dutch ambassador and embassy staff?
P: They told us that they supported the struggle of the East Timorese people and that they did not support integration. They said this from the start.

Q: But in the end, they allowed Indonesian security forces into the embassy grounds?
P: We feel that they gave in to the pressure from the Indonesian regime, because they told us that they supported the struggle of the East Timorese and that they did not want integration.

B: At that time, I acted as interpreter, the embassy people clearly said that they supported the struggle of the East Timorese.

Q: When the security forces were allowed into the embassy grounds, were you warned beforehand that this would happen or not?
P: We were not told, were not warned. This was because in the negotiations which took place that morning, we had decided that we wanted to stay on, we wanted to keep going. We held a hunger strike from 12 o’clock - to indicate that we wanted to stay on in the embassy, because we had heard that our comrades had come out of the Russian em-

Q: Who requested asylum, was it all the East Timorese who were present?
P: Yes, all 26 of us. And we also requested that the safety and security of our Indonesian comrades would be guaranteed, by the ambassador and by the Indonesian security apparatus.

B: The ambassador told us that we had to leave, because he said that no matter what happened that we would have to leave that night. We could leave in a good way, or they would just extract us, using physical force, they would attack us in the embassy.

Q: The ambassador said this?
P: Yes, he said this in our last meeting.

P: In fact, it’s not really right to refer to the last time we spoke to the ambassador as a ‘meeting’ - we were being forced to accept what he put to us at this time. Indeed, the security forces were already there in the room, at the time we held our ‘meeting’ with him. They were already in the same room. And at that time, we requested asylum.

Q: Who entered the room first, the security forces, or the ambassador and Princen?
P: Princen was in the room first. At this time we knew that the security forces were coming into the building. Princen told us that the ambassador had the right to have us forcibly removed. We told Princen that we wanted to request asylum and he told us that he would transmit our request to the international red cross and to the UN. As the security forces entered the room, Princen left. But the ambassador, he came into the room at the same time as the security forces, he was accompanying them.

P: This was the time when we wanted to enter into dialogue, and when we requested asylum. But the ambassador said that we no longer had the opportunity to do that, that we had to get out, our only choice left was to leave the embassy.

Q: What time did all of this take place?
P: It was about 7 o’clock. And they didn’t even care that some of our comrades were sick, they didn’t care about that.

Q: Who didn’t care? The people from the embassy?
P: Yes, the people from the embassy gave no attention to those of us who were sick.

Q: What was wrong with those who were sick?
P: Some had very bad fever, others were suffering from the wounds they sustained when attacked by the pro -integration group.

Q: When you were forced out, where were you taken, what happened?
P: We went downstairs, and buses were waiting for us and we were taken directly to Polres Jakarta Selatan (the South Jakarta Police base).
Q: What happened that night, how were you all treated?
P: We were interrogated, our finger prints were taken, our photos taken.
Q: Was violence used?
P: We were all forced to speak, each of us was interrogated separately, and were surrounded by big groups of interrogators. We were interrogated at gunpoint, they held pistols to us. One person was kicked by soldiers wearing military boots, until his shins were all torn open. This was Joaquim. Another person, called Janio, was forced to take his trousers down and his genitals were burned with a cigarette lighter. We witnessed this. Two people’s identity cards are still being held there - one East Timorense and one Indonesian.
Q: What kind of information were the interrogators looking for?
P: They were asking, especially the East Timorense, who brought them to Jakarta, who provided them with money, who coordinated the action, how it was organised, where they slept in Jakarta and so on. They were trying to break open our networks.
Q: Were the Indonesians and East Timorense interrogated differently?
P: Yes, they asked us different questions about our political and organisational affiliations.
B: Indeed the interrogators had two separate lists of questions, one for the East Timorense, one for the Indonesians. And we were divided into two groups.
Q: What about your own interrogations?
P: I was interrogated non-stop for 24 hours. I was not given food or drink. And I was not just interrogated by just one person at a time, there would be ten, five, six interrogating me at any one time throughout the 24 hours.
Q: Which organisations were the interrogators from?
P: They were all there - police, all of ABRI, Bakorstanas (National Stability Coordination Agency), BIA (Military Intelligence Agency). They were all there.
Q: I heard that while you were in detention at the police base, you held a demonstration to commemorate Human Rights day?
P: Yes, we did this because it was the tenth of December, Universal Human Rights day. When we first went into the Dutch embassy, we had hoped to celebrate that day in the embassy. So, in the police base, we remembered what day it was and wanted to commemorate it in some way. So we held an action, we sang songs of struggle, read out poetry, had speeches.

Q: What did your guards do?
P: They didn’t really react, just kept quiet, maybe they were amazed.
Q: And what happened when you left?
P: It was about 9 o’clock. As we left, we saw that three of our friends were immediately handcuffed and taken away, we don’t know where to. [At the time of transcription of this tape it appears that these three are no longer in detention] The police told us that there were two buses ready to take us away to a bus station, but what we saw waiting for us was a military truck. So we did not want to go into this. Some of us managed to escape and jump onto public buses. We don’t know what happened to everybody else, we split up and scattered.
B: But each person was followed by at least three intelligence agents, using motorbikes (trail bikes). We all ran away, Puto had to jump into a river.
P: Yes, we were all running, we were being chased. We ran down into a small street which ended at a big river, so I and some friends jumped into it. It was about two metres deep. This got me worried because I was with a woman comrade who was quite short, and when I turned around it seemed that she was no longer there. So I had to retrace my steps and look for her, and I was very happy when I found her. We put great value on our solidarity.
B: So we all split up and ran. I myself, changed buses seven times between Blok M and Manggarai. Because in every bus we got into there would be at least one intelligence agent waiting for us and watching.
Q: Now at this point, how do you evaluate the action. Was it a success?
P: Yes we feel it was very important in terms of our campaign and in terms of its international impact. This is the first time that we’ve held an action together with Indonesian activists who love democracy, in particular with PRD, SMID, STN, PPBI and Jaker. We feel very proud that on the twentieth anniversary of the invasion that we have successfully held such a big action. We feel very happy. In particular we are very happy about the international attention - especially that people overseas now know that there are Indonesians who are also unhappy with their regime, who recognise how rotten the regime is.
B: We also judge it a success because we have heard that our action prompted solidarity actions in a number of countries.
P: It was a very great action. We saw ourselves how the ABRI people asked themselves: “How is it possible that our own people [i.e. Indonesians] participate in such an action?” Some of them said this to us, or made it clear to us in the questions they asked us during our interrogations.
Q: Are there plans to keep developing this kind of cooperation between Indonesian and East Timorese activists?
P: Yes, this was a kind of test case, a beginning. Future actions will be bigger.
B: Actually we had already tried such a joint action before. On November 12 this year we held an action to commemorate the Dili Massacre in Jakarta. But this one at the embassies was on a much larger scale.

PROTESTORS FROM JAKARTA DUTCH EMBASSY IN INCREASING DANGER

CNRM Media Release, 12 December 1995

Twenty Indonesian and East Timorense youths (ten each) who last week demonstrated at the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta, continue in refuge at a Catholic students hostel (not a church as such, as we initially reported) in East Jakarta (telephone +6221 786 7699).

Priests have so far been able to protect them from the two truckloads of police, military and paramilitary elements of the ‘Pancasila Youth’ the organisation that attacked the Dutch Embassy last week, which are encircling the hostel. The Embassy of the Holy See has so far declined to comment on the matter.

The protesters are, however, very afraid for their security, and have been in contact with the International Red Cross. The East Timorense have reiterated their request for political asylum made while in the Dutch Embassy last Sunday.

Other members of the group, originally comprising 55 demonstrators, are in hiding from the authorities at various Jakarta locations. Some have been re-arrested (Except for Indonesian PRD member Petrus Harayanto’s confirmed re-arrest, details are as yet unclear for the remainder). Many have asked their families to evacuate their houses, which are being watched by police and military personnel. According to a PRD report, a group of East Timorense sent by the police to Surabaya by bus on Sunday night is said to have disappeared. Five members are reported to have fled during a stop in Sematrang, after they found out that the bus was headed for the Surabaya police headquarters, according to PRD sources. We have not been able to confirm this so far.

The situation shows that Indonesian assurances given by President Suharto and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas the demonstrators would be safe, and Dutch Embassy claims that the matter had been peacefully resolved, are not credible.
Concerns grow for the safety of East Timorese social worker Martinho Pereira, arrested in Surabaya upon returning from Dili on 4 December, apparently suspected linked to the embassy actions. M. Pereira has since disappeared.

CNRM hopes that the group of peaceful Indonesian demonstrators will not be further victimised, and that the Netherlands Government will honour the request for political asylum presented to them by the East Timorese at the Jakarta Dutch Embassy last Sunday. CNRM also hopes that the Catholic Church will be able to protect the besieged youths, and seek an end to their persecution.

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE TIMORESE OUTSIDE DUTCH EMBASSY, LISBON

9 Dec. 1995 Translated from Portuguese

We, young Timorese who are assembled here outside the Dutch Embassy in Lisbon, have decided to stage a silent vigil/assembly until next Monday, 11 December, in protest about the way in which the Dutch Ambassador to Jakarta delivered the young Timorese, who had gathered at the Embassy there, into the hands of the Indonesian security forces.

We fear for the lives of our compatriots. We hold the Dutch Government responsible for whatever happens to the young people now in detention, and we shall be requesting the Dutch Ambassador to Lisbon to relay our concerns to his Government.

DUTCH EMBASSY IN LISBON TO MEET TIMORESE TODAY AFTER 3 DAYS OF SILENT PROTEST

Diario de Noticias, 11 December 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The group of young Timorese, who have been staging a silent protest outside the Dutch Embassy in Lisbon since last Saturday, are to be received today by the Ambassador. However, their protest is due to continue right up until the time of their meeting.

The demonstrators are demanding that the European Union adopt a position with regard to the arrest of the Timorese who had been protesting inside the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta since Saturday, and who were only released yesterday after being interrogated by Indonesian security forces.

The Bishop of Setubal, Msgr. Manuel Martins, joined the protesters to show his support for “the action being taken by these young Timorese, who are fighting for a humanitarian and just cause.”

Msgr. Martins referred to the “hypocrisy” of a civilisation that is capable of instituting and celebrating Human Rights Day, while at the same time, succumbing to interests dictated by politics and economic considerations. The Bishop of Setubal said he had not yet been in contact with Msgr. Ximenes Belo, although he was sure that the Bishop of Dili would be sympathising with this struggle.

The Prelate was of the opinion that there had been only a limited response by the Portuguese Government, and that not enough had been done “by any of us for such an obvious cause as the Timorese struggle.”

Young Socialists (JS) leader, Sergio Sousa Pinto, who also joined the protesters outside the Embassy, told LUSA that the JS had always sympathised with the Timorese cause. He said that the fact that Portuguese MPs in the Assembly of the Republic were on the side of the Timorese in their struggle bore “great political significance.” He went on to say that the JS was hoping that “this Socialist Government will make strong headway towards the resolution of the problem.”

Lisbon City Council Chairman, João Soares, went along yesterday to the Dutch Embassy in Lisbon to express his “solidarity” with the Timorese cause.

In addition to other sympathisers with struggle of the Timorese, organisations such as Amnesty International, the Women’s Democratic Movement, and the Amilcar Cabral Centre for Information and Publication (CIDAC), also attended the silent protest outside the Embassy.

Religious movements expressed their support for the Timorese students by supplying them with meals.

NOTE: Following their audience with the Dutch Ambassador, the young Timorese said they considered the diplomat’s response to have been inadequate. They have, therefore, decided to resume their vigil outside the Embassy until next Friday, when they hope to meet again with the Ambassador.

ANTI-DUTCH PROTEST STEPPED-UP IN LISBON

LISBON, Dec 11 (IPS) - The Netherlands were harshly criticised this weekend by Timorese exiles, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), the Catholic church and politicians in Portugal for its “hypocritical” and “deplorable” behaviour in Indonesia last Thursday.

On this occasion, the Dutch embassy in Jakarta handed over 59 East Timorese youths and Indonesian activists to the Indonesian police after they took refuge in the embassy last Thursday to mark the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor - a former Portuguese colony in the Java archipelago.

A group of Timorese independence campaigners supported by Amnesty International (AI) and several Portuguese NGOs have been on permanent vigil outside the Dutch embassy in Lisbon since Saturday, protesting their indignation at the action.

One of the protest leaders said that several of the 59 activists “have been tortured and the Indonesian police ‘keep themselves entertained’ stubbing cigarettes out on their chests.”

AI figures from 1994 state that the Indonesian invasion and annexation of the island in 1975 cost around 210,000 of the island’s 650,000 inhabitants’ lives, and led to the repression of Catholic worship and teaching in Portuguese.

The Dutch version of the arrest of the activists on Saturday states that the protesters left the embassy “of their own free will,” but the Timorese resistance said “the television coverage shows different.”

Meanwhile, the Portuguese government, only described the situation in East Timor as “deplorable” without mentioning that they had called on the government in the Hague to “respect the will of the Timorese to seek refuge in the embassies.”

The Bishop of Setubal in southern Portugal, Monsignor Manuel Martins, joined the protest in Lisbon, “to support the humanitarian and just cause of these young Timorese.”

He criticised the Netherlands saying “the hypocrisy of a civilisation capable of creating a Human Rights day while succumbing to interests dominated by political or economic objectives.”

Marcello Rebelo de Sousa, in the leadership of the opposition Social Democratic Party (PSD), said the “deplorable Dutch behaviour” is due to this country “considering the relations with its former colony more important than those with a fellow European Union (EU) member (Portugal).”

“Democracy is one of the EU principles and its nations must defend this, but the Netherlands, while dealing with an ‘enemy dictatorship’ and above all a regional power, like Indonesia, has forgotten democracy,” he added.

“They have forgotten their respect for the founding principles, for human rights and international law putting their political, strategic and economic convenience first,” he concluded.

A Timorese delegation had an hour-long meeting with the Dutch ambassador in Lisbon this Monday, but came away unsatisfied with the response, stating that the ambassador’s explanations were inadequate and
that the Netherlands should assume the responsibility for its actions.

**RENETIL STATEMENT ON DUTCH PARLIAMENT PROTEST**

*Press Release from Renetil (East Timorese Student organization), The Hague, Dec. 12 1995*

Today, as a protest against the past developments regarding the occupation of the Dutch embassy in Jakarta, some members of the East Timorese organisation RENETIL and sympathizers (people from the Moluccas, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Holland) will encroach themselves in the building of Dutch Parliament in The Hague.

We are furious and shocked, because ambassador Brouwer and minister Van Mierlo as well didn’t seem to have any problems with the extradition of peace activists to the Indonesian police.

The group of 55 youths of East Timorese and Indonesian ancestry, who on the 7th of December occupied the Dutch embassy in Jakarta, wanted to bring to attention, in a peaceful way, the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. The occurring disturbances on the embassygrounds are due to the members of the ‘Pemuda Pancasila,’ who as a contra-demonstration entered the terrain of the embassy to maltreat the activists. The demand for asylum by the East Timorese youths in Portugal was neglected by the Dutch ambassador, whilst this would be undoubtedly granted by the Portuguese government.

We hold minister Van Mierlo responsible for the following matters:

1. The scantiness of security for the personnel of the embassy as well for the peaceful, young protestors on the terrain of the embassy. The embassy didn’t give any protection against the attack of the nationalist organisation ‘Pemuda Pancasila.’
2. Not taking seriously the demand for asylum, which caused damage to the security of the above mentioned youths.
3. The unquestioned acceptance of the false promises of the Indonesian minister of foreign affairs, Ali Alatas, while in the recent past he proved unreliable regarding human rights. We point at his lies concerning the Dili-massacre (East Timor, 1991).

(Alatas then stated that there would be “only” nineteen deaths, whilst in reports of Amnesty International a number of 270 deaths occurred.)

4. Van Mierlo said he was very pleased about the outcome of the occupation, in which the protestors left “voluntary” the terrain of the embassy. This choice is however hardly “voluntary,” in respect of the threat of an violent eviction by the Indonesian army.

Because of this we demand the following from the Dutch parliament (Tweede Kamer):

1. An inquiry of the competence of minister Van Mierlo regarding his foreign-policy.
2. An enquiry into the competence of ambassador Brouwer regarding his management of the demands for asylum and his behaviour during the occupation.
4. The guarantee that the agreement between Van Mierlo and Alatas concerning the security of the released arrestees will be fulfilled.
5. An inquiry of the reliability of Ali Alatas, before using his information in the future.
6. To sharpen the policies regarding human rights the Dutch government, as a trade-partner of Indonesia.

**OCCUPATION PARTY-OFFICE MINISTER VAN MIERLO**

*RENETIL Press statement, Dec. 15, c/o Infogroep Schism*

Today, Friday December 15th, action will take place, enforced by young East Timorese people (assisted by Dutch, Moluccan, Papuan and Indonesian people). At two o’clock p.m. the party office of D’66 will be occupied. They have chained themselves inside the building, awaiting the press. They have chosen this location to put pressure upon the D’66 and to question Van Mierlo’s political integrity.

The purpose is that today a press conference will be held to let the present East Timorese speak out. They have regular contacts with their friends in Jakarta and therefore are well informed about the last developments.

We have big doubts if these facts will come forward in the so called inquiries which the Indonesian minister Ali Alatas is going to make. Minister van Mierlo still declares to have implicit faith in the inquiries. That minister Van Mierlo trusts these inquiries blindly, testifies to his negligence. We wonder very hard if he is capable to fulfill his duties in the future.

*First, we demand of the Dutch government an independent inquiry and no Indonesian meddling!*

*Second, we urge the Dutch press to publish the names of the arrested and/or “disappeared” Timorese since this proves that the promises of Ali Alatas are not based on true facts.*

The today present East-Timorese are political refugees themselves and are active members of Renetil.

RENETIL is an organisation of young East Timorese who fight for independence of East Timor. She originates from young East Timorese which study on Java and Bali. In the course of time many had to flee because of their activities. To countries like Portugal, where most of the activists are. They are not active on East Timor itself.

Last Tuesday (12-12-95) and today (Friday 15-12-95) they are active in the Netherlands to raise their protest against the course of events concerning the treatment of the youths who on 07-12-95 occupied the Dutch embassy in Jakarta.

**DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER ‘OUTRAGED’ BY ARRESTS**

*TAPOL report, 16 December 1995*

Speaking on Dutch radio last night, the Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van Mierlo described the arrest of 32 East Timorese in Surabaya yesterday as ‘an outrage.’ Speaking in Madrid where he is attending the European Union summit, he said he felt that he had been deceived by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas who gave the Dutch Government assurances that the East Timorese who were asked to leave the Dutch embassy in Jakarta last week would not be harmed. He was responding to the arrest of 32 Timorese in Surabaya, all of whom were among those who staged a sit-in at the Dutch Embassy from 7 till 9 December. In fact, four of the 32 people arrested are Indonesians.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama, also in Madrid for the summit, held a press conference attended by the international press, at which he expressed his government’s dismay at the turn of events. He said that it was the responsibility of the Dutch Government to ensure that the Indonesian Government honours its assurances about the safety of the group. He also said that the Portuguese Government is ready to grant asylum to all the 55 people, including the Indonesians, who staged the sit-in at the Dutch Embassy.

It is understood that this issue will be discussed at the EU summit today in Madrid in one of the sub-groups which is dealing with political affairs. The arrests are clearly a serious embarrassment for the Dutch Government and could turn this issue into a major diplomatic dispute between the EU and Indonesia.

Whatever the intentions of Ali Alatas is giving such assurances, this incident again highlights the fact that the government in Jakarta is powerless to control the military
with regard to anything relating to East Timor.

In the Netherlands, there is certain to be a build up of pressure on the Dutch Government in the next few days, to insist on the immediate release of everyone arrested in Surabaya.

THE 32 ARRESTS AND ARMY-DPLEU CONFLICT

TAPOL Report, 17 December 1995

According to our sources, there is strong evidence to suggest that the decision of Major-General Imam Utomo, Military Commander of East Java, to arrest the 32 activists who had staged a sit-in at the Dutch Embassy from 7-9 December was a deliberate move to embarrass Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. The army was apparently not at all happy with assurances he gave to the Dutch ambassador that the protesters would not be harassed. Another grievance of theirs relates to the recent visit to East Timor of UN High Commissioner José Ayala Lasso which they see only as a distraction from their task of maintaining security.

Sources in Surabaya confirmed on Saturday that the 32 were still in military custody.

The current conflict between the Dutch and Indonesian governments which surfaced when Foreign Minister Hans van Mierlo spoke of his ‘outrage’ at the 32 arrests, is front-page news in the Dutch press. On Friday, a group of East Timorese and Indonesians staged a sit-in at the office of D-66, the party of the Foreign Minister, to register their protest at the way the Dutch embassy forced the 55 students to leave the embassy. In Strasbourg, Portuguese MEPs have tabled a resolution at the European Parliament strongly censuring the Dutch Government for its handling of the whole affair.

VAN MIERLO SHOULD DEMAND STATEMENT FROM ALATAS

Het Parool, 18 December 1995. By Anja Franken, Abridged

The Indonesian police and army do not feel bound by promises given by Foreign Minister Alatas, which is why we expected the arrest of those involved in the occupations of the Russian and Dutch embassies, said East Timorese Luciano Romano, 23, who has been visiting the Netherlands for a few weeks. Luciano and Bano, 20, are both members of Renetil, the national resistance organisation of East Timorese students, and they came to the Netherlands to take part in the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. They both took part in the brief occupation of the D66 office, [a government party of the Foreign Minister] in The Hague.

Van Mierlo should ask for a written statement from his Indonesian counterpart and then publish it in Parliament and the press; this would bring greater pressure on Indonesia, they said. They also think that Van Mierlo should send an embassy official to Surabaya, where the arrests have taken place, to monitor the actions of the army. ‘Van Mierlo should make sure that someone from the Dutch embassy is present during interrogations so as to provide safety guarantees for the detainees.’ The two Timorese said they were quite sure the detainees would be tortured.

‘The occupation of the Russian and Dutch embassies did not come as a surprise to us. We knew it would happen on 7 December,’ said Romano. But what he did not know was that Indonesians would also take part. Ever since the Dili massacre, more and more Indonesians have become aware of the situation in East Timor.

Speaking from experience, both Romano and Bano said that the East Timorese participants in the actions will certainly lose their scholarships. The Indonesians could suffer an even worse fate because they will be seen as traitors, they said.

Van Mierlo should know that the Indonesian military never keep promises. In 1986, João Freitas da Camara, chair of Renetil, applied for asylum at the Dutch embassy. He was told, according to Romano, that it would be better for him to finish his studies first. The embassy would keep an eye on him and Hans van den Broek, the then Foreign Minister, received a guarantee from his Indonesian counterpart that Camara would be safe.

But in 1991 he was arrested and sentenced to ten years in prison. The same happened to a Timorese who went to Japanese embassy asking for asylum. ‘What is happening now is just a repetition of what has happened before,’ said Romano.

The East Timorese who are now in The Netherlands are quite convinced that the counter-demonstrations outside embassies were organised by the police. ‘The demonstrators get money and material from the police and are trying to discredit the resistance,’ he said. The Timorese have been told by an Indonesian human rights activist at present studying in The Netherlands that several of the counter-demonstrators have admitted that they were paid to take part by the police.

DUTCH NOW SAY THERE WERE NO ARRESTS

TAPOL Report, 19 December 1995

Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van Mierlo told the Dutch Parliament today, answering oral questions in the House, that he had been informed that there were no arrests in Surabaya of any students who had taken part in the occupation of the Russian and Dutch embassies in Jakarta. He said that the Dutch embassy had been informed by Colonel Ibrahim (whose status was not mentioned, possibly the spokesman of the East Java military command) that there had been no arrests.

He told Parliament that the embassy had not made contact with any of the East Timorese and said contact would be difficult, presumably because they are scattered in a number of towns.

He also said that the Dutch Government will assist seventeen East Timorese who have expressed the wish to leave Indonesia for Portugal. The departure will be handled by the International Red Cross.

The Foreign Minister also said that the LBH had informed the embassy that it was in touch with three East Timorese involved in the embassy occupations but their identities were not known.

This affair still needs a great deal of clarification to ascertain whether indeed the arrests did not take place. The East Java military commander gave credence to the story by making the announcement himself. Are we now expected to believe that this was just a ruse by Imam Utomo to embarrass Alatas? Now, the military commander has gone silent and it has been left to another officer to ‘explain,’ does this mean that the commander has been reprimanded from on high, from Suharto perhaps? This appears to be yet another example of the turmoil within the regime caused by their inability to handle the East Timor question.

In a few days, Suharto is scheduled to make a Christmas Day visit to East Timor and is due to be accompanied by erstwhile Fretilin ‘leader’ Abilio Araujo. That visit will need extremely tight security operations and the army will be expected to be on top form for the occasion.

OCCUPIERS DISCUSSED IN DUTCH PARLIAMENT

From: twillens@antenna.nl (Frank Willems). Some impressions from a visit to the Dutch parliament during question-hour Tuesday 19 Dec. 95:

Question by Martijnissen (Socialist Party):
The occupiers of the Dutch embassy are...
reported to have been released and arrested again, what is their current status, where are they and in what condition? Will the Dutch embassy contact them to give them an opportunity to apply for asylum? Has the minister been too credulous to accept the Indonesian promise that the occupants would not be arrested?

van Mierlo (Minister of Foreign Affairs): I have asked from Madrid for a confirmation of the message that the East Timorese were arrested and reminded the Indonesian ambassador of the promises made by Alatas for the Indonesian government. There was no confirmation of the arrest by the Dutch embassy. On Saturday a deputy from the embassy was sent to Surabaya. Yesterday the ANP reported the East-Timorese were released, while the arrest was still not confirmed. This morning it became clear that there have been no arrests at all. A representative spoke with colonel Ibrahim, the military commander of Surabaya. A group of 32 has gone to Surabaya on their own accord, as they live and study there. There have been no arrests, but their houses were visited by officials to find out if they had arrived. These 32 are free, this was officially confirmed by the Indonesian government this morning. I have asked LBH to contact the East Timorese to let them know they can apply for asylum if they want, and that Portugal is willing to accept them. Alatas has not breached any agreements. Alatas will investigate the affair in and around the embassy.

Marijnissen: Has the report that there were no arrests been verified by LBH? Is the embassy going to make contact by itself? Isn’t there a need for an investigation by, for example, the United Nations as an investigation by the Indonesian government will be unreliable?

van Mierlo: The report was officially confirmed by the embassy on behalf of the Indonesian government. It was also confirmed by LBH, who spoke with 3 of the East Timorese. They told him they were treated well at the police-station and that they went through Surabaya to Malang. There is no reason to doubt their condition. I see no reason for a investigation by UN.

Dijksma (Labour Party): Has there been any personal contact with the occupants? Amnesty International reported that the Dutch embassy endangered the East Timorese people by handing them over to the Indonesian police.

van Mierlo: Personal contact is not necessary as there are other means to get information. Amnesty International may have stated that we endangered the East Timorese people, but they have endangered themselves by the occupation of the embassy, establishing the situation where the embassy was forced to evict them, in the interest of their own safety.

Last Friday, an office of D’66, the political party of van Mierlo, was occupied by East Timorese, Moluccans, Papua’s and Dutch. Bob van de Bos, spokesman for D’66 said he would not say Indonesia is a nation at war because of the East Timor conflict. By doing so, Dutch commercial interests could be harmed. I asked him how. Could he not call the conflict a war, because a nation at war cannot get any Dutch military assistance or supplies according to rules for export? He confirmed this.

So, to justify arms trade and military relations with Indonesia, the East Timor conflict is not a war, according to Dutch politicians.

TIMOR TRAUMA: DIPLOMATIC ROW ERUPTS OVER VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS


Watched by two platoons of policemen, demonstrators twice stormed over the fence into the Dutch embassy in Jakarta. Their aim: to disrupt a sit-in by other activists protesting at Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor. In the third such melee, Dutch Ambassador Paul Brouwer was struck on the head with a pipe and two other diplomats were hurt trying to intervene.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas later apologized to Brouwer for the December 7 incident. Nonetheless, the occupation of the Dutch and Russian missions by 113 Timorese and non-Timorese activists, and yet the accompanying counter protest, have added yet another dimension to Jakarta’s most niggling diplomatic issue.

The incident also led to a sharp diplomatic exchange with Lisbon after Portuguese President Mario Soares criticized Indonesia’s handling of the occupations. “Indonesia is a dictatorship and so a dialogue with them is difficult,” he was quoted as saying during a visit to Macau.

Alatas described Soares’ remarks as “a typical attempt at securing cheap propaganda points.” He accused Portugal of encouraging the intrusions to coincide with the visit of the United Nations high commissioner for human rights, Jose Ayala Lasso. The Indonesians were already seething because Portugal had vetoed the possibility of Jakarta contributing troops to the NATO-led peace force in Bosnia — even before it had decided whether to do so.

Ties between Indonesia and the Netherlands have only just got back on track after a rift that developed in March 1992 over The Hague’s threat to withhold aid because of the 1991 massacre of Timorese protestors in the East Timor capital of Dili. President Suharto reacted angrily by refusing to accept any further development assistance from Indonesia’s former colonial master.

Coming this time on the 20-year anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, the occupations are part of a new tactic that began with sit-ins at the Swedish and United States embassies last year. Since then, more than 50 Timorese have been granted political asylum by the Portuguese after intruding into the Dutch, Japanese and French missions.

The latest wave of invaders, however, left the embassy compounds voluntarily and were later freed after police questioning. Also different was the fact that about half of them were non-Timorese linked to a little-known radical group called the People’s Democratic Union, known as the PRD.

While analysts remained cautious about reading too much into this development because of the fringe nature of the group, the petition the protesters presented at the Russian embassy went beyond the Timor issue and referred to “repressive political laws whose nature is extremely undemocratic.”

Up to now, Indonesians have generally adopted a nationalist view of Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor. But while few question Jakarta’s avowed sovereignty over the enclave, frustration is beginning to emerge over the way the issue continues to haunt Indonesia in international forums and the government’s failure to resolve the impasse.

DUTCH AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY REPLIES TO LETTER

Last December Watch Indonesia! sent a letter to the Dutch Embassy in Germany, to find out the Dutch Government’s position towards the occupation of the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta and towards the fact that Indonesian military was allowed to enter the Embassy grounds (as you probably will remember). What follows is a translation of our letter and the answer we got (original in German, unauthorized translation).

Watch Indonesia! e.V.
To the Ambassador of the Kingdom of The Netherlands
Strasschensweg 10
53113 Bonn
Germany

11 December, 1995

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

We learned that members of the East Timorese independence movement and members of the Indonesian democracy movement occupied the Russian and the Dutch embassies in Jakarta to remember the 20th anniversary of the illegal occupation of East Timor, which is against international law and human rights.

By now the Dutch and the Russian embassy gave in to terror of armed gangs of thugs, which showed up in front of the embassies tolerated by the Indonesian police and military guarding the embassies. They expelled the activists by opening the embassies to the police and military who forced the protestors into waiting buses. Instead of continuing to put pressure on the Indonesian government to protest against these threats, the Dutch Ambassador left the activists to their fate. We protest deeply against the handing over of these young people.

Security guarantees given to the human rights lawyer H.J.C. Princen and members of YLBHI were not fulfilled. Up to now nobody knows the whereabouts of the activist and we are deeply concerned that they might have been handed over to the Indonesian Intelligence Service. We urge your government to stand up against the Indonesian government and monitor the release, the security and the safety of the young activists.

Besides we also urge you to take a firmer stand concerning the East Timor Conflict. The East Timor Conflict is not an Indonesian-Portuguese Conflict, but a conflict between Indonesia and the International Community. We therefore urge your government to call upon the Indonesian government to democratically open their country. Maintaining the current authoritarian rule in Indonesia will worsen the situation.

We thank you in advance for all the attention you will attach to the present letter, as well as the answers you will accept to provide us.

With highest esteem

Watch Indonesia! East Timor Group

ANSWER:

Royal Embassy of The Netherlands
Strasschensweg 10
53113 Bonn
Bonn, December 20, 1995

... Concerning your letter I would like to make the following comments.
After the occupation of the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta it was the prior aim of the Dutch Government to find a peaceful solution through talks, without any use of violence and with guarantees of the Indonesian authorities for the occupants.

The occupation of the embassy was absolutely peaceful in its character until counter-demonstrators appeared in front of the entrance of the embassy. From the beginning of the occupation onwards, but even more urgently after the appearance of the counter-demonstrators, the Indonesian authorities were requested to protect the embassy. Unfortunately the reactions to these requests were completely insufficient.

When the counter-demonstrators entered the embassy-gounds for the fourth time, the Ambassador and his staff stood very courageously between the two groups as a human shield, and were even injured. But when it turned out that the counter-demonstrators would not stop their actions, it became clear that this meant a permanent threat to the security of the occupants and to the staff of the embassy. These security matters were most important for the Dutch Government’s decision that they would no longer tolerate the occupation of the Embassy.

At December 7th the Dutch Foreign Minister got Ali Alatas’ personal guarantee that after leaving the Embassy the occupants would only be subject to usual questioning and afterwards would be released within 24 hours. As an employee of the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta was able to find out, this promise was fulfilled. The employee accompanied the occupants to the police station, after these had voluntarily left the Embassy, and attended some of the interrogations which took a correct course. The next day he went again to this police station and witnessed the release of the group. None of persons in question told him that they had been treated incorrectly.

... According to recent information all of the persons that took part in the occupation of the Dutch Embassy are free. This was confirmed formally by the Indonesian Ambassador in Den Haag.

The Netherlands that act as a protecting power for Portugal in Jakarta will continue their policy to support the efforts of the United Nations which serve to find a solution of the East Timor question.

The Ambassador of the Netherlands
nesian invasion and its subsequent incorporation of East Timor.

Throughout the twenty years of this heroic struggle for national liberation, our people, our youth have been the victims of the reprisals of the Indonesian aggressors. The world has attempted to close its eyes to the struggle and sacrifices of our people, preferring to heed the false testimonies of Jakarta and to act in the interests of the Governments and States. The Santa Cruz Massacre of 12 November 1991 was further proof to the world of the atrocities being committed against our people by the tyrannical and militaristic government of Indonesia.

For the past twenty years of sacrifice, death, uncertainty, loss of life and forced migration, of hunger and disease, we have come to witness daily the hypocrisy of the governments of the world. The UN has condemned, condems and must continue to condemn the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor. However, to date it has failed to resolve the problem of East Timor in accordance with the principles and spirit of its own resolutions, principally due to the implicit and explicit support for its aggression which Indonesia has enjoyed from a number of governments, including your own.

Your government’s position in relation to the integration of East Timor into Indonesia constitutes in itself disrespect for the universally recognised principles contained in the UN Charter, and has been one of the factors which has encouraged Jakarta to continue to commit its acts of atrocity against a defenceless people, serving also to weaken the efforts and work of the Portuguese government to find a solution to the East Timor problem.

Considering the potentially significant role which your government could come to play in finding a solution to the East Timor problem and in putting an end to the sacrifices and suffering of the Maubere people, we resolved to enter your Excellency’s embassy with the objective of highlighting to the world, and specifically to your own government, the full extent of the atrocities and reprisals being committed against our people and our Homeland. As is well-known, for international political consumption, Jakarta agreed to engage in the process of tri-partite dialogue involving the UN and the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers, and in the all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue. However, when it has come to implementation, Jakarta has always flagrantly disregarded the resolutions which have come out of these meetings and continues to sow the seeds of terror in Timorese society. Our presence here today is testimony to such terror which in August and September alone resulted in the detention and ill-treatment of more than 250 East Timorese young people. We are included among their number, and carry on our skin and in our flesh the legacy of the Indonesian régime’s inhumanity.

II - Petition

Convinced of the necessity for your Excellency’s government to review its political stance in relation to Jakarta’s invasion and integration of East Timor, and trusting that your government, in this era of globalisation, is capable of balancing economic interests with the need to respect the rights of people to self-determination, we demand:

1. that the government of Japan recognise the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination;
2. that the government of Japan, in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council of the UN, which refer to the case of East Timor as an international problem involving Indonesia and the world community, put pressure upon Jakarta to cease its acts of reprisal, withdraw its troops from East Timor, implement without pre-conditions all UN resolutions and all points agreed upon in the tri-partite and intra-Timorese dialogues, and force Jakarta to enter into dialogue with the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) to seek a solution to the East Timor problem;
3. that the government of Japan grant concrete support to Portugal and the UN in their efforts to explore means of solving the conflict, given that the problem of East Timor is an international one and not the responsibility of Portugal and Indonesia alone;
4. that your government put pressure on Jakarta to free all East Timorese prisoners of conscience and to enter into dialogue with Xanana Gusmão, the leader who most genuinely represents the interests and sacrifices of the people of East Timor;

In conclusion, we ask that you transmit the contents of this petition to your government and to the people of your great nation.

Signed, the petitioners:

Arthur George Da Costa M. R.  
Born: Dili, February 27 1973  
Parents: Filomena Da Costa  
Education Senior High School (graduated)

Paulo da Costa  
Born: Dili, March 28 1973  
Parents: Bengamin Melo Ribeiro; Florena da Costa  
Education Senior Economic High School (graduated)

Paulo Alin  
Born: Dili, March 27 1971  
Parents: Joaquim Olivera Alin; Isabel Nunis Alin  
Education Senior High School (graduated)

Estevco Margal Do Rosario Ximenes  
Born: Dili, April 9 1976  
Parents: Estevco Ximenes; Ursula Ximenes  
Education Senior High School (graduated)

Vicente Barreto Ximenes De Jesus  
Born: Dili, April 16 1976  
Parents: Leonardo De Jesus; Clotilde Barreto Ximenes De Jesus  
Education Junior High School (graduated)

Luis Filipe De Oliveira Arranhado  
Born: Dili, November 11 1976  
Parents: Filipe Dos Santos Arranhado; Francisca De Oliveira Arranhado
JAPANESE EMBASSY REACTIONS

From Jean Inglis, FETJC, Nov. 14

**Our purpose is to appeal to the world regarding the East Timor issue.**

_Asahi Shimbun news_

Hashimoto (can’t read the second name), a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry said at a press conference on the 14th that (the government) “wants to respect the wishes of the twenty-one.” He indicated that the government was considering accepting them in Japan or allowing them to go to a third country. He indicated that the incident “would not give rise to any difficult problem” and that happened with the East Timorese who sought asylum in the British and Dutch embassies.

Regarding what the government will do if they want to come to Japan, he said, “we will deal with that in line with immigration control (policy?) and the law regarding refugee recognition, but that law does not cover persons seeking refugee status overseas, so they would have to somehow come to Japan first.”

(Jiji) At a press conference this evening, Foreign Ministry spokesman shouted and were all young East Timorese men. Eighteen had come from East Timor, two from Surabaya, East Java, and one from Jakarta. Seven were students. One (or some?) of them seem to know that Japan does not receive asylum seekers.

**TIMORESE BREACH JAPANESE EMBASSY FENCE**

_Voice of America, 11/14/95. By David Butler, Bangkok_

More than 20 young people from East Timor scaled the perimeter fence at the Japanese embassy in the Indonesia capital of Jakarta Tuesday and asked for asylum in Japan. David Butler reports from our Southeast Asia bureau in Bangkok that Indonesian authorities said within hours of the incident the youths are free to leave if any country grants them asylum.

Text: the youths scaled the fence of the embassy in Jakarta’s central business district shortly after 7:30 in the morning local time. One of them later told reporters they arrived in Jakarta from East Timor Monday. He said they are seeking asylum in Japan.

The breaching of the Japanese embassy Tuesday is the largest of three such incidents in recent weeks and several others in recent years. Five East Timorese penetrated security to enter the British embassy in September and eight others entered the Dutch embassy last week. Both groups were granted asylum in Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor, after Britain and the Netherlands rejected the asylum requests.

One year ago this month, 29 East Timorese sought asylum in the American embassy in Jakarta. They, too, eventually went to Portugal.

A spokesman for the Indonesian foreign ministry said the youths in the incident at the Japanese embassy on Tuesday timed their asylum bid to coincide with preparations for the meeting of the Asia Pacific economic cooperation forum – APEC – in Osaka this weekend. The invasion of the American embassy a year ago was also timed to coincide with an APEC summit meeting.

The spokesman said that, as in the previous incidents, the youths would not be stopped from going anywhere.

The Japanese foreign ministry confirmed the presence of the East Timorese in the embassy. But spokesmen in Tokyo gave no indication whether they would accept their request for asylum. If Japan turns down the asylum bid, it is likely that Portugal will accept the East Timorese.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it in 1976, many countries and the United Nations do not recognize Indonesia’s claim to sovereignty in the territory. Relations between the largely catholic indigenous East Timorese on the one hand and the Indonesian security forces and settlers on the other are strained.

Four years ago this week, security forces shot at a procession in a cemetery in dili, the territory’s capital, killing at least 50 pro-independence East Timorese.

**SOEHARTO SAYS EAST TIMORESE CAN FREELY LEAVE THE COUNTRY**

_News report from the Indonesian government (Kantor Berita Antara), Nov. 14_

Jakarta - President Soeharto said here Tuesday that the 21 East Timorese youngsters who entered the Japanese embassy compound to seek political asylum here earlier on the day can leave freely, stressing that after all an uncertain future awaits them in their country of destination.

Lopez da Cruz, ambassador specially tasked to handle East Timor affairs, quoted Soeharto as saying that “The road is widely open for the East Timorese to go to or seek asylum in any other country.”

Twenty-one East Timorese youngsters entered the Japanese Embassy compound at about 07.30 local time Tuesday in an attempt to seek political asylum.

It was the second time in a week and the fifth time in two years that East Timorese have sought asylum from a foreign mission in the capital city.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Fadyl said everything is part of a pattern that aims to embarrass Indonesia in the run-up to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Leaders Meeting (AELM) in Osaka Sunday.

Japan is the host of the third AELM. Ambassador da Cruz, after reporting the case to the Head of State, also told newsmen that Soeharto said it is only an illusion that the East Timorese’s life in their home country is miserable.

Asked whether the youngsters simply want a free ride to go abroad, da Cruz said, “It is likely to be the case.”

Da Cruz said he has reported to the President the formation of a new government in Portugal which he said was quite “neutral” in its position toward the so-called East Timor issue.

“The President said that every development should be given sufficient attention so that the tripartite dialog among Jakarta, Lisbon and the UN Secretary-General’s Office will bear fruits,” he said.

East Timor was a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years.

It joined Indonesia as the country’s 27th province in 1976, a year after the majority of its people exercised their self-determination rights by issuing the Baiblo Declaration.
The ambassador further said that Abilio Araujo, formerly known as a staunch anti-integrationist, intends to pay a courtesy call on President Soeharto in December.

“The courtesy call will be conducted in the spirit of Christmas,” he said, adding that he does not know if Araujo will be accompanied by other former anti-integrationists.

“What I do know is that it will be Araujo alone who might be received by the President,” he said.

**COMMENT FROM MARIZA CABRAL, NOV. 15:**

Re: Lopes Da Cruz statement that the new government in Portugal was quite “neutral”

For anyone who might think there is a shred of truth in Lopes da Cruz’s statement, the new Portuguese Prime Minister himself, Antonio Guterres, has profusely referred to East Timor as a National Issue, at the forefront of his agenda, and made an emotional pledge for his own personal commitment in his victory speech after election. The new Foreign Minister, Jaime Gama, indeed had a poor record on East Timor from a previous Socialist government, however has dispelled concerns since he called meetings with Resistance leaders even after his formal appointment. After his meeting with Jaime Gama, on October 17, José Ramos Horta stated that he found a “total synergy” between the concerns of the Resistance and those of the future foreign minister, who was clearly “strongly committed to East Timor’s self-determination and the dialog with the representatives of the East Timorese people.”

Today, Nov. 15, the Portuguese Parliament held a special session to commemorate the fourth anniversary Sunday of the Santa Cruz massacre. The Prime Minister appealed to the international community for that it acts to “restore legality in East Timor.” Guterres reiterated Portugal’s commitment to seeking “a just, global, and internationally acceptable solution for East Timor” which should be done “through negotiations under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General,” and which “must respect the legitimate rights of the East Timorese people, in conformity with the UN Charter and relevant Resolutions.” Guterres also referred the need for investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre, for liberation of the East Timorese political prisoners, and stated that “Portugal will never miss an opportunity to continually denounce this state of affairs in every appropriate international forum.” Guterres noted that East Timor is also in the International agenda, with strong voices of denounce and protest throughout the world, which will not let East Timor fall into oblivion.

**JAPAN HIDES REAL REQUESTS?**

*From Jean Inglis, FEITIC, Nov. 15*

As the below indicates, there seems to be little, if any attention to the East Timorese “asylum seekers” political requests. At least one Japanese journalist in Jakarta seems to be ignorant of any political requests at all.

For various reasons (swamped by the Speaking Tour schedule, etc., unable to access the foreign journalists in Osaka, etc.) we are having a difficult time publicizing the youths’ requests. If you can get in touch with journalists in Osaka or Jakarta from your country, we would be most grateful. Also if you contact the Japanese embassy, please try to find out if they have (or admit to having) the youths’ “Petition to the Japanese Government” and if they will release the names of the 21.

Embassy fax: 62 21 325 460 Tel: 62 21 324 308, 324 948, 325 396

Incidentally, I was told that the general secretary of the Diet Forum of East Timor, OKASAKI Tomiko met today with PM MURAYAMA Toshiichi in Osaka and stressed that the root cause of the asylum incidents is the East Timor issue itself and urged him to bring it up with Suharto.

Also, yesterday, over one hundred Japanese and foreign NGOs meeting at the APEC NGO Forum in Osaka unanimously adopted a statement to the Japanese Government, requesting it to protect the 21 East Timorese and to give them asylum as they request and expressing the hope that “Prime Minister Murayama will address the root cause of the question of East Timor and the right to self determination of the people of East Timor in his talks with President Suharto” later this week.

**PRESS RELEASE Nov. 15, 1995**

**TOKYO SUPPRESSING TIMORESE YOUTHS’ REAL DEMANDS**

East Timorese in Jakarta Embassy Seek Japan’s Political Clout: “Tokyo, Help End the Occupation of our Homeland!”

Press reports say that on November 14 twenty-one East Timorese climbed the fence to the Japanese Embassy and asked for political asylum.

Foreign Ministry officials of Japan and Indonesia have indicated that the “asylum request” will be handled amicably for all sides and with dispatch, and the Portuguese government has indicated that it is ready to receive the twenty-one youths. Japanese diplomats say the youths’ action will have little or no effect on the APEC summit meeting nor on Prime Minister Murayama’s meeting with President Soeharto in Osaka.

The youths’ actual request however, handed to the Embassy officials in a two-page “Petition to the Government of Japan by the youth of East Timor” is evidently being suppressed. Far from a mere request for personal safety by the twenty-one youths, it asks that the government of Japan 1) recognise the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination, 2) pressure Indonesia to withdraw its troops from East Timor, abide by the UN resolutions on East Timor, and enter into dialogue with the East Timorese resistance to seek a solution, 3) support Portugal and the United Nations in their diplomatic efforts to solve the issue, 4) seek the release of East Timorese political prisoners, including leader Xanana Gusmão.

The Free East Timor Japan Coalition supports the youths’ demands and urgently appeals to the Japanese Government to 1) address the issues raised, 2) commence efforts to seek a solution to the pressing issue of East Timor in the bilateral meetings at the APEC summit in Osaka between PM Murayama and President Soeharto, 3) obtain the assistance of the International Red Cross in the negotiations with the youths in the Embassy and allow that organization to convey the full demands of the youths to the international community via the normal channels, including the mass media.

Free East Timor Japan Coalition, tel: 0823-22-0962, 06-370-8304; fax: 0823-22-2684, 06-370-8314

(The coalition is composed of eleven grassroots organizations campaigning in Japan for a just settlement of the East Timor issue. It is currently sponsoring a nationwide speaking tour of four East Timorese, including CNRM co-chairperson José Ramos-Horta, and Domingos Sarmento Alves, the leader of the twenty-nine Timorese youths who entered the US embassy in Jakarta during last year’s APEC meeting.)

**ATTENTION: East Timorese Spokesperson in Osaka!**

José Ramos-Horta, co-chair of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, will speak at 7PM tonight, Nov. 15 in Osaka and meet members of the media and NGO community. The session is sponsored by the Osaka East Timor Association and will be held at El Osaka, 3-14 Kitahama Higashi, Chuo-ku (tel:06-942-0001) For information, contact the Association. (Tel:06-370-8304/Fax: 06-380-8314)
PORTUGAL TO RECEIVE MEMBERS OF INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

LISBON, Nov 15 (IPS) - Portugal will receive the 21 members of the East Timor independence movement who took refuge in the Japanese Embassy in Indonesia, the Portuguese government announced Wednesday.

Japan refused to grant political asylum to the individuals who occupied its embassy yard in Jakarta on Tuesday, but agreed to protect them until they left Indonesian territory.

The members of the independence movement had urged the Japanese government to recognize “East Timor’s right to self-determination” as established by the United Nations.

The young people, ranging in age from 19 to 25, were driven to the Jakarta airport on Wednesday in a special bus provided by the Japanese Embassy, which was granted safe-conduct by the Indonesian Foreign Ministry. They should reach Lisbon on Thursday, following stop-overs in Tokyo and Amsterdam.

According to the anti-Indonesian resistance movement, the move was designed to call attention to “the forgotten drama of Timor” on the eve of the annual summit of the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC), in which U.S. President Bill Clinton is participating in Japan.

When the last APEC summit was held a year ago in Jakarta, 29 Timorese students occupied the U.S. Embassy, drawing the attention of the world press to the situation of the former Portuguese colony.

On Dec. 7, 1975, one week after proclaiming its independence from Lisbon, East Timor - an island in the Java archipelago where the Portuguese had installed themselves in the mid-16th century - was invaded by Indonesia.

But the United Nations refused to recognize Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor in 1976, and designated Portugal as administrator of the territory until a referendum on its autonomy, which has not been authorised by Jakarta, could be held.

In a communiqué issued Wednesday in Lisbon, the Timorese National Resistance Council (NRC) urged Japan to give concrete support to the United Nations and Portugal in their efforts to seek a solution to the conflict.

According to a 1994 report by the international human rights watchdog Amnesty International, “two decades of unpunished Indonesian genocide” have cost the lives of one third of East Timor’s 650,000 inhabitants.

The NRC’s coordinator abroad, José Ramos-Horta, said Tokyo’s refusal of political asylum was “expected,” because Japan “contributes more than 60 percent of total international aid to Jakarta, some 5.2 billion dollars a year.”

In a telephone interview with IPS from Tokyo, where he travelled to try to soften the Japanese government, Ramos-Horta denied rumours circulated by the press that the 21 members of the NRC had asked Portugal for political asylum.

“Both at a national level and according to international law (a Dec. 22, 1975 U.N. Security Council resolution), the Timorese are Portuguese, meaning they cannot ask for political asylum from their own country.

“Western countries, that do big business in Indonesia, take it out on Lisbon. They refuse to grant asylum to the Timorese, while failing to recognise Portugal’s administrative role there, which was designated by the United Nations,” said Ramos-Horta.

TWENTY-ONE IN JAPANESE EMBASSY LEAVE TO PORTUGAL

LUSA, Nov 15 - The 21 Timorese youths who took refuge in the Japanese embassy will leave to Portugal in the next 48 hours, announced today Henry Fournier, delegate of the International Red Cross in Jakarta.

The Indonesian Foreign Ministry revealed that Minister Ali Alatas, in Osaka for the APEC summit, met this morning with the Japanese Minister Yohei Kono to find “a satisfactory solution.”

A Japanese diplomat, who requested anonymity, revealed that the East Timor problem was addressed today in the Kono-Alatas meeting. The Japanese minister having underscored the need to proceed with the UN-sponsored dialog to seek a peaceful solution.

(later report:) The 21 Timorese arrive in Lisbon Thursday afternoon, according to the Portuguese Red Cross, who was contacted by the ICRC in Geneva that announced the arrival at 2:10 PM in a KLM flight with a stop in Amsterdam.

JAPAN EMBASSY VISITORS LEAVE FOR PORTUGAL

Voice of America, 11/15/95. By David Butler, Bangkok

Twenty-one young men from East Timor who broke into the Japanese embassy in Jakarta Tuesday left Indonesia Wednesday en route to asylum in Portugal. David Butler reports from our Southeast Asia bureau in Bangkok on the latest of several recent cases of young East Timorese seeking asylum abroad.

The group of young men from East Timor arrived in Jakarta Monday. They scaled the perimeter fence of the Japanese embassy in downtown Jakarta during the morning traffic rush (hour) on Tuesday.

The foreign ministers of Indonesia and Japan met Wednesday in Osaka, Japan, where both are preparing for this weekend’s annual meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic forum – APEC.

A Japanese foreign ministry spokesman told reporters Japan does not have the legal framework to accept asylum seekers.

The 21 young East Timorese, aged between 19 and 25, were escorted by two representatives of the international committee of the red cross to Jakarta’s international airport Wednesday. They were put on a flight to Amsterdam and will go on to Lisbon.

Tuesday’s breaching of the Japanese embassy is the largest of three such incidents in recent weeks. There have been others in recent years. Five East Timorese penetrated security to enter the British embassy in September and eight others entered the Dutch embassy last week.

Both groups were granted asylum in Portugal – the former colonial power in East Timor – after Britain and the Netherlands rejected their asylum requests. One year ago this month, 29 East Timorese sought asylum in the American embassy in Jakarta. They, too, eventually went to Portugal.

A spokesman for the Indonesian foreign ministry said the youths in Tuesday’s incident at the Japanese embassy timed their asylum bid to coincide with preparations with this weekend’s APEC meeting in Osaka. The invasion of the American embassy a year ago was also timed to coincide with an APEC summit meeting.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it in 1976. Many countries and the United Nations do not recognize Indonesia’s claim to sovereignty in the territory.

Tension is strained between the largely catholic indigenous East Timorese on the one hand, and Indonesian security forces and settlers on the other. Four years ago this week, security forces opened fire on a procession in a cemetery in Dili, the territory’s capital, killing at least 50 pro-independence East Timorese.

EAST TIMOR IN THE JAPANESE MEDIA

From Geoffrey Gunn, Nov. 16.

While the story of the 21 East Timorese asylum seekers who entered the Japanese Embassy in Jakarta on 14 November has now done the rounds, some of you out there - none the least the asylum seekers - might
be wondering how this event has been portrayed in the Japanese media, indeed, how this “problem” has been handled by the Japanese bureaucracy?

Basically over the last two days, the story has been carried in the three mass circulation dailies in Japan, the Mainichi, Asahi, and Yomiuri, along with their respective English language versions. There is an element of luck or good timing in this, as 13 November was a press “holiday,” a virtual no-news day in Japan and these papers did not appear on that day.

Perhaps the most prominent print media report on the event to hand was “Seeking exile in Japan; 23 East Timorese in Embassy” in Mainichi Shimbum (15 November 1995). This article presented the basic facts of the matter while pointing out the timing of the Embassy occupation coinciding with the APEC summit. Alone among the print media reports, the Mainichi article also carried a photograph of the jubilant East Timorese inside the Embassy compound. The English-language Mainichi Daily News on the same day carried an AP report from Jakarta mentioning that an asylum request had been made to Japanese Ambassador Watanabe along with key points in the petition. It also carried the comment by a Japanese Embassy staffer that the Japanese government “has never given political asylum to anyone.” This article was also accompanied by a photograph taken within the Embassy compound.

The same day the Yomiuri Shimbum carried a postage stamp-size piece entitled “Japanese Embassy Exile request, Jakarta, 21 East Timorese.” This paper offered two follow-up stories on 16 November noting the meeting between Indonesia Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and his Japanese counterpart, Yohei Kono, in Osaka as to the “peaceful” management of the Embassy problem. No allusion was made in this article to any broader contextualization of the East Timor problem. The English language version of this paper (minuscule circulation and directed at foreigners in Japan) deemed the issue important enough to front-page two wire service reports (AP and Reuters) (15 November) and a single wire service report on 16 November, also on the front page. The Daily Yomiuri, of course, is the paper that in 1994 published an op ed piece on East Timor written by one Irawan Abidin, inter alia claiming only six deaths in the Dili Massacre. I would like to think that this paper has since “atoned” for its error on this matter.

Surprisingly, the Asahi Shimbum appeared to have passed over the question entirely on the 15th although the bare facts were reported in a tiny column in this paper on the 16th. Parenthetically, the Nagasaki version of the Asahi Shimbum (17 October) (all the majors have regional versions) ran with an interview with myself on conditions inside East Timor, “Be informed about East Timor’s independence struggle” along with photograph of Baucau market, linked with the East Timorese speaking tour now in Japan and upcoming visit to Nagasaki by Domingos Sarmento, leader of the US Embassy occupation group at the time of the APEC conference in Bogor in November 1994.

While most of the above-mentioned Japanese language pieces fail to offer background on the East Timor problem in international context, a couple of recent articles in the Japanese press stand back from the tendency to marginalize the East Timor issue entirely. Noteworthy is the article by Fukuda, “Continuing troubles in East Timor, growing antipathy connected with the nation, religion... Suharto government taxing its brains for counterplan” (Asahi Shimbum, 19 October 1995). This piece carries a map of East Timor (distinguished from Indonesia) as well as accurate background information on East Timor as a territory under Indonesian military occupation not recognized by the UN. This article also describes the Dili massacre as such, a massacre.

Also, noteworthy is Ruriko Hatano, “4 years since the massacre of the inhabitants [of East Timor]. Intensification of religious confrontation. Occupation army aggravates distrust” (Yomiuri Shimbum, 2 November 1995). A rare Japanese report filed from Dili, Hatano’s prominently positioned article, along with map, and two photographs (Bishop Belo and street scene in Dili), also comes with appropriate background and context.

Finally, the media coup de grace, as it were, for the group of 21 might be two cameo performances played out on Japanese television, namely NHK evening news on respectively the 14th and 15th of November. This is a rare media event, indeed, in Japan, possibly the first NHK news “feature” on East Timor since the visit of a delegation of Japanese MPs in mid-1994. Yet both of these reports, no longer than about 30 seconds, were relegated to the bottom of the news and neither offered any political context. The first, the dialogue of which I missed altogether, doubtless numbed by the preceding 20 minute analysis of Aum Shinryukyo, offered panoramic shots of Dili. The second, coming between a report on dinosaur eggs and the weather report, showed graphic video of the group of 21 inside the Japanese Embassy compound with the banal comment that they were seeking independence for East Timor and that the Indonesian authorities would not object to their departure from Indonesia. To say that NHK skirts controversy and misses the point would be an understatement.

Finally, the Japan Times (15 November) appears not to have even rated the issue as newsworthy. But this should not surprise. In any case the value of the Japan Times is that it recycles interesting editorials from other newspapers.

Such was “East Timor needs all the support it can get.”

......The East Timorese are emerging as the Vietnamese of the South Pacific, people willing to take endless punishment to keep alive their dream of becoming a liberated country. And like the Vietnamese in their struggle against the French and the Americans, the East Timorese need all the help they can get from the rest of the world” (The Nation, Bangkok, 12 November).

TEN ARRESTED TRYING TO ENTER JAPANESE EMBASSY

translated, abridged, edited

Sydney, Jan 12 (LUSA) - A group of 10 East Timorese youths tried to enter the Japanese embassy in Jakarta, but was prevented from doing so by the Indonesian security forces, who arrested most of the youths, a source in Jakarta told LUSA. At least two youths escaped. The same source told LUSA that at least one of the youths who escaped is one of those who entered the New Zealand embassy.

The 5 East Timorese in the NZ embassy were being chased by the security forces when they entered the escalated the fence. Two of them are wounded, one of which by getting caught in the fence. The five were prevented from entering the embassy building by embassy security. Outside the embassy are Indonesian soldiers, including elements of the special military forces Kopassus.

Regarding the two Timorese women in the Australian embassy, while there is no official word yet, governmental sources have confirmed to LUSA that the two will leave to Portugal.

AI ON EAST TIMORESE ARRESTED IN JAKARTA ON 12 JANUARY

AI Index: ASA 21/06/96, 18 January 1996

EXTRA 08/96 Arbitrary detention / Fear of ill-treatment

INDONESIA / EAST TIMOR
• Fernando Gomes
• Domingos Cortereal
• Carlos Antonio
• Lucio Quintao
Amnesty International is concerned for the safety of 15 East Timorese arrested in Jakarta on 12 January 1996 whose exact whereabouts remain unknown.

At around 8.30am on 12 January, a group of seven East Timorese, Fernado Gomes, Domingos Cortereal, Carlos Antonio, Lucio Quintao, Manuel Lelo, Nelson Guterres and Elsa Camila Viegas, were allegedly arrested in front of the Japanese Embassy. It is believed that they were arrested by police who suspected that they would enter the Japanese Embassy and seek asylum. The seven are now believed to be in police custody, but it is not known exactly where they are being held or whether they have had access to legal counsel of their choice.

Also on 12 January, eight other East Timorese, Leonildo da Costa, Fransisco, Bernardino, Lisio Fatima Gonçalves Soares, Rosito Soares, Alexander da Cunha, Plancido Hugo Bovida and Luis de Jesus, were arrested at around 11.30am in Grogol, West Jakarta. It is not known exactly where they were arrested, but it is believed that on 6 January five of the group had previously attempted to enter the Bulgarian Embassy to seek asylum. It is thought that the eight are being held at the District Military Command (KODIM) in West Jakarta but it is not known whether they have had access to independent legal counsel.

Amnesty International is concerned that the 15 may have been arbitrarily arrested, in that they do not appear to have been formally charged and have been held longer than the 24-hour legal limit for detention without charge. Moreover, the organization fears that as long as the detainees are denied access to representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and independent legal counsel, they are at heightened risk of ill-treatment in custody.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

East Timorese suspected of opposition to Indonesian rule of East Timor are at risk of arbitrary detention and torture. Those arrested are often held incommunicado detention, further increasing the risk of torture and ill-treatment. In recent months, at least 50 East Timorese have left Indonesia for Portugal after seeking asylum in foreign embassies in Jakarta. Another 112, both Indonesians and East Timorese, entered the Dutch and Russian embassies in December 1995, but were ultimately forced out of the embassies into police custody. A request for asylum by some of the East Timorese in the Dutch Embassy was apparently ignored. Both groups were subsequently held in police custody for around 24 hours and then released but have since come under intensive surveillance by the Armed Forces (see EXTRA 157/95, ASA 21/64/95, 7 December 1995 and follow-ups).

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

- urging the authorities to clarify the whereabouts of the 15 East Timorese;
- seeking assurances that all those detained are being treated humanely in accordance with international standards; that they are being given access to lawyers of their choice; that their relatives are informed of their whereabouts; and that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is allowed regular unrestricted access to their place of detention;
- requesting that, unless they are charged with recognizably criminal offences, they be immediately released;
- seeking assurances that no one will be subjected to arrest simply for engaging in peaceful opposition activities to Indonesian rule in East Timor.

APPEALS TO:

MILITARY COMMANDER FOR REGION X/JAKARTA RAYA: (covers Greater Jakarta)
- Pangdam X/Jakarta Ray a
- Markas Besar KODAM X/Jaya
- Jl. Mayjen Sutoyo
- Jakarta, Indonesia
- Telegrams: Pangdam X/Jakarta Raya, Jakarta, Indonesia

CHIEF OF NATIONAL POLICE:
- Kapolri
- Markas Besar Kepolisian RI
- Jl. Trunojoyo 13
- Kebayoran Baru
- Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia
- Telegrams: National Police Chief, Jakarta, Indonesia

AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO THE FOLLOWING:

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
- Ali Alatas S.H.
- Menteri Luar Negeri
- Jl. Medan Taman Pejambon No.6
- Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: +62 21 345 0517/360 517
PLEASE SEND APPEALS IMMEDIATELY. Please do not send appeals after 20 February 1996.

TO FRANCE

FIVE EAST TIMORESE JOIN FLOOD OF REFUGE-SEEKERS

by Muki Alu

Jakarta, Nov 16 (Reuters) – Five East Timorese scaled a metal fence into the French embassy in Jakarta on Thursday, the fourth such group to seek refuge in a foreign mission in two months.

Witnesses said the five, apparently asylum-seekers, entered the embassy around 11 a.m. (0400 GMT) from a busy main road near the Japanese embassy, where 21 East Timorese had sought asylum earlier this week.

“We cannot confirm whether they are seeking asylum. We are still awaiting further confirmation from the embassy,” a police official said by telephone.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Ghafar Fadyl told the official Antara news agency on Wednesday he had been informed by the French embassy the five were not seeking asylum but asking to be sent to Portugal, East Timor’s former colonial power.

“Therefore it is clear they have an economic motivation. The Indonesian government will be consistent with its stance, that is, to have an open door and we will not stop those who want to leave Indonesia,” he said.

He said the men aged between 19 and 26 years, four of who came from East Timor’s capital, Dili, and one from the nearby town of Ermera. He said they were drop-outs and unemployed.

Fadyl said there was a strong indication their trip from East Timor, 2,000km (1,240 miles) east of Jakarta, was paid for by parties who wanted to tarnish Indonesia’s international image. He did not elaborate.

French officials declined to comment on the latest break-in, less than 24 hours after 21 Timorese, who had been holed up in Japan’s embassy, left for Portugal.

All East Timorese seeking refuge in embassies in the past three years have been granted asylum in Portugal, still regarded by the United Nations as East Timor’s administering power.

The recent defections by East Timorese – 34 in two months – have alarmed embassies caught between embarrassing host Indonesia
and incurring the wrath of vocal East Timor lobbies.  

“I don’t think we’ve seen the last of them,” one diplomat said on Thursday, hours before five entered the French embassy.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which has taken on the responsibility for resolving the stand-offs, has refined its handling to the point where the last two groups left their sanctuary in the Dutch and Japanese embassies less than 36 hours after forcing entries.

Portugal, which ruled East Timor until 1975, has said it is happy to take all East Timorese seeking refuge.  

The rash of break-ins coincide with domestic anniversaries, such as the November 12, 1991, army killing of at least 50 demonstrators in Dili, as well as this week’s annual summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group in Osaka.

During last year’s APEC meeting in Indonesia, 29 Timorese stole headlines by occupying a corner of the U.S. embassy compound, the largest group to seek asylum in one attempt.

Indonesia invaded East Timor, after the former Portuguese colonialists left, on December 7, 1975. It proclaimed the territory its 27th province in July 1976.

Indonesia has shrugged off previous asylum bids. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was quoted on Thursday as saying in Osaka, Japan, that such cases no longer constituted a serious problem.

“We no longer see it as a serious case because the pattern is already clear,” he told the official Antara news agency.

Other asylum bids in the past two months include eight East Timorese who ran into the Dutch embassy a week ago, and five who entered the British embassy in late September.

All of them initially asked for asylum in the country of the embassy they entered but quickly accepted Lisbon’s standing offer to accept all such asylum seekers.

MORE TIMORESE SEEK REFUGE

By Lewa Pardomuan (Updates with ministry and diplomat comments)  

JAKARTA, Nov 20 (Reuters) - More than 100 youths staged pro-Indonesia demonstrations around parliament and in front of the French embassy on Monday, only hours after four East Timorese sought refuge in the embassy.

At Indonesia’s parliament, youths claiming to be from East Timor protested against a wave of high-profile asylum bids by East Timorese and declared support for Indonesian rule.

The same group also demonstrated at the French embassy, where four East Timorese had dashed in hours earlier, the second group to seek refuge in the embassy in less than a week and the fifth sanctuary bid at Jakarta embassies in two months.

“It’s true. The French officials told me that another four are inside at the moment,” Ahmad Alkatiri, leader of the pro-integration East Timorese, told journalists after meeting French officials inside the embassy.

Embassy officials declined comment but Foreign Ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl told Reuters the ministry knew of the incident, adding the four were seeking asylum in Portugal.

“We are informed about the incident and we find out the East Timorese are students. We are still looking for more information about them,” he said.

Carrying Indonesian flags and singing the Indonesian national anthem, the pro-Indonesian protesters, who said they were students and workers, earlier marched on parliament and called East Timorese who sought asylum overseas “traitors.”

“We are ready to defend the integration (with Indonesia). Asylum seekers are traitors,” read their banners.

Alkatiri, leader of the protesters, told reporters on Monday that Timorese who sought political asylum were people who wanted a better life but were unwilling to work hard.

Some 39 East Timorese have gained asylum in Portugal after bursting into the embassies of Britain, the Netherlands, Japan and France since late September.

One Western diplomat said on Monday his embassy would do its best to discourage the Timorese into coming, but added public pressure in his country was such that the embassy could not turn them onto the street.

“Our presence in an embassy is very disruptive,” he said.

“But the basic question is who has an interest in the flow of these East Timorese. Is it to say to Western embassies you are sticking up for East Timor – now have some of your own medicine? Or is it done to discredit senior government officials?” he asked.

East Timorese sources said the military, angry at the escapes, had mobilised youths to present a pro-Indonesian front.

Some of Monday’s demonstrators said they were paid or forced by security officers to join the protest.

“The truth is that we all suffer in East Timor,” said one of the protesters, who had earlier shouted in favour of Indonesia.

“I was forced by the security officers to join this protest. I don’t like it at all,” he told Reuters before a colleague stopped him from speaking further.

The youths’ asylum bids have been embarrassed Indonesia, which has been quick to let them leave but has denied their claims of human rights abuses in East Timor.

Portugal, which ruled troubled East Timor until 1975, just before a bloody Indonesian invasion in the same year, has said it is happy to take all East Timorese seeking refuge.

Additional paragraphs from another version of this Reuters article:

It was the second pro-Indonesian protest by youths claiming to be East Timorese to be staged in Jakarta in less than a week. About 20 men protested in front of the French embassy on Friday when five Timorese, who had earlier sought sanctuary there, left for Portugal.

Few details were immediately available about the latest embassy break-in but a police officer said the four had just entered the mission, on a busy road in central Jakarta. A Timorese source said the four had entered overnight.

A leader of the pro-Indonesian demonstrators said the four entered the embassy late on Sunday, but had only been noticed by embassy officials on Monday. The embassy declined to comment.

The spat of embassy break-ins is believed aimed at focusing world attention on East Timor around the fourth anniversary on November 12 of a massacre of civilians in the territory. The bids have been an embarrassment for Indonesia, which has been quick to let the asylum seekers leave but has denied their claims of human rights abuses in East Timor.

Ahmad Alkatiri, leader of the protesters, told reporters on Monday the Timorese who sought political asylum were people who wanted a better life but were not willing to work hard. “Those who sought for political asylum are East Timorese who are too lazy to work. It’s is true there are people who are against the integration, but it is only a small part,” he said.

Alkatiri denied the protesters were paid. “It is not true. They came to me and asked me to bring them to parliament,” he said without elaborating.

But a number of protesters said they were given 15,000 rupiah ($6.60) to join the protest and many looked bewildered and only mumbled when their colleagues sang patriotic songs.

One female protester said some of the youths came from the nearby Flores island and East Nusatenggara province on the western half of Timor island, whose people bear similar features as the Timorese.
The features of several others suggested they were from the main Indonesian island of Java. “I am an Indonesian national,” said one, when asked if he was a Timorese.

MORE EAST TIMORESE SEEK ASYLUM, OTHERS TO LEAVE

by Jim Della-Giacoma [abridged]

JAKARTA, Jan 29 (Reuters) - Four East Timorese sought political refuge in the French Embassy in Jakarta on Monday, just hours before 12 others in the Polish embassy were due to leave for asylum in Portugal.

Diplomats expected a speedy resolution to the French embassy problem given that the mission was able to send East Timorese involved in previous bids to Portugal within 48 hours.

It was the third such incident at the French embassy in as many months. “They are aged between 17 and 18, all from East Timor and they are asking for asylum in Portugal,” Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl told Reuters.

“They are boys, not men, who are probably misinformed and have some illusion about the better living conditions in Portugal,” Fadyl said, adding only one carried an identity card.

A French embassy official confirmed the four were inside her embassy but declined to give details.

“I don’t want to comment but I can just confirm what you already know that we have four,” Martin Dorance, deputy head of mission, told Reuters.

“Maybe some comment will come from Paris as usual,” she added, declining to give further details.

Timorese sources said the four youths entered the compound about 10.45 a.m. (0345 GMT). It was not immediately known if they jumped the two-metre (6.6-foot) spiked metal fence of the compound in central Jakarta’s main thoroughfare.

“We still sticking to the same policy that they are free to go but they don’t have to resort to jumping over fences,” Fadyl said. “Nobody will stop them if they want to go to Portugal through the normal procedures.”

One diplomat told Reuters on Monday that some 200 other East Timorese had fled intimidation in their homeland and would seek similar refuge if able to.

“Indonesia does not like it but there is nothing they can do about it unless they want to make a big fuss and bring attention to the issue,” another Western diplomat said.

Diplomats believe ongoing harassment of young people by Indonesian authorities in East Timor is forcing many to go into hiding outside the territory or consider making an asylum bid.

“They probably don’t have an idea about how things were in East Timor and how things are in Portugal. They just want a free ride,” Fadyl said.

TO NEW ZEALAND

FIVE EAST TIMORESE SEEK NEW ZEALAND ASYLUM

CNRM Media Release, 13 January

Five young male East Timorese students at Dili’s University have entered the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta to flee from harassment and pursuit by the Indonesian military in East Timor, on account of their anti-integration activities.

The five, who are said to have left Dili recently, are:
José Celano de Freitas Soares
Francisco Vicente Guterres
Isaac Correia da Silva
Filomeno das Neves
José Soares

Two of them are reported to have slightly injured themselves when entering the Embassy. A further 10 East Timorese have been arrested by Indonesian authorities while attempting to enter the Japanese Embassy in Jakarta, also to seek protection from the Indonesian military.

These latest actions, which can be expected to be followed by others still, represent efforts by a large number of East Timorese youths to seek to escape growing repression by the Indonesian occupation forces in East Timor, which has sharply increased in the second half of 1995. Many youths have fled the occupied territory in recent months, heading primarily for Jakarta with the intention to seek the protection of foreign embassies, and their assistance to flee Indonesia.

There is a large number of East Timorese youths at present in hiding at various locations in Java, intensively pursued by the Indonesian military to prevent them from entering embassies, thus exposing their plight, and that of the East Timorese people in general, to the outside world. The young people in hiding in Java are under great difficulties, facing an alien and unsupportive environment, and generally lacking financial resources to adequately sustain themselves. Many East Timorese youths domiciled in Java are under great pressure from the military, who suspect them of harbouring intending asylum seekers.

The present situation makes the likelihood of further attempts by desperate East Timorese to enter foreign embassies in Jakarta most likely, unless the oppressive situation in the territory occupied by Indonesia improves. Only strong concerted international pressure on the Suharto dictatorship is likely to produce any meaningful change.

TIMORESE SCALE NZ EMBASSY FENCE

The New Zealand Herald, 13 January 1996. by Bernard Orsman, Front page

The New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta was last night interviewing five East Timorese men who scaled a perimeter fence and entered the embassy grounds about 4 pm (New Zealand time).

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr McKinnon, said it appeared the men were making a political statement and seeking asylum. However, Mr McKinnon said it would not be known if the five men were seeking political asylum until they had been interviewed.

He said he understood the incident posed no threat to embassy staff. An official at the embassy said two of the five East Timorese “visitors” sustained small injuries after jumping over the fence about 10 am local time.

The official said the five, apparently from Dili, the capital of East Timor, were taken to an area behind the main embassy building in the residential area of Menteng.

Earlier in the day, a police officer said, about 10 East Timorese youths were arrested in front of the Japanese Embassy where they had aimed to seek asylum.

Two East Timorese women entered the Australian Embassy on Wednesday to ask for asylum, the first such bid by female East Timorese.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

Mr McKinnon, who said it was not difficult to get into the New Zealand Embassy compound, declined to say how the Government would respond if the five men sought political asylum.

But he noted that when East Timorese had sought political asylum at other embassies in Jakarta, Portugal - the former rulers in East Timor - had offered asylum.

“No other country has given asylum to East Timorese people apart from Portugal.”

The New Zealand Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Tim Groser, was last night return-
ing to Jakarta from an unspecified location in Indonesia to deal with the incident.

**NZ MEDIA ON ASYLUM SEEKERS**

New Zealand Channel One main 6.00 evening news, Jan 12, first item reported New Zealand Foreign Affairs Minister Mr McKinnon saying the five East Timorese at the Jakarta embassy had asked for “a number of things” in negotiations with Ambassador Groser, but he was not prepared to say what was discussed. New Zealand supporters of the East Timorese have called on the government to help. Colin Iles (ETIC Wellington) said the East Timorese were very much at risk and the government should accept responsibility, as hundreds of East Timorese have fled under increased pressure recently. Mr McKinnon said “I haven’t heard anything about a crackdown in East Timor at all.”

Channel Three reported the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not revealing the results of discussions. The five East Timorese will remain in the compound until a decision is made about their requests.

**EMBASSY INCIDENT: END IN SIGHT**

New Zealand TeleText, 13 January 1996 8.00pm

The International Red Cross has confirmed it is making arrangements for five East Timorese holed out in New Zealand’s embassy in Indonesia. Chief delegate Henri Fournier says the men will be leaving the embassy in Jakarta within the next two days. He says it seems the group had sought political asylum in New Zealand but came to a gentlemen’s agreement to accept a new life in Portugal instead.

**ETIC AUCKLAND APPEALS TO NZ GOVERNMENT FOR ASYLUM PLEDGE**

The Sunday Star-Times (Auckland), 14 January 1996

Timor Plea

The Government should offer immediate asylum to the five youths who entered the New Zealand embassy in Jakarta. Auckland’s East Timor Independence Committee says. The five, who scaled the 2m-high perimeter wall around the embassy on Friday, were now in grave danger as a result of their actions, said the group’s spokeswoman Maire Leadbeater.

**FREEDOM IN SIGHT FOR EAST TIMORESE**

New Zealand TeleText, 14 January 1996

The five East Timorese youths holed up in the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta could be heading for freedom soon.

Red Cross chief delegate Henri Fournier says the group had sought political asylum in New Zealand, but after the New Zealand Government had discussions with officials in Lisbon, decided to accept a proposal to resettle in Portugal.

The Red Cross is hoping to arrange for the men to fly to Portugal, but because it is the weekend, arrangements may be delayed until tomorrow.

**TV COVERAGE IN NEW ZEALAND**

From Lee Snow, 14 January 1996

New Zealand channel One 6.00 evening news first item reported on “Refugee Roulette,” saying the five East Timorese youths seeking asylum were preparing to leave for Portugal. They had wanted to settle in New Zealand but the government said no. There were shots of the Dili massacre and Maire Leadbeater (ETIC Auckland), representing human rights groups angered by the government’s decision, said New Zealand continues in a policy of weak-kneed appeasement. Foreign Minister McKinnon said it was naive to expect asylum to be granted, saying if residency were “granted to anyone jumping into the embassy, we’d be flooded by people.”

Channel Three reported Mr McKinnon was accused of taking the soft option over the asylum seekers, with trade relations taking precedence over human rights. Mr McKinnon said he was satisfied with Red Cross plans for safe passage for the five East Timorese, and it was “convenient for us to have Portugal willing to take them.” Civil Liberties spokesman Colin Wilson said “He wouldn’t act on an abuse of human rights if it leapt up in front of him.” Helen Todd, who is presently in New Zealand seeking a government inquiry into the recently released findings on the death of her son Kamal Bamadraj during the 1991 massacre, was told by Mr McKinnon that any investigation would be one-sided.

**NZ RENEGES ON RESPONSIBILITY TO EAST TIMORESE ASYLUM SEEKERS**

ETIC Press Release, 14 January 1996

New Zealand by refusing to accept the request of the five young East Timorese men for asylum in New Zealand has added yet another black mark to its record of ignoring requests from East Timorese people. Speaking for the Auckland East Timor Independence Committee, Maire Leadbeater said: “Only one month ago Foreign Affairs Minister, Don McKinnon turned down requests from East Timorese leader José Ramos Horta for an end to New Zealand military links with Indonesia. Now faced with five victims of Indonesian repression our Government has decided to pass the buck to Portugal.”

“We believe that New Zealanders should feel shame that the Government has chosen yet again the path of political expediency rather than make a moral response to a desperate appeal from five young men who have risked all to ask for our help.”

“These young men are all understood to have left Dili recently and to be part of the large number of East Timorese youths who are in hiding in Java, intensely pursued by the Indonesian military to prevent their seeking asylum in Embassies. At least one of the five had previously been part of a group which tried to enter the Japanese Embassy. They have been victims of persecution in East Timor and now have nowhere to turn except to Governments like our own that they hope will have concern for human rights.”

“It is hugely ironic that New Zealand has implicitly acknowledged that Portugal still has responsibility while at the same time continuing to give de facto recognition to the Indonesian annexation. The United Nations regards Portugal as still having legal administrative responsibility for its former colony. Will New Zealand now recant for refusing to support the ten United Nations resolutions condemning Indonesia’s invasion and occupation of East Timor?"

For further information: Maire Leadbeater, 849-3890 or 828-5109 (wk)

The men have been named as: José Celano de Freitas Soares, Francisco Vicente Gutelles, Isaac Correia da Silva, Filomena Das Neves and José Soares.

**TIMORESE GIVEN SAFE HARBOUR BY PORTUGUESE**


NZ Govt. defends embassy role

WELLINGTON- Five young East Timorese men holed up in the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta have been talked out of seeking political asylum in New Zealand and have been granted safety in Portugal from the Indonesian military regime.

The actions of the New Zealand Ambassador in Jakarta, Mr Tim Groser, have been
criticised in New Zealand, with the Alliance accusing the Government of putting its friendship with President Suharto ahead of any concern for the Timorese people.

The East Timorese Independence Committee claimed the five had only recently left the East Timor capital of Dili, were in hiding, and had “risked all to ask for our help.”

The five are expected to leave Indonesia today or tomorrow for Portugal after scaling a two-metre fence at the New Zealand Embassy about 4pm (New Zealand time) on Friday.

A total of 43 East Timorese have been granted refugee in Portugal - the territory’s former colonial ruler - since last September after entering the Dutch, British, Japanese and French embassies. Two East Timorese flew to political asylum in Portugal on Friday after two nights in the Australian embassy.

The Geneva-based International Committee for the Red Cross has organised for the departure to Portugal of all the refugees. It is making arrangements for the five men at the New Zealand embassy.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr McKinnon, said last night that the five men had asked to come to New Zealand but readily agreed when another option was put to them to go to Portugal.

“They certainly were not denied point blank asylum status here [New Zealand].”

He said there were strong historic links between Portugal and East Timor and the men were likely to feel more comfortable there than being part of a very small handful of East Timorese in New Zealand where they undoubtedly would run into language difficulties.

Besides, Mr McKinnon said, Portugal still considered East Timor its own territory and offers automatic citizenship to anyone from the island.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations or Portugal. New Zealand, like most of the world, recognises the de facto annexation.

A spokeswoman for the East Timor Independence Committee, Marie Leadbeater, last night named the five men as José Celano de Freitas Soares, Francisco Vicente Guterres, Isaac Correia da Silva, Filomena Das Neves and José Soares.

She said the National Council for Maubere Resistance - an umbrella grouping of East Timorese people opposed to Indonesian rule - had put details of the five men’s asylum bid on the Internet.

“These young men are all understood to have left Dili recently and to be part of the large number of East Timorese youths who are in hiding in Java, intensely pursued by the Indonesian military to prevent their seeking asylum in embassies.”

The Alliance spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Keith Locke, said embassy staff should have been more compassionate and invited the five men to settle in New Zealand.

But Mr McKinnon said it was “naive to say just because people jump into our embassies they are automatically entitled to residential status in New Zealand.”

He said this could lead to “tens, hundreds and it could go into the thousands” of people jumping into New Zealand embassies.

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**TIMOR REFUGEES**

**Publico, 16 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese**

The five Timorese, who took refuge in the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta were supposed to fly out of the Indonesian capital yesterday, bound for Lisbon via Amsterdam. However, according to the ICRC delegate, Henri Fournier, in Jakarta, their departure was delayed (because of the weekend). The Embassy was closed to the public yesterday due to presence of the refugees, but an Embassy employee said that the situation ought to be back to normal today.

The names of the five young Timorese, who had originally asked to be granted asylum in New Zealand, are: José de Freitas Soares, Francisco Vicente Guterres, Isaac Correia da Silva, Filomeno das Neves, and José Soares. They were all students at the University of Dili, before fleeing to Jakarta from East Timor in December 1995.

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**NEW ZEALAND FIVE ARRIVE IN LISBON**

translated, abridged, edited

Lisbon, January 16 (LUSA) - The five Timorese youths who entered the grounds of the New Zealand embassy in Jakarta arrived in Lisbon today. José Soares had his arm broken, tied to his chest, and reported his arm was broken by Indonesian guards inside the embassy grounds. Another youth had his wrist broken in the confrontation with the Indonesian guards inside the embassy grounds, and yet another was slightly wounded. José Soares reported that an Indonesian doctor went to provide treatment at the embassy, but they were afraid and refused treatment.

The main objective of their action, according to José Soares, was to denounce the lies by the Indonesian government relative to East Timor and human rights violations in the territory. Soares states that the Indonesians want to “kill every Timorese youth.”

Together with José Soares arrived Francisco Vicente Guterres, José de Freitas Soares, Isaac Correia da Silva and Filomeno das Neves. All five were students at the University of Dili and would like to continue their studies in Portugal. None of the youths has family in Portugal, and they will stay in a hostel with other Timorese youths.

Awaiting the youths at the airport was the representative of Social Security, and the coordinator of the Interministerial Commission charged with overlooking and improving the living conditions and integration of the Timorese refugees in Portugal. The two young women who came from the Australian embassy Saturday were also awaiting the five.

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**EAST TIMORESE MEN INJURED INSIDE NZ EMBASSY COMPOUND?**

**ETIC Media Release, 17 January 1996**

The East Timor Independence Committee has received a report from a Lisbon news service that 3 of the 5 young men who entered the New Zealand Embassy ground on the 13 January were injured while _inside_ the Embassy compound, by Indonesian guards. The Committee has written to Foreign Affairs Minister McKinnon to obtain confirmation that this report is accurate and to ask for assistance that the matter will be appropriately investigated, and dealt with.

One of the young men arrived with a broken arm strapped to his chest - and graphically described his fears that the Indonesians want to ‘kill every Timorese youth.’

We believe that this new information - if it is accurate - casts further doubt on the assurances given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that they were happy to accept the option of going to Portugal rather than to New Zealand. If these young men were in physical danger even inside our Embassy compound how could they make calm and unpressured decisions?

For further information: Maire Leadbeater 849-3890 or 828-5109 (day).

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**LETTER FROM ETIC TO NZ FOREIGN MINISTER**

The 17th January letter from ETIC’s Maire Leadbeater to New Zealand Foreign Minister Mr McKinnon summarises the injuries to the East Timorese in the NZ Embassy as reported in LUSA, asking for confirmation and finishes:

“There is now a clear picture emerging of five young men who were in a state of great fear and apprehension when they were in-
terviewed by the New Zealand Ambassador. They were in no fit state to stand up for themselves and remind the New Zealand Government of its responsibilities to asylum seekers and refugees.

If the reports are true then the New Zealand Government owes these young men a profound apology. There must be urgent steps to investigate this matter in full and ensure that in future the New Zealand Embassy compound is a safe place for all who enter it.

-Maire Leadbeater, for the East Timor Independence Committee

GUARDS INJURED REFUGEES, REPORTS SAY

The New Zealand Herald, 18 January 1996, p. 1 by Audrey Young

Three of the East Timorese men who sought asylum in the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta last week were injured by Indonesian guards inside the compound, according to reports received by the East Timor Independence Committee.

The five men arrived in Portugal on Tuesday, says a LUSA news service report sent to the New Zealand committee.

A committee spokeswoman, Maire Leadbeater, has asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr McKinnon, to investigate. "If the reports are true, then the New Zealand Government owes these young men a profound apology."

The reports were strongly denied last night by a senior Foreign Affairs official.

The LUSA report says one of the five arrived in Lisbon with a broken arm strapped to his chest, another with a broken wrist and a third was "slightly wounded."

The head of the Southeast Asia Division of Foreign Affairs, Mr Win Cochrane, said last night that the story was untrue.

But the men were involved in the scuffle with an Indonesian soldier shortly after they entered the embassy.

"But that person was ordered off the embassy grounds and that was the end of it."

"He was not supposed to be there. When these three went over the gates he took it on himself to dash through from the street through the main gates. He was ordered off the premises and he went."

NZ COMPLAINS OVER EMBASSY FRACAS

The New Zealand Herald, 19 January 1996, p. 1 by Audrey Young

WELLINGTON - New Zealand has formally complained to Indonesia about the intrusion into its embassy grounds of a man, thought to be an Indonesian soldier, who assaulted East Timorese asylum seekers.

Foreign Affairs has now altered its account of what took place in Jakarta a week ago, conceding that one of the five East Timorese men might have broken his arm at the time.

The head of the South-east Asia division, Mr Win Cochrane, said he did not know if the Indonesian military member broke the man's arm or whether it was injured when he scaled the perimeter fence. The intruder did, however, inflict a head injury on one of the men and this had required a stitch.

The Ambassador, Mr Tim Groser, conveyed New Zealand's protest in person to a senior member of the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Department.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr McKinnon, said last night that the Indonesians were told the entry "was quite unacceptable." They "just noted it."

The intruder was dressed in plain clothes and rushed into the compound after five young men scaled the fence - an increasingly common occurrence in Western embassies in Jakarta. He was ordered off the premises.

Plain-clothed members of the Indonesian armed forces are regularly stationed outside Western embassies to keep a surveillance on potential fence leapers.

Mr McKinnon's account of the incident, made after he received full written reports yesterday, contradicts Mr Cochrane's version and prompted the Alliance to claim a "hush-up."

On Wednesday, Mr Cochrane had dismissed as "unbelievable" and "obviously untrue" reports from Portugal that one of the men had arrived in Lisbon with a broken arm injured in the compound.

It appears the embassy did not supply Foreign Affairs in Wellington with full details until it was questioned by the media about the Lisbon reports.

EAST TIMORESE 'JUMPER' TEllS OF BEATING

The New Zealand Herald, 20 January 1996, by Audrey Young

One of the East Timorese men who jumped into the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta last week seeking asylum says they were told that New Zealand does not take political refugees.

And he says that some of them were injured when about 20 plainclothed members of the Indonesian military rushed after them into the embassy grounds - not just one soldier, as the embassy has reported.

Mr Francisco Guterres, aged 27, was one of five East Timorese students who were eventually flown to Portugal this week instead of New Zealand.

But speaking to the New Zealand Herald from Lisbon yesterday, he said he and friends had wanted to come to New Zealand. They still wanted to and hoped they could eventually.

Mr Guterres said the embassy staff had treated them well, especially the ambassador, Mr Tim Groser, and the military attaché, Colonel Peter Fry.

But after scaling the embassy fence on Friday last week, they had been told that New Zealand did not take people seeking political asylum. It would not send them back to Indonesia but would send them to Portugal, which has offered to take an unlimited number.

New Zealand paid for the flights.

Mr Guterres said the five were students at the University of East Timor in Dili but they were also part of a Timorese pro-independence group.

In 1994, they had been interrogated by the Indonesian military every three months. But last year it had been every week.

Yesterday, a spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr McKinnon, said it was New Zealand's policy not to accept requests for asylum resulting from embassy occupations. The five men were told that.

Asked how they could have got asylum, she said that was hypothetical because they did not persist in pursuing their claim for it.

Mr Guterres said they had wanted to walk through the gates legitimately but had not because many members of the Indonesian military were outside and would have stopped them.

He said he thought that East Timor was not just Portugal's problem, but an international one and New Zealand had "a duty to receive us, to protect us."

The asylum-seekers had decided on New Zealand because of its record on human rights.

He cited the New Zealand student Mr Kamal Bamadhaj, killed in the 1991 Dili massacre, as a reason for choosing New Zealand. "His name is famous in Dili."

Mr Guterres thought New Zealand's reason for refusing entry was that it would create problems between Jakarta and Wellington.

He said one uniformed Indonesian soldier and 20 in civilian dress had rushed into the compound when the five got in. They beat and kicked them and told them to get out.

The soldiers left as soon as Colonel Fry appeared. One of the five Timorese was left with a broken wrist, one a broken hand and one with a head wound.

Mr Guterres' version of events contrasts with that of Foreign Affairs. Originally, the ministry said no one was hurt but it now says one man did break his wrist and one plainclothed Indonesian soldier entered the embassy over the fence because the gate was
closed. A formal protest has been lodged with the Indonesian Foreign Ministry. A spokeswoman for the Lisbon group the Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People said about 80 East Timorese men from embassy occupations had arrived in Portugal since 1993.

**ETIC URGES GOVERNMENT ACCEPT REFUGEES**

*East Timor Independence Committee Media Release, 19 January 1996*

**Discussions held with one of the asylum seekers: East Timor Independence Committee urges Government to accept the five East Timorese asylum seekers in New Zealand.**

The Auckland East Timor Independence Committee believes that the Government has gravely mishandled the case of the five East Timorese asylum seekers and must now make amends by allowing the young men to come to New Zealand. The Committee has written to Mr McKinnon and offered to sponsor the five young men and take responsibility for assisting them to settle in New Zealand.

Spokesperson for the Committee, Maire Leadbeater said “Early this morning I had the privilege to talk by phone call to Lisbon to one of the five, Francisco Vicente Guterres who spoke relatively fluent English. He described again how two of his companions were injured inside the Embassy compound by the Indonesian military. Francisco emphasised, not only that he and his companions asked to come to New Zealand, but that they still wish to settle here. He told me that he and his friends look upon New Zealand as a supporter of human rights and also that they associate New Zealand with Mediterranean - they are Pacific people whose native language Tetum has close linguistic similarities to Maori. My colleagues in the international East Timor solidarity movement tell me that other young East Timorese refugees have had a stressful time learning to cope with vast cultural and lifestyle differences as they try to adjust to life in metropolitan Lisbon.”

“The Auckland East Timor Independence Committee would be pleased to help the young men to settle in New Zealand and undertake to work with other human rights or church groups to sponsor them and provide for their needs as refugees.”

For further information: Maire Leadbeater: +64 9 849-3890 or 828-5109.

**ETIC/NZ: SUPPORT FOR ASYLUM IN NZ GROWING**

*ETIC Media Release, 21 January 1996*

Support is growing for the five young East Timorese men to settle in New Zealand.

The East Timor Independence Committee has had a very positive response from approaches to church, student and human rights networks about the situation of the five young East Timorese men who entered the New Zealand Embassy. The group has had offers of practical help and support with its sponsorship offer by people eager to make amends for their treatment in the New Zealand Embassy and its compound.

Speaking for the East Timor Independence Committee, Maire Leadbeater said “We are optimistic that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will offer these men the chance to settle here, as we requested in a letter to Mr McKinnon on Friday. Contrary to the earlier impression given by Foreign Affairs these young men have a strong desire to come here and would fit in easily in New Zealand. Portuguese is now little spoken or even understood among the generation of young people who have had to grow up under Indonesian occupation - whereas some have been able to learn English to a good standard. These young men are not European - they are Pacific people whose native language Tetum has close linguistic similarities to Maori. My colleagues in the international East Timor solidarity movement tell me that other young East Timorese refugees have had a stressful time learning to cope with vast cultural and lifestyle differences as they try to adjust to life in metropolitan Lisbon.”

“No doubt they would face readjustments in New Zealand also but I am confident that they would receive a very warm reception here and that New Zealanders would open their hearts and homes to them.”

“I have spoken by phone to one of the group in Portugal, Francisco Vicente Guterres. The facts about the assault on the young men by Indonesian military inside our Embassy grounds are now becoming clear. However, there remains a mystery about the way in which the young men were talked out of their plan to come to New Zealand. How could they get an impression that New Zealand does not take political refugees when there is an active New Zealand programme to take refugees from many other war-ravaged countries? If there is a policy not to take asylum seekers who enter New Zealand with the knowledge that the New Zealand public not told about this? New Zealand must live up to its responsibilities under UN Refugee Conventions.”

Further information: Maire Leadbeater 09-8493-890 or wk:828-5109

**NZ: FIRST CHOICE FOR NEW LIFE**

*The Dominion (Wellington daily), 20 Jan. 1996. by Catriona MacLennan*

Five East Timorese men who sought asylum in New Zealand’s embassy in Jakarta had been pressured to go to Portugal and still wanted to come to New Zealand, one of them said last night.

Speaking from Lisbon, Francisco Guterres said he and four others had been told by New Zealand embassy staff in Jakarta that relations with Indonesia would be jeopardised if they were granted asylum.

“They told us (New Zealand) law did not permit them to receive people who want to seek asylum. They refused us because if the Government of New Zealand received us, it means that maybe has some influence on New Zealand and Indonesia.”

Mr Gutterres said the men, who were students in Dili, had not been able to pursue their studies and had been required to report to military authorities every three months.

Last year they had been required to report weekly, and from September onward they had been hiding from the authorities, sleeping at different houses.

“We were not free to make dialogue with our friends or to study. The military know we are (involved in political) activity in East Timor and always looked for us. We always moved so the military did not find us.”

Mr Gutterres said the men had chosen New Zealand because of its good human rights record.

“We know the Government of New Zealand is one nation that defends human rights. We hope that the New Zealand Government receive us, but in fact when we enter the New Zealand ambassador refuse us. It makes us a little sad why they did not receive us.”

He said the men had also believed New Zealanders were concerned about East Timor, because they knew of the death of New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj in the 1991 Dili massacre.

Mr Gutterres said he still hoped to be allowed to immigrate to New Zealand. “Especially, if the Government of New Zealand will permit us, we want to study there and
prepare ourselves for our nation of East Timor,” he said.

“We are ready if the Government of New Zealand make our passports.”

East Timor Independence Committee spokeswoman Maire Leadbeater said last night she had written to Foreign Minister Don McKinnon offering to sponsor the men and provide accommodation for them in New Zealand.

A spokeswoman for Mr McKinnon said the minister was not aware the men still wanted to come to New Zealand.

“As far as we know, and as far as the embassy reported, they readily agreed to go to Portugal.”

New Zealand’s ambassador in Jakarta, Tim Groser, had not discussed asylum with the men.

“He’s staff did, and told them it was a matter of policy that New Zealand did not accept requests for political asylum which arose through occupations of embassies,” she said.

“Their objective was to get out of Indonesia as quickly as possible. After reflecting on the issue, the five decided of their volition that they wished to go to Portugal.”

She said reports that 20 Indonesian soldiers, rather than one, had stormed the New Zealand embassy grounds in Jakarta and beaten up the men did not accord with reports from embassy staff.

**ASYLUM REFUSAL ‘BREACHED LAW’**

*The Dominion, 23 January 1996. by Catriona MacLennan*

New Zealand was breaching international law by not accepting asylum requests arising from embassy occupations, Alliance deputy leader Matt Robson said yesterday.

Mr Robson said Alliance MPs would seek an urgent meeting with Foreign Minister Don McKinnon to clarify the asylum policy after the entry of five East Timorese men into the New Zealand embassy in Jakarta.

The men were flown to Portugal after being told New Zealand did not accept asylum requests resulting from embassy occupations.

One of them, Francisco Guterres, said from Lisbon on Friday that they still wished to come to New Zealand.

Mr Robson, an immigration law specialist, said that New Zealand was obliged under the United Nations Convention on Refugees to consider refugee status for all who requested it once they were on New Zealand territory.

“With this blanket policy in force, which has never been discussed by the New Zealand Parliament, the government has implemented a policy which is illegal in terms of the convention,” he said.

“As the New Zealand embassy in Jakarta is New Zealand territory the asylum requests should have been considered. No comment was available yesterday from Mr McKinnon, but his office earlier issued an extract from an international law text dealing with asylum.

It says that asylum is only a temporary measure. “Thereafter, the refugee must be surrendered to the territorial authorities if they so request,” the book says.

“It is the head of the mission concerned who initially determines whether the circumstances are such as to entitle him to grant asylum... Even where circumstances exist in which a right to grant asylum exists, the head of mission is under no legal obligation to exercise that right.”

Alliance foreign affairs spokesman Keith Locke has written to Mr McKinnon with an Official Information Act request for all communications between the embassy and ministry on the issue, after conflicts about injuries to the five men and how many Indonesian soldiers pursued them into the embassy.

East Timor Independence Committee spokeswoman Maire Leadbeater said church, student and human rights groups in New Zealand were keen to sponsor the men.

**FIVE EXPECTED TO ASK FOR NZ REFUGE**

*The Dominion, 31 January 1996. by Catriona MacLennan*

Five East Timorese men who sought refuge in the New Zealand embassy in Jakarta were expected to apply to come to New Zealand, Alliance deputy leader Matt Robson said yesterday.

Mr Robson and Alliance leader Jim Anderton met for half an hour with Foreign Minister Don McKinnon to discuss the position of the men and the conflict over accounts of their arrival at the embassy.

The men are now in Portugal but one of them, Francisco Guterres, said from Lisbon that they had chosen New Zealand because of its good human rights record and they still wanted to come here.

A faxed message received yesterday from Mr Guterres acknowledged that New Zealand could face difficulties with Indonesia, over the position of the men, but said New Zealand was known for defending human rights.

The message said they were waiting for the New Zealand Government to help them. Even though their bodies were in Portugal, in their imaginations and hopes they were in New Zealand, it said.

Mr Robson said Mr McKinnon had undertaken that if a request to come to New Zealand was lodged by the man, it would be considered in the normal way.

The Alliance would ask for application fees to be waived, and special consideration of the men’s humanitarian situation.

“We think it would be the height of infancy to say the men were not in danger because they were no longer in Indonesia but in Portugal. Consideration has to be given to their desire to come to New Zealand and their humanitarian situation.”

A spokeswoman for Mr McKinnon said the minister had explained to Mr Robson and Mr Anderton that New Zealand’s policy was not to offer political asylum to people who entered embassy grounds.

“We still, as far as I know, haven’t received any request from them to come here through the usual channels,” she said.

The spokeswoman said the men could still seek political asylum.

“The whole logic behind asking to come to New Zealand was simply that if you jump over [the New Zealand] embassy walls, you don’t jump over saying “We want to go to Portugal.”

**MCKINNON ASKED TO GIVE CLEAR ANSWER ABOUT THE FIVE ASYLUM SEEKERS**

*East Timor Independence Committee Media Release, 31 January 1996*

The East Timor Independence Committee has written to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to ask for urgent clarification of the Government’s response to the plea of the five East Timorese asylum seekers to come to New Zealand.

The letter is attached.

For further information: Maire Leadbeater 09 849-3890 (day: 828-5109)

Rt Hon Mr D. McKinnon
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Parliament Buildings
Wellington

Dear Mr McKinnon

We understand from media reports today that there is a possibility that New Zealand will agree to accept the five young men who sought asylum in the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta.

We have been in touch with the men and with their support people in Portugal. The young men would like to come to New Zea-
land but are already struggling with the task of adjusting to life in Portugal. Since they are very uncertain of the official response of the New Zealand Government to their situation they are uncertain how to proceed. The young men sought asylum after military persecution and they now need some certainty about their immediate future.

I enclose part of a statement prepared by one of the five about his views of New Zealand. We would be very grateful if you would clarify for us as quickly as possible whether the young men can come to New Zealand and what steps they should take in Portugal.

One of our Wellington colleagues, Colin Flies will be in touch with your office in a few days to discuss this matter, and ascertain your response.

Signed
Maire Leadbeater for ETIC

TO AUSTRALIA

TWENTY EAST TIMORESE BOAT PEOPLE CAPTURED

CNRM Media Release, 22 Nov. 1995

Sources in Dili inform that on Monday night (20 November) a boat carrying about 25 East Timorese was detained by Indonesian military authorities at Be-Aco, Viqueque, on the eastern end of East Timor. Some twenty of the boat passengers were attempting to flee the territory, heading for Darwin in Australia. The group is reported to include 13 males, 5 females and 2 young girls. Names are as yet not available.

The boat left Hera near Dili on Saturday 18 November at 19.00 hours, and was stopped near Be Aco, Viqueque, on Monday night. The military, reportedly in two helicopters, arrested the passengers, who have disappeared. No report about their capture has been issued by the authorities so far.

Last June 18 people fled East Timor for Darwin in Australia, and asked for refugee status. Indonesia is exerting strong pressure on the Australian government to refuse the request, in an attempt to minimise embarrassment. Indonesia claims the refugees have no reason to flee the occupied territory, where they are treated well, and that their motives are not legitimate, aiming merely to better their economic prospects. The refugees, in turn, have provided extensive accounts to the Australian media of the torture they have been subjected to by the Indonesian military. Australian TV has shown images of the scars on the refugees’ bodies, evidencing torture. Professional counsellors who have interviewed them while they were in an Australian immigration detention camp, have diagnosed the refugees as suffering deep trauma as a result of torture.

In recent weeks, following a sharp deterioration of the situation in East Timor, there has been a flood of youths fleeing the occupied territory by seeking sanctuary in foreign embassies in Jakarta, and obtaining safe passage to Portugal under International Committee of the Red Cross auspices. Since last September more than 40 young East Timorese have entered the British, Netherlands, Japanese and French embassies.

Indonesia cynically accuses the desperate fugitives to be seeking ways to get free travel overseas under false pretences. It also claims to be placing no obstacles to their departure. In fact, the opposite is true. This week a demonstration by youths in the service of the authorities was organised in Jakarta, to insult refugees and call them traitors to the homeland. Foreign observers were struck by the intense secret intelligence and police presence outside the all the foreign embassies in which the East Timorese were seeking refuge in Jakarta.

CNRM expresses its grave fears about the safety of the 20 boat people captured last Monday. Based on past experience, it would not be surprising if they have been massacred in cold blood by the Indonesian military, aiming to cover up the embarrassment of people fleeing the territory. A credible investigation is required, as a total denial of this incident by the Indonesian authorities is quite likely.

27 TIMORESE CAPTURED AT SEA

AP, 22 November 1995, Abridged

TAPOP Comment: If East Timorese are free to leave the country, why capture these ‘would-be’ refugees?

Dili – Indonesia’s navy has captured 27 East Timorese trying to sail away from their troubled homeland to seek sanctuary in Australia, officials said Wednesday. A woman civil servant in the East Timorese local government and some children were among those detained in three boats intercepted Tuesday by navy patrols, said a navy official who was contacted in Viqueque.

He said two groups of the would-be refugees were captured in Beaussu and Com, coastal towns near Viqueque, and the third group was found on a boat near Jako, a tiny island off the eastern tip of East Timor.

In recent weeks, after a number of youths sneaked into foreign embassies to seek asylum, the government has repeatedly said that East Timorese are free to leave the country.

On Wednesday Foreign Minister Alatas reiterated his accusation that Portugal was encouraging the Timorese to seek political asylum abroad to discredit Indonesia.

Meanwhile, a resident in Dili said some Timorese had arrived by boat earlier this week in Darwin.

INDONESIA CAPTURES 27 EAST TIMORESE BOAT PEOPLE

JAKARTA, Nov 22 (Reuters) - Indonesian security forces have captured 27 East Timorese trying to flee by boat to northern Australia, security officials in East Timor said on Wednesday.

Lieutenant Saimo (one name) told Reuters the Timorese – including women and children – had been captured off the coast, 2,080 km (1,300 miles) east of Jakarta, early on Tuesday.

“We’ve sent them back to Dili by military truck,” he said.

The capture coincides with the departure on Tuesday of four East Timorese for asylum in Portugal. In the past two months 43 youths who have sought refuge in embassies in Jakarata.

Indonesia invaded East Timor almost 20 years ago and has faced local opposition and international criticism over its hardline rule of the former Portuguese colony.

A priest in the town of Viqueque told Reuters the boat people had given themselves up after being spotted by a naval patrol vessel and two military aircraft, which had forced them to come ashore at the port of Beasso, near Viqueque.

Several other passengers left the boat, which departed Dili on Saturday, as it hugged the East Timor shoreline between Dili and Beasso, he said.

He said the refugees, some of whom had been carrying flags belonging to East Timor’s independence movement, had been interrogated by local military after landing in Beasso.

East Timor police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto confirmed their capture.

Australia is currently considering whether to grant asylum to 18 East Timorese who sailed across the 400-mile (640-km) wide strait to Australia earlier this year.

It has ruled out granting political asylum to most of some 1,300 East Timorese who have arrived in Australia since August 1994. Some cases are still under review.
AI URGENT ACTION ON CAPTURED BOAT PEOPLE

UA 263/95 Arbitrary detention / Fear of torture
AI Index: ASA 21/58/95, 23 Nov. 1995

EAST TIMOR At least 20 unnamed East Timorese

A group of East Timorese, believed to include four women and nine children, detained as they were attempting to leave East Timor to seek asylum in Australia, are feared to be at risk of torture and ill-treatment in detention. The group have been reported as carrying East Timorese independence flags, an act which could increase the risk of ill-treatment.

At least 20 and maybe as many as 27 people, whose identities remain unknown, were arrested by security forces after being spotted by a naval boat near Viqueque on the night of 20 November 1995. They were reportedly attempting to travel by boat to northern Australia to seek asylum.

After being questioned by local military authorities in Viqueque, they are believed to have been transferred to the East Timorese capital, Dili, in a military vehicle. It is not known whether they are now being detained in military or police custody. East Timorese Police chief, Andreas Sugianto was reported on 22 November as confirming that the group had been arrested.

Amnesty International is concerned that the group appear to have been arbitrarily detained, apparently because they were attempting to leave East Timor and seek asylum.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

East Timorese suspected of opposing Indonesian rule are frequently subjected to torture and arbitrary detention. Since September, over 200 people have been arbitrarily detained after rioting broke out in Dili and other towns, most of whom were released without charge. Most of the detainees were released without charge, but many claimed to have been tortured or beaten while in detention.

In recent months, greater numbers of East Timorese have sought asylum mainly by entering foreign embassies in Jakarta. Another group of 18 is seeking asylum in Australia after travelling from East Timor by boat. The group claim to have suffered torture and political imprisonment in East Timor.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send
Please telephone or send telegrams/express/airmail letters in Bahasa Indonesia or English or your own language:

- urging the authorities to clarify the whereabouts and identities of those detained;
- urging the authorities to release the group unless they are to be charged with a recognisably criminal offence;
- seeking assurances that they are not being subjected to any form of torture or ill-treatment in detention;
- seeking assurances that they have full access to lawyers of their own choice and to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

APPEALS TO:

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

Maj. Gen. H A Rivai [Salutation: Dear Major-General]

Pangdam IX/Udayana

Markas Besar KODAM IX/Udayana

Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Telephone: +62 361 228 095

Telegram: Pangdam IX/Udayana, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO THE FOLLOWING:

SECRETARY GENERAL, NATIONAL COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS:

Prof. Dr. Baharuddin Lopa

 Sekretaris Jenderal, Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (KOMNAS HAM)

Jl. Pemuda No. 104

Arawamangun

Jakarta Timur, Indonesia

Please send appeals immediately. Please do not send appeals after 7 January 1995.

NAMES OF BOAT PEOPLE ARRESTED BY INDONESIAN MILITARY

From ETCHRRIET (East Timor Centre for Human Rights Information, Education and Training), 26 November 1995

Background: The situation in East Timor has been reported to be seriously deteriorating in recent months, since the appointment of Col. M. Simbolon as the head of the local Indonesian occupation forces. One of the consequences has been a spate of refugees fleeing the territory. Some 43 East Timorese youths have sought refuge in foreign embassies in Jakarta, more than one thousand have entered Australia as tourists, seeking refugee status after arrival. In May, 18 people, including a baby, arrived in the Australian city of Darwin, the closest foreign point to East Timor. Faced with the highly embarrassing publicity about the Jakarta foreign embassy refuge requests, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry claimed in November that “all East Timorese” are free to leave if they so desire.

Escape attempt: On 18 November at 19.00 hrs a boat called ‘Tasi Diak’ left Hera, near Dili, with a load of passengers who hired it claiming to wish to visit the nearby Indonesian island of Kisar to the east. Their intended destination was Australia. The group, including women and children, arrived in Kom, Lautem Regency on 19 November in the morning, where the boat docked. One crew member deserted. Some youth on the boat went to find him, and were threatened by the local population. The boat then left for Tutuala with three remaining crew members. Near Jaco island they came across a passenger ship, beached the ‘Tasi Diak’ as a security measure, and hid for some time. That evening, still at Tutuala, seven youths among the passengers fled into the bush. The remaining passengers continued their journey to Australia on the high sea.

After leaving East Timor waters late at night, they came across four ships which made red and yellow light signals to them. The ‘Tasi Diak’ was overflown by two helicopters, while a submarine approached making manoeuvres to hinder the boat’s further progress. Its skipper then changed course for the south coast of East Timor, claiming that fuel was running out. They reached the beach of Be Aco after a further nine hours, on Tuesday 21 November in the morning, where the crew went ashore to fetch fuel. Questioning of the crew members by the local military command led to the denunciation of the passengers motives, plus false accusations that they were carrying the anti-integrationist Fretilin flag, that the group included FALINTIL guerrillas, and resistance documents. The passengers were arrested and taken to the Viqueque military command (KODIM 1630) and subjected to intense questioning the remainder of the 21 November and the following night, during which time they were deprived of any food and drink. On 22 November, the detainees were taken to Baucau and then to Dili. Six youths and six children were taken in a military truck of the battalion 4610 (plate DF 5874). A group of married couples was taken in a Hino vehicle of the Viqueque military command KODIM 1630 (plate DF 3136).

List of detained: Due to security reasons it has been impossible to obtain a complete list with all personal details of the detained passengers of the ‘Tasi Diak’ boat. The following names have been provided by credible sources in East Timor:

1. Domingos Savio Correia (Tirilolo, Baucau)

2. Ivo Correia (brother of above)
JAKARTA ROW BREWS AS EAST TIMORESE WIN ASYLUM

The Australian, December 1 1995, By Maria Ceresa & Cameron Stewart

Comment: earlier articles in the Sydney Morning Herald pointed out that different members of Refugee Review Tribunal have taken different positions on the Portuguese nationality issue this year. So it might be that other members hearing later cases might take different positions.

Relations between Australia & Indonesia suffered a further setback yesterday when the Refugee Review Tribunal granted asylum to a family of 8 on the grounds that they would face grave danger of persecution if they returned.

Indonesia has previously warned that Australia should reject asylum claims from East Timorese because it says that they face no danger of persecution in East Timor and so do not qualify as refugees.

The Federal Government has attempted to sidestep a diplomatic row with Jakarta by advising the independent Refugee Review Tribunal that many East Timorese could not be granted asylum in Australia because they were Portuguese nationals and should seek protection from Portugal.

The tribunal accepted the Government’s argument but in this case ruled that because one family member - a 3 year old girl - was born in Jakarta not East Timor she had no automatic access to Portuguese nationality. Therefore to keep the family together, refugee status in Australia was granted to all eight members of the family.

The tribunal found that one of the family members had been at the Santa Cruz cemetery during the 1991 Dili massacre and the family’s action in harboring a 17 year old man placed it ‘in grave danger of political persecution in East Timor.’

But acceptance of the Government’s advice by the tribunal on the key question of nationality is likely to lead the tribunal to reject sanctuary in Australia for many of the 1350 East Timorese asylum seekers because under the international refugee convention they can seek protection from Portugal.

However the tribunal and the Federal Government argue that each of the 64 cases involving East Timorese yet to be reviewed will be considered on a case by case basis. A spokesman for the Minister of Immigration, Senator Bolkus, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans declined last night to comment on the ramifications of the tribunal’s decision.

The tribunal’s public acceptance of claims by the East Timorese that they would face persecution if they returned to East Timor will further strain diplomatic ties with Jakarta.

It comes only a day after the Government ordered an independent inquiry into the deaths of 6 Australian-based journalists in East Timor 20 years ago. The inquiry will examine recent claims by East Timorese living in Australia and in Portugal that Indonesian troops murdered the journalists - a claim denied by Jakarta.

The investigation, which has no specific terms of reference, will take private evidence between February and May next year from people claiming to have new evidence relating to the deaths in Balibo.

Although the Government had effectively avoided having a Senate or judicial inquiry forced by the Democrats, the decision to have an investigation is believed to be aimed at the East Timorese community and its supporters in Australia.

EAST TIMORESE TO FACE TRIAL OVER ESCAPE ATTEMPT

JAKARTA, Dec 1 (Reuters) - Indonesia will try three members of a group of 27 East Timorese who tried to flee the troubled territory for northern Australia by fishing boat last week, East Timor’s police chief said on Friday.

“The three men will be tried on charges of cheating and threats,” Colonel Andreas Sugianto said by telephone from Dili, capital of East Timor. He gave no other details.

According to Indonesian law, cheating and threats carry a maximum jail term of nine years.

The 27 East Timorese were captured on November 21 off the coast, 2,080 km (1,300 miles) east of Jakarta, after being spotted by a naval patrol vessel and two military aircraft.

Sugianto said the people, including women and children, rented the boat for a journey to West Timor but the three men forced the crew to change course for northern Australia.

“We have released 24 people but still are questioning the three who are accused of being the leaders,” Sugianto said.

The incident coincided with the departure of four East Timorese for asylum in Portugal. Forty-three East Timorese have sought refuge in foreign embassies in the past two months.

Australia is considering whether to grant asylum to 18 East Timorese who sailed across the 400-mile (640-km) strait earlier this year.

Canberra has ruled out granting political asylum to some 1,300 East Timorese who...
have arrived in Australia since August 1994. Some cases are still under review.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT ON BOAT ASYLUM-SEEKERS

From Embassy of Indonesia in Washington, Dec. 27.

Incident in East Timor

Introduction

Following is an official explanation of the Embassy of Indonesia in Washington, D.C. on the November 19, 1995 incident in which several East Timorese hijacked a boat and tried to force the crew to sail to Australia.

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In the morning of November 18, a group of East Timorese chartered a boat named “Tasi Diak” with the aim of going to the island of Keiser to perform a traditional ceremony. At approximately 9.00 in the evening, one of the passengers forced the crew of the boat not to anchor at KEISER but rather sail straight to Australia.

When the boat reached the island of Beno, it hit a reef, and two of the crew members, named Francisco Freitas (age :31 ) and Beri Almeida (age: 17) were able to flee the boat. Five of the passengers chased and tried to capture them. Nevertheless the two crew members were able to reach the nearest village and members of the community reported the incident to the local authorities. On November 19, the authorities were able to apprehend four of the five while one got away. At 9.30 p.m., local security officers were able to detain the boat and its passengers for further investigation as it docked to the nearest village. They were able to detain the boat and its passengers for further investigation as it docked to the nearest village.

The detention was based on the fact that they have taken hostage of the boat’s crew members and forced them to sail to Australia. This case is a purely criminal matter and is being processed in accordance with the prevailing laws of Indonesia. Sincerely,

Aleida M. Palenewen
Attaché, Press & Information

Comment from Constâncio Pinto

The explanation provided by the Indonesian embassy regarding the East Timorese boat people is purely fabricated by the Indonesian government to deceive the International community opinion.

It is unquestionable that those Timorese boat people were trying to escape to Australia because they were afraid of persecution and death threat perpetrated by the Indonesian army.

The Indonesian embassy argues that those people went to KISAR for a traditional ceremony. As a Timorese I would like to say that it was a pure lie. We never had any particular relationship with the people of KISAR. If we look at the names of the people who were arrested on the boat they came from different areas, from the East and the South of East Timor. They have no family ties whatsoever. How could it possible for such a heterogenic group to celebrate a traditional ceremony. In East Timor, traditional ceremony often celebrate within a community that shares the same tradition and belief.

TWO EAST TIMORESE WOMEN SEEK ASYLUM IN AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

CNRM Media Release, 11 January

On 10 January 1995, two young East Timorese women, Maria T. Sarmento and Odilia Victor entered the Australian Embassy in Jakarta to seek asylum. The sharp escalation of Indonesian military repression against East Timorese in the last few months, prompted the two women plus a friend, who was unable to make it into the embassy, to flee East Timor and seek security overseas. They initially had planned to enter the Australian Embassy last December, but conditions at the time made it impossible for them to carry out their plans. At that time they made a video taped interview for distribution overseas in which they refer, from personal experience, to the brutality of the Indonesian military occupation forces against the East Timorese population. This includes widespread torture and the common practice of rape of women.

Following is an abridged translation (from Bahasa Indonesia) of the personal data they provided in late November.

MARIA TRANSGURACAO DE JESUS (23):

Born 6 August 1972, resident of Vila Verde Dili. Daughter of Bernardo Carvalho and Ermelinda Jesus. High School graduate, working as an administration clerk. I lost my two older brothers when Indonesia invaded. My father was arrested and tortured for months, until he fled the prison. We then fled to Viqueque where we lived in 1976-77. We then fled to the bush, and were captured in 1979 and returned to Viqueque where we lived until 1984, then moving to Dili.

In 1983 I witnessed a horrifying incident. A Falintil guerrilla was captured by the Indonesian military (ABRI) and his head was cut off. It was exhibited in 4 villages, and then hung at a sports field. All villagers were forced to look at it and threatened to have their heads cut off if they opposed ABRI. The head was then burned in public, while blood still streamed out through the neck.

At 18 I joined a clandestine organisation, mainly involved in fundraising for the Falintil resistance. I worked in the preparation of a demonstration for the visit of a Portuguese Parliamentary delegation in 1991, and was at the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November. I saw ABRI murder people and rape women, many of which had to flee home naked.

Indonesian military behave like animals, not like people.

I signed a petition for the International Women’s Conference in Beijing in September 1995, and am still active in resistance work.

ODILIA VICTOR, 25:


I was 5 years of age at the time of the invasion. I remember troops parachuting and mortars shelling Dili. We did not flee as my older sister was pregnant.

In 1978 my father was arrested and accused of helping the Falintil. He was taken to the Tropical hotel where people were detained and tortured in many forms including with hot water. Our family fell upon hard times, we had no food or milk. One week after my father’s detention, ABRI members came and forced my older sisters to satisfy their sexual desires, as a way to get father released. One sister got pregnant as a result. Her son is now in Dili.

In 1979 father was freed, yet for several years our sister was forced to continue serving the Indonesian soldiers. Therefore I started hating the Indonesians. I joined the 12 November protests and helped make banners. I felt frightened that I may be subject to the same fate as my sisters. Yet I also felt a strong calling in my heart to fight for the freedom of East Timor.

When we entered Santa Cruz, ABRI started shooting at us. With some friends we were able to jump over the back fence and run away to safety. We heard from friends about the rapes and killings at the cemetery that followed.

I then joined OPMT (Organisation for the Timorese Woman), and raised funds for Falintil and assisted East Timorese youths in danger from the military.

Since the Ninja attacks of early 1995 the Indonesian military Intelligence (SGI) have my photograph, and I fear persecution. I hope to continue the struggle for our freedom.
TRANSCRIPT OF VIDEO INTERVIEW WITH THREE YOUNG EAST TIMORESE WOMEN SEEKING ASYLUM IN AUSTRALIA

(Video interviews conducted in Jakarta late November 1995. The women originally planned to enter the embassy in early December 1995, but this was impossible at the time). Two of the women (Maria Transfiguração Sarmento and Odilia Victor) have entered the Australian Embassy in Jakarta on 10 January 1996 seeking asylum in Australia. The other one was unable to make it into the embassy and is currently in hiding.

(First woman)
What brought us here to Jakarta was the fact that our lives and well-being are constantly under threat in East Timor due to our involvement in the clandestine front. They always follow us everywhere. If we go to church, they follow us to see if there’s a meeting of the resistance going on there. Particularly for women, life is unbearable in East Timor.

On 12 November 1991 I was one of the women who participated in the pro-independence demonstration. At the time, I was carrying a poster with Xanana’s picture on it. As I passed in front of the Kodim (district military command) headquarters, the soldiers called out to me to stop. They chased after me because I wouldn’t stop. They beat me. There were about six of them who attacked me with knives and weapons, after they had ripped the poster out of my hands. They shouted at me “you’re a bad girl” and stripped me of my clothes. I managed to run away and a friend of mine gave me a banner she was carrying to cover my body. Although I was covered with blood and wore only the banner on my body, I continued with the procession to the St Cruz cemetery. We reached the cemetery at about 8 am. Then the police and army arrived and started shooting. There were many victims.

We were rounded up, all of us women, inside the little shelter inside the cemetery. The soldiers fired some shots and cried out “Stay where you are! Don’t move!”. All of the women were ordered to close our eyes. We obeyed them. Then they ordered us to undress down to our underwear, and they began to touch and grope our bodies. I was only wearing the banner covered with my own blood. Some of the women were raped, but we managed to flee and to seek protection in the homes of the people in the surrounding area. They gave us clothes. Many of the women had been shot and were badly injured. They couldn’t run away, so they were raped by the soldiers ..........

(Maria)

A few of our women friends were raped in the little shelter in the cemetery that day. Over 15 of them died there, and others like us managed to flee, wearing only our underwear.

In 1975, we were only 5 years old, but already we had begun to learn the meaning of suffering.

(Maria)
The clandestine women’s organisation we’re involved in has the objective of assisting the resistance with money, clothing, medicine etc.

STATEMENT BY THE WOMEN IN AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

From CNRM, 12 January (abridged and edited translation of original)

To all governments respectful of human rights, to all non-government organisations defending human and women’s rights, to all women.

In the name of the women of East Timor we send this appeal to you and inform you of the violations of the human rights which have befallen us for the last 20 years.

We begin by thanking you deeply for your support for our appeal for a better future for the women of East Timor, and the right of self determination of our beloved East Timorese nation.

We state in all honesty that for the last 20 years since the 7 December 1975 invasion, the women of East Timor have endured suffering, oppression, torture, rape, and murder from the Indonesian military occupants. As is well known, in the last few months the situation has sharply deteriorated, causing many young East Timorese to flee their homeland and seek the protection of embassies of foreign countries in Jakarta.

The same applies to us. We are the first East Timorese women to come to a foreign embassy to seek protection from mental and physical intimidation. We also put forward a set of demands and appeal to all governments respectful of human rights, all non-government organisations, women’s organisations, and women in particular, that the time has come to defend the value the dignity, status, and honour of the women of East Timor, and defend the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

For the last 20 years thousands of East Timorese women have lost fathers, husbands, brothers and their beloved children, who have died as martyrs for the defence of their homeland in the face of the brutality of the Indonesian military.

Many East Timorese women are raped in their homes, on the street, in prisons, in the villages and in the bush.

Many East Timorese women are used held to ransom to get the men to surrender their struggle.

Many East Timorese women are forced to become pregnant by the occupiers. Many East Timorese women are made to give birth to children whose father is uncertain. Many East Timorese women have been forced into prostitution after being forced to lose their virginity. Many East Timorese mothers are forced to helplessly witness the rape of their daughters. Many East Timorese women hear powerlessly about the arrests, torture, and murder of their beloved fathers, husbands, and children.

In our national resistance movement women have an important involvement side by side with the men. We are deeply involved because we are certain that we shall win.

We ask all governments who respect human rights, non government organisations and women in the world to condemn the invasion of East Timor by the dictatoral regime of Indonesia, and issue the following demands:

1. That a United Nations organised referendum is held in East Timor.
2. The withdrawal of all Indonesian military troops and their equipment from East Timor.
3. The sending of an international peace keeping force to the territory.
4. Freedom for all East Timorese political prisoners since 1975, and the highest Leader of the East Timorese Resistance Xanana Gusmão, so that inter Timorese meetings may acquire a true relevance.
5. Respect for the Catholic Church of East Timor.

We ask for pressure the Australian Government to accept our request for political asylum.

We write this letter for publication throughout the world. The human rights violations taking place in East Timor should be internationally condemned.

We ask all governments respectful of human rights, all non-government organisations defending human and women’s rights, and all women of the world to forward this letter to all people who are concerned about human rights violations taking place in East Timor, and support the right of self determination of the East Timorese people.

Our struggle will continue on all fronts. Long live the women of East Timor Long Live East Timor.

Signed by Maria Transfiguração Sarmento and Odilia Victor.

20 December 1995

AUSTRALIA TO STUDY EAST TIMORESE WOMEN’S DEMAND, MINISTER

ANTARA, Via Indonesian Embassy in US, 11 January.

Canberra - Australian Foreign Minister Ad-interim Senator Bob McMullan on Thursday here said his government would study the demand of the two East Timorese women to live in Australia.

In his brief statement to the press, he said that the two women’s demand to live in Australia would be handled properly in line with the Australian laws.

McMullan is also Australia’s Minister for Trade.

The two East Timorese women, identified as Maria Guracho Sarmento (23) and Odilia Victor (25), both residents of Dili, entered the Australian embassy in Jakarta at about lunch time on Wednesday “seeking for political asylum.”

In the “The Australian” newspaper here on Thursday, it said that the incident is putting the country in an “awkward position” since the Keating administration is presently processing the other cases of the East Timorese who will be sent to Portugal.

ASYLUM FOR TIMORESE UNLIKELY

The Australian, Jan 12, 1996. By Don Greenlees

The Australian Government is almost certain to reject an application for asylum by two East Timorese women who have taken refuge in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta but may still consider granting them refugee status.

Embassy officials have raised the cases with the ICRC which has helped settle the fate of other East Timorese who entered embassies in Jakarta in recent months. Despite pleas from federal MPs and East Timorese activists yesterday to grant the women asylum, senior government sources suggested that such an outcome was improbable. Although Australia has a large humanitarian refugee program, asylum has only been granted on three occasions (to Russian defectors Vladimir & Evodkia Petrov in 1954 and ballerina Heidi Gerche in 1980).

If the East Timorese women were to gain entry to Australia, it would more likely be as refugees. However Australia maintains that other would-be East Timorese refugees are eligible for Portuguese nationality and therefore may not be accepted by Australia.

In Darwin, Mr José Gusmão, spokesman for CNRM, argued that Maria Sarmento and Odilia Victor would be at risk if they were forced to return to their homes in Dili. He said that Ms Sarmento had been wounded in the leg during the 1991 Dili massacre and both women had since been subject to harassment by Indonesian troops. But he acknowledged that their action was also designed to highlight the ‘hypocrisy’ of the Australian Govt’s recognition of Indonesia’s sovereignty over East Timor and to capture public attention in Australia.

Ms Sarmento & Ms Odila have remained inside the embassy since they entered the building shortly after 11am on Wednesday. Government officials confirmed that the women stayed overnight on Wednesday in the company of a female embassy officer.

ASYLUM SEEKERS FLEE A CONSTANT THREAT OF RAPE

Sydney Morning Herald, Jan 12 1996 - summarized. By Tony Wright, political correspondent

Australian Democrat’s spokesman, Senator Sid Spindler, said that Australia should grant asylum to show the world that it had not forsaken human rights principles. It is understood that the two women have sought asylum because women in East Timor live under constant threat of rape.

Opposition spokesman, Mr Alexander Downer, said the women should be processed as other asylum seekers are. This has already been promised by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator McMullan.

Indonesia’s Ambassador at Large on East Timorese issues, Mr Lopes da Cruz, said the asylum seekers were free to go wherever they wished.

TWO TIMORESE WOMEN MISTREATED BY AUSTRALIA

East Timor Relief Association (AUSTRALIA) media release, 22 January 1996

Bernard Collaery, General Legal Counsel to the East Timor Relief Association said today that an investigation into the treatment of the Australian Government of two East Timorese women asylum seekers who entered the Australian Embassy at Jakarta on January 10, 1996 was continuing.

“On January 11 January 1996 Acting Foreign Minister, Senator Bob McMullan said that the women had not sought political asylum in Australia and were going voluntarily to Portugal. Enquiries of the women in Lisbon indicate that both women asked for political asylum in Australia (using the words suaka politik in Bahasa Indonesia). Instead they were denied food and proper treatment and at one stage were treatment and at one stage were forced to drink water from the toilet in the Embassy to cope with hunger. They were not given food for close to 24 hours. Embassy officials attempted to get them to leave the compound by a variety of ruses. Finally, the Australian Government called upon the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to sponsor the women’s move to Lisbon. Enquiries indicate that neither the Portuguese Government which agreed to accept the women nor the ICRC were told the women had specifically sought asylum in Australia.

Mr. Collaery said Australia has either sponsored or joined in the making of numerous international agreements dealing with the rules of international law on asylum.

“The legal principles to which Australia adheres in conference are entirely different from those which it applies in practice. There has long been a tradition highly developed in some areas of the world, such as in Latin America, where the grant of asylum by one state does not imply an unfriendly act to another. Successive Australian Governments have shown a gutless approach on this issue. For many years countries such as Austria, Italy, Canada, United States, Sweden and Norway maintained effective trade and diplomatic relations with countries from where asylum seekers had fled. Australia’s pride in it’s treatment of asylum seekers is misplaced. It has a miserable and hypocritical approach to those who truly seek asylum.

Two young women anxious to protect themselves and to speak of the plight, particularly of women in East Timor, where rape, torture, infant mortality and other human rights abuses deserve condemnation, were treated like a nuisance. We call for a full and independent inquiry into the treatment of Maria Sarmento and Odilia Victor.

We also seek an immediate response from the International Committee of the Red Cross as to Senator McMullan’s claim that the women had not first asked to go to Australia.

Editor’s note:

Benard Collaery acted as Chairman of the Federal Government’s Refugee Determining body in the 1980’s. In 1983 he completed a documentary examination of Australia’s asylum practices, the report of which was classified secret and never released. He was A.C.T. Attorney General 1989/91. A handwritten statement by the women in Tetum and translation is attached.

SUPPORT GROUP CLAIMS WOMEN ILL-TREATED AT AUST EMBASSY

CANBERRA, Jan 23 AAP - Two East Timorese women seeking asylum at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta were forced
to drink from a toilet to quench their thirst and stop hunger pains, an East Timorese support group has claimed.

East Timor Relief Association general counsel Bernard Collaery also claimed Australian officials had not informed the Portuguese government or the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) that the women had sought asylum in Australia.

He told ABC’s AM program today that the women had used the precise words needed to claim political asylum and were left in great anxiety and doubt for 24 hours.

“They state that they received no food for close to 24 hours. They took water from the embassy toilet to drink to allay their hunger pains and they were left in a circumstance that doesn’t give any credit to an Australian Embassy,” he said.

He understood embassy officials had offered to feed the women outside the embassy.

“They were invited to go downtown as it were. They were invited to go back to East Timor with an official,” he said.

“Clearly the embassy attempted by a variety of means to get the women to leave the embassy compound. This is a gutless, hypocritical approach to a protection request.” He called for an independent inquiry into the treatment of the women, Maria Sarmento and Odilia Victor during their time at the embassy a fortnight ago.

But the ICRC said today it had been informed of the asylum request and that the women had been told, and had accepted, that a faster way to leave Indonesia was to go to Portugal.

And the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade has denied the women were ill-treated.

In a statement issued by the East Timor Relief Association the women are quoted as saying they went almost a day before being given food.

“When we asked where can we get water to drink, they told us to drink from the toilet,” the statement says.

“The embassy staff at no time threatened nor had any intention of evicting the women from the embassy.”

He said the women had entered the embassy “seeking protection and asylum.”

“Australia was mentioned and they were then allowed to stay in embassy premises while resolution of situation was reached.” They had been advised of their options and embassy staff had discussed the situation with the ICRC and other relevant bodies including the Portuguese government. The Indonesian government had also been kept informed.

“During their discussions with the embassy the women volunteered their preparedness to go to Portugal. They weren’t forced or coerced into choosing Portugal,” the spokesman said.

It is understood that no East Timorese who have sought asylum at Australian and other embassies in Indonesia have been granted political asylum.

ICRC head in Indonesia, Henri Fournier, confirmed today the Red Cross had been alerted about the women who had seemed happy to travel to Portugal.

“I believe that these two women were at the time very happy to go to Portugal,” Mr Fournier told ABC’s AM program.

“They in fact signed a letter acknowledging they were voluntarily leaving the embassy for Portugal under the auspices of the Red Cross.”

He said he could not answer for officials at the embassy on the issue of whether the women had received adequate food and drinking water.

“But as far as I am concerned I would say that I am pretty much shocked at this kind of statement. I don’t want to elaborate I am just telling you that I am shocked by this statement,” he said. He said like many other governments concerned with the issue of asylum seekers, Australia had dealt properly with the issue.

25 ARRESTED ON BOAT TO AUSTRALIA

translated, edited

Lisbon, Jan 23 (LUSA) - The Indonesian authorities detained Saturday 25 Timorese youths, preventing their escape by boat to Australia, Adalberto Alves, of the Timorese resistance in Portugal, told LUSA today.

Citing resistance sources, Alves said some of the youths are detained in Baucau, although most of them were taken to Dili by helicopter for interrogation.

The youths range from 15 to 21 in age, and include five girls. The 25 left Baucau on the 19th and were detained by the coast patrol the next day.

Alves stated that the youths used suborn of a boat guard of the Baucau District Military Command to obtain the boat, which they claimed was for a trip to a nearby island.

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION

SHARPLY DETERIORATING

ET HR Centre Urgent action appeal No. 4, Jan 27, 1996

1. Arrest by Indonesian military of 25 East Timorese youths attempting to flee by boat to Australia.

Background: A sharply deteriorating human rights situation has been noticeable in recent months in the territory of East Timor, under illegal Indonesian military occupation. Increased military harassment of the urban civilian population, particularly young people suspected of clandestine anti-Indonesian activities has prompted large numbers of youths to seek to flee the territory by any means. Many have gone to Jakarta, where over 50 have entered foreign diplomatic missions to seek asylum. They have left for Portugal under ICRC auspices. Others have attempted to flee by sea to the nearby Australian city of Darwin. Two such attempts are publicly known to have taken place in recent months. In May a group of 18 people was successful, while in November 25 people failed in their attempts, and were seized by the Indonesian military, and subjected to severe mistreatment. Meanwhile, both Indonesian President Suharto and his Foreign Minister Alatas, faced with the embarrassment of the flight of East Timorese from the annexed territory, have made public claims that all East Timorese are free to leave if they so desire, even suggesting their departure is welcome if they are unhappy under Indonesian rule.

At the same time, harassment of East Timorese villages by the large numbers of military in the territory continues, as two reports illustrate.

Baucau boat flight

The latest group to be known to have attempted to flee East Timor consists of twenty five mostly very young high school youths (aged 15 to 21 years), including women, who had left Baucau on Friday 19 January in a fishing boat. They were intercepted by members of the Indonesian Armed Forces at Tutuala East Timor on 20 January while attempting to travel from Baucau to Darwin in Australia.

According to an eyewitness report, the detained were taken to Dili by Indonesian military from Lospalos at 14.00 hrs on Monday 22 January. They were tied up and showed signs of torture.

A name list of the detained follows:

1. Zeferino do Rosario de Sa, student, from Dei-U, Baucau
3. José da Costa Belo, 17, student, Laga
4. Januario A. Soares, former student, Dei-Uake, Baucau
5. Filomeno da Costa, student, Dei-Uake, Baucau
7. Saturnino Gama, 17, student, Laga.
10. Simao Ribeiro, Central Baucau.
11. Alito da Silva, Buruma / Baucau.
13. José Agusto de Carvalho, student, Bahu Baucau.
17. Tome Aparicio Gama, 22, student, Laga.
19. Marcos da Silva (ship’s captain), Buruma/Baucau.
22. Maria Teresa Ximenes, Uai-Lili Fatumaca / Baucau.
24. Isaura Belo, student, Uai-Lili / Fatumaca / Baucau.
25. Maria Evangelina, student, Canossian Sisters College, Baucau.

East Timorese Clandestine Resistance sources reported the following incidents at Leguidoe:
A) Capture and detention on 16 January 96 of Domingos de Jesus Xavier, 20; Juliana Pereira, 40; Martinha Pereira, 17; all from Leubuto/ Berleu in Leguidoe, Aileu.

The three have been accused of harbouring and hiding Falintil resistance guerrillas at their homes. They are reported to have been severely tortured and beaten by a Policeman named Afonso, and the local military head there. The two women are furthermore reported to have been raped by the two officials. The three were still in detention by 22 January, the date of the report.
B) In the Fatrui Lau and Berleu hamlets in Leguidoe, every night newly arrived Indonesian military force their way into the houses of the local population for inspections. This has been taking place since 15 January, when some 50 Indonesians arrived and set up camp at a location called Hatumera, close to the local Church and food gardens of the people, who are put under great stress by these actions.

Action requested:
Based on past experience of the brutal treatment given to people embarrassing the Indonesian authorities by attempting to flee East Timor, there is every reason to fear for the safety of the 25 youths attempting to escape by boat.

Similarly, the three people detained at Leguidoe can be expected to be subjected to continuing mistreatment.

The East Timor Human Rights Centre requests all recipients of this appeal to urgently make any appropriate representations to Indonesian authorities to ensure that these victims of the Indonesian military are not harmed further, are immediately released, and that no reprisals are subsequently taken against themselves or their families.

TOMIR ARRESTS: ALATAS SLAMMED

Northern Territory News, 25th Jan 96. By Geraldine Green

East Timorese activists yesterday accused Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas of hypocrisy following the arrest of 25 East Timorese who tried to leave the territory.

Darwin-based Australians for a Free East Timor president, Rob Wesley-Smith made the comments following the arrests by Indonesian authorities to ensure that these victims of the Indonesian military are not harmed further, are immediately released, and that no reprisals are subsequently taken against themselves or their families.

Arsres:
Mr Wesley-Smith said the arrests flew in the face of talks, under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, between Mr Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart in London about two weeks ago.

He said Mr Alatas had said “East Timorese people are free to go if they don’t want to stay.”

Mr Wesley-Smith said: “But the Indonesian military continues its arrests of those that do try to leave.”

“Mr Alatas must realise that Suharto has no influence on the military in East Timor,” Mr Wesley-Smith said he believed there was no other alternative but to send United Nations peacekeepers to the territory immediately.

“Far from the positive aura of the London talks, the situation has never been worse,” he said.

TO POLAND

12 EAST TIMORESE IN POLISH EMBASSY
translated, edited

JAKARTA, Jan 25 (LUSA) - Twelve East Timorese youths entered the Polish embassy in Jakarta at noon time today, having climbed a tree and jumped over the embassy walls at a time when a single security guard was at the gate.

Polish diplomat Jacek Grabowski said the twelve were interviewed and all of them requested political asylum, however he refused to say how the matter is to be dealt with.

JAKARTA, Jan 26 (LUSA) - The Polish embassy in Jakarta today contacted the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), concerning the 12 East Timorese youths who entered the embassy Thursday, spokesperson Jacek Grabowski announced.

Grabowski said the ICRC was in indirect contact with Lisbon concerning the condition of the 12.

Grabowski said the twelve presented a written request for asylum in Poland, but he revealed nothing more.

Grabowski said the youths spent the night in the embassy’s reception room and were provided food and drink. “They are all right,” he said.

Several military trucks were seen at dawn today in the streets near to the Polish embassy.

12 TIMORESE SEEK ASYLUM AT POLISH EMBASSY

The New Zealand Herald, 26 January 1996

JAKARTA, Reuter - Twelve East Timorese youths scaled a fence at the Polish Embassy in Jakarta yesterday, diplomats and witnesses said.

“They were polite and well-behaved and asked for asylum,” one diplomat said.

The youths scaled the two metre-high fence of the embassy on a busy street in central Jakarta at about noon local time.

At least 50 East Timorese have in recent months secured passage to Portugal after seeking refuge in foreign embassies.

The last batch, five Timorese who sought sanctuary inside the New Zealand Embassy on January 15, arrived in Portugal two days later under the auspices of the International Committee for the Red Cross.
**YET MORE POLITICAL ASYLUM SEEKERS IN JAKARTA**

Diario de Noticias, 26 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

**POLISH EMBASSY OCCUPIED BY GROUP OF TIMORESE**

The Polish Embassy in Jakarta was the place chosen for yet another “invasion” by a group of Timorese seeking political asylum. An Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesperson described the scenario as having become “routine and bothersome.”

Twelve Timorese took refuge yesterday in the Polish Embassy after jumping over the walls of the diplomatic mission.

Until now, the Polish Embassy’s staff have refused to give any information about what the Timorese have asked for.

Lately, many Timorese who feel they are in danger from the Indonesian authorities and want to leave the country have resorted to entering embassies in Jakarta.

The previous “invasion” took place on 12 January, when five Timorese entered the New Zealand Embassy. A further ten were arrested by the police when they tried to do the same at the Japanese Embassy.

In all the cases, the refugees were refused political asylum by the countries whose embassies they occupied, but they agreed to be taken in by Portugal, with the mediation of the ICRC.

Portugal is still considered by the UN as administering power of East Timor, a non-autonomous territory, occupied militarily by Indonesia since 1975. Given that Portugal is administering power, the Timorese may choose to have Portuguese citizenship...

Polish diplomat Jacek Grabowski said that the young Timorese were all interviewed and all requested political asylum. He refused, however, to give further details.

Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesperson, Ghaffar Fadyl, said that this was “yet another attempt to give Indonesia a bad image in the eyes of the international community. ...”

Attempts to leave East Timor take on many forms: a group of 23 Timorese, captured last week by the Indonesian authorities, are being interrogated by local police. They were caught after allegedly trying to escape by forcing a captain of a boat to take them to Australia.

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**TWELVE TIMORESE LEAVE POLISH EMBASSY FOR EXILE IN PORTUGAL**

1/29/96, [abridged]

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuter) - Twelve East Timor youths, who jumped into Jakarta’s Polish embassy last week left for asylum Monday in Portugal, hours after four more sought refuge in the French embassy, witnesses said.

The 12 who entered the Polish embassy last Thursday by jumping the fence were due to leave for Portugal via Amsterdam Monday under the auspices of the Swiss-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

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**TWELVE OF POLISH EMBASSY ARRIVE IN LISBON**

translated, abridged, edited

LISBON, Jan 30 (LUSA) - Antonio Soares, spokesperson for the group of twelve who sought refuge in the Polish embassy and arrived in Lisbon today denied the statement by the Indonesian foreign minister that the Timorese may leave who want to leave Indonesia. “It is a lie of the Indonesian government. They had said that before, but when you want to leave they don’t give you permission,” he said.

Speaking to the journalist upon their arrival, Antonio Soares clarified that the twelve did not leave East Timor together, and only joined in Jakarta to plan their entry in the Polish embassy. “One group left Timor in December, another two groups left in January, then we were in hiding in Jakarta and we only met to plan the entry in the embassy,” he said. He reported they well treated at the embassy, where they stayed from January 25 through 29.

In East Timor they could have been arrested just from having a meeting. The entry in the embassy was intended to “tell the world” of what is going on in East Timor, said Soares. Their action was not organized by the resistance, he emphasized, because “the people don’t need to receive orders from the resistance, everyone fights.” Luis Cardoso, of the Timorese resistance in Portugal stated that “the resistance is the entire people of East Timor.”

The youngest in the group is 16 and the oldest, Antonio Soares, is 37, and he speaks fluent Portuguese, contrary to the large majority of the Timorese who have arrived in Portugal. “In Timor we still speak Portuguese among us,” he said.

Antonio Soares misses his wife and five children. The oldest of his children is 15, the youngest is 6. He is hopeful that the Timorese problem will be resolved some day.

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**MARTINHO PEREIRA ARRESTED AND RELEASED**

**EAST TIMORESE SOCIAL WORKER’S ARREST AND DISAPPEARANCE**

Urgent Action from ETCHRIET (East Timor Centre for Human Rights, Information, Education, Training), 6 December 1995

**BACKGROUND:**

On Monday 4 December, at approximately 11.00 am, East Timorese social worker Mr Martinho Pereira (38) was arrested by Indonesian military intelligence operatives at the wharf in Surabaya, after arriving from Dili, East Timor. Pereira was on his return to Jakarta, where he resides with his wife and some of his 10 children, after a private visit to East Timor.

The arrest was witnessed by fellow travellers as they were disembarking from their passport ship. The persons who reported the incident had been within 1 metre from Pereira at the time he was approached by several unidentified, military-like men, and taken to an office at the wharf. Neither his wife nor any one else close to him have had any information about Pereira’s whereabouts since his arrest.

Martinho Pereira was born on 12 November 1957. During the years 1975-1978 he was active in the mountains of East Timor with the Resistance to the Territory’s illegal occupation by Indonesia. He was first arrested in Dili in 1983, and sentenced in 1984 to 4 years in jail for anti-integration activities. He served his sentence in Cipinang prison, Jakarta, until 1987.

In the last two days, since Martinho Pereira’s arrest and disappearance, several other East Timorese in Jakarta have reported unusual activities in their immediate surroundings. They have received strange telephone calls, and are aware of visits to their neighbours by intelligence operatives, seeking information on themselves. This has been distressing for these young people, who are staying away from their homes and families to protect themselves from abduction by Indonesian security personnel.

**ACTION REQUESTED:**

We request human rights organisations to undertake all appropriate actions so as to clarify the whereabouts of Martinho Pereira,
and protect him from the mistreatment by Indonesian military that can be expected based on past experience. He should be immediately released, or proper charges laid in accordance to due legal process.

**AI URGENT ACTION FOR MARTINHO PEREIRA ET. AL.**

**AI Index: ASA 21/64/95**

**EXTRA 157/95 Arbitrary detention / Fear of torture / Fear for safety**

7 December 1995

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR Martinho Pereira and 12 others in East Timor

Up to 20 protesters at the French and Thai Embassies in Jakarta

In separate incidents over recent days, some 30 individuals associated with East Timor are reported to have been taken into custody by the Indonesian authorities. Given that opponents of Indonesian rule in East Timor and those seeking to publicise the human rights situation there are at risk of torture, there is serious concern for the safety of all those in detention.

On Monday 4 December, former political prisoner Martinho Pereira, who is East Timorese, was arrested by military personnel on his way to Jakarta, after arriving in Surabaya, East Java, by boat. He was returning from a visit to Dili, East Timor's capital. His exact whereabouts are unclear; his family have not been allowed to visit him; and he is not known to have had access to a lawyer. Amnesty International is gravely concerned that he may be tortured or ill-treated in an attempt to force him to disclose details of his activities.

Twelve other East Timorese are also reported to have been arrested in connection with the visit to East Timor by the United Nations (UN) High Commissioner for Human Rights. No further details are available on the 12, but Amnesty International is concerned for their safety, in view of the fact that those who seek to draw international attention to the situation in East Timor are frequently at risk of arbitrary arrest - and in many cases torture - for engaging in wholly peaceful actions. Activities such as the dissemination of human rights information are seen by the authorities as seeking to tarnish Indonesia's image abroad and are not tolerated by the authorities.

Amnesty International is also concerned for the safety of about 19 individuals, arrested as they were protesting outside the French Embassy in Jakarta and currently being held in police custody. One other person is believed to have been arrested by the military outside the Thai Embassy. In gatherings coinciding with the protests at the French embassy, some 58 and 47 others also remain at the Dutch and Russian embassies respectively. It is believed they are seeking a meeting with Indonesian government representatives, as well as the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights, who until late 7 December was in Indonesia. None of the groups is seeking asylum. Amnesty International fears that when they eventually leave the embassies, they may be subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention - and hence be at risk of torture or ill-treatment - for exercising their right to freedom expression and association as guaranteed under international human rights standards and Indonesia's constitution.

**BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Since 1975, when Indonesian forces invaded East Timor, Amnesty International has continued to document serious human rights violations by Indonesian security forces in the territory, including imprisonment, torture and ill-treatment, "disappearance" and extrajudicial execution. These violations have been directed mainly against opponents of Indonesian rule. Although the organization does not take a position on East Timor's political status, it believes that any political solution or discussion must be informed by a full understanding of the human rights situation in the territory. The organization further believes that those engaging in peaceful acts of opposition to Indonesian rule should be able to do so in an atmosphere free from the threat of intimidation and arrest.

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

- urging the authorities to clarify the whereabouts of Martinho Pereira and the 12 other East Timorese;
- urging the authorities to clarify the current situation of the 19 arrested at the French embassy in Jakarta;
- seeking assurances that all those detained are being treated humanely in accordance with international standards; that they are being given access to lawyers of their choice; that their relatives are informed of their whereabouts; and that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is allowed regular unrestricted access to their place of detention;
- requesting that, unless they are charged with recognizably criminal offences, they be immediately released;
- seeking assurances that no one will be subjected to arrest simply for engaging in peaceful opposition activities to Indonesian rule in East Timor.

**APPEALS TO:**

CHIEF OF NATIONAL POLICE: Maj. Gen. (Pol.) Banurusman Atmosumitro Kapoli
Markas Besar Kepolisian RI
Jl. Trunojoyo 13
Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia

Telegrams: National Police Chief, Jakarta, Indonesia

Salutation: Dear Major General

COMMANDER OF THE ARMED FORCES (ABRI)
General Feisal Tanjung
Panglima ABRI
Markas Besar ABRI
Jl. Medan Merdeka Barat No 13
Jakarta Timur, Indonesia

Telegrams: Commander Armed Forces, General Tanjung, Jakarta, Indonesia

Salutation: Dear General

**COPIES TO:**

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Ali Alatas S.H.
Menteri Luar Negeri
Jl. Medan Taman Pejambon No.6
Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: +62 21 345 0517/360 517
and to diplomatic representatives of Indonesia accredited to your country.

PLEASE SEND APPEALS IMMEDIATELY. Check with the International Secretariat, or your section office, if sending appeals after 10 January 1996.

**OMCT/SOS - CONCERN FOR MARTINHO PEREIRA**

OMCT: Indonesia 7 December 1995. Case IDN/TMP 071295

The International Secretariat of OMCT/SOS Torture requests your URGENT intervention in the following situation in Indonesia and East Timor

Brief description of the situation:

Antenna International, a member of our network, has expressed its grave concern for physical and psychological integrity following the presumed arrest of Mr Martinho Pereira.

On Monday 4 December, at approximately 11.00 am, East Timorese social worker Mr Martinho Pereira (38) was arrested by Indonesian military intelligence operatives on the wharf in Surabaya, after arriving from Dili, East Timor. Mr Pereira was returning to Jakarta, where he lives with his wife and children, after a private visit to East Timor.

The arrest was witnessed by fellow travellers as they were disembarking from the ship.

According to witnesses, Mr Martinho Pereira was approached by several unidentified men (believed to be members of Indone-
sian Military Intelligence) and taken to an office on the wharf. Since this event there has been no further information on his whereabouts.

Martinho Pereira was born on 12 November 1957. During the years 1975-1978 he was active in the mountains of East Timor with the Resistance to the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia. He was first arrested in Dili in 1983, and sentenced in 1984 to 4 years in jail for anti-integration activities. He served his sentence in Cipinang prison, Jakarta, until 1987. In the last two days, since Martinho Pereira’s disappearance, several other East Timorese in Jakarta have reported unusual activities in their immediate surroundings. They have received strange telephone calls, and are aware of visits to their neighbours by intelligence operatives, apparently requesting information on these people.

This climate of fear has forced many of these people to go into hiding to protect themselves from abduction by Indonesian security personnel.

The conditions of the disappearance of Mr Martin Perrier raise grave concerns for his personal safety.

Action requested:

Please contact the Indonesian authorities urging them to:

i. Immediately ascertain the whereabouts of Mr Martinho Pereira and take appropriate measures to guarantee his physical and psychological integrity;

ii. Immediately release Mr Martinho Pereira in the absence of valid legal charges. If such charges exist bring him before a competent and public civilian tribunal and guarantee his procedural rights at all times;

iii. Ensure a full, impartial and exhaustive enquiry into the facts concerning the arrest and disappearance of Mr Martin Pereira, identify those responsible, bring them to trial and apply the penal, civil and/or administrative sanctions provided by law;

iv. Ensure in all circumstances respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with national laws and international standards.

Geneva, 07 December 1995

Kindly inform us of any action taken quoting the exact number of this appeal in your reply.

Ben Schonveld, Programme Officer OMCT/SOS-Torture
Case Postale 119
Rue de Vermont 37-39
CH-1211, Geneva
Tel:4122 733 3140 Fax:4122 733 1051

**ETCHRIET URGENT ACTION: SURABAYA ARRESTS**

**N.:03/95 15 Dec. 95**

**Martinho Pereira and 32 East Timorese and held by East Java military**

According to an Antara newsgagency report quoted by Reuters today, the Indonesian military in East Java arrested a group of 32 people comprised of East Timorese (26) and Indonesians (6), who had taken part in the recent protests at the Dutch and Russian Embassies in Jakarta. East Java Military Commander Army Major General Imam Utoyo also confirmed the arrest at the Surabaya wharf on 4 December of Martinho Pereira (38) by military authorities.

Major General Utoyo accused Martinho Pereira (MP) of being the ‘brains’ behind the embassy demonstrations, adding that his arrest was a preventive measure. The security apparatus had also tried to arrest anti-integrationist East Timorese students that had travelled on the same ship as MP to participate in the Jakarta actions. Various roadblocks on the Easy Java/Central Java border proved unsuccessful to stop them as they travelled by rail, the Commander added.

The commander’s statement presents MP as an active anti-integrationist Resistance member, experienced in mobilising East Timor anti-integration youth protesters. The Intelligence Assistant for the East Java Command, Col. Riswan, added that military intelligence questioning had confirmed police findings that the actions were sponsored from abroad and an Indonesian solidarity group.

From past experience it can be inferred that such accusations would have exposed the detainee to harsh treatment.

Credible sources have assured ETCHRRIET that Martinho Pereira was not in any way involved in the organisation of the demonstrations, even if he may have considered participating in them. Further more, his detention did in no way impede the demonstrations from taking place. He is being unjustly victimised by the Indonesian military authorities.

ETCHRIET appeals for all appropriate actions to be taken to protect the well being of Martinho Pereira and of the other 32 detained by the Indonesian military, and secure their rapid release. We hope to be able to provide further information regarding detention locations tomorrow.

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**FAMILY PLEADS FOR MARTINHO PEREIRA**

**This document was posted in Bahasa Indonesia on 17 December. Translated by TAPOL**

Carla S. Alberto Pereira, the oldest son of Martinho Rodrigues Pereira, the social worker who was arrested by the army in Surabaya on 4 December, has made a plea for help to the National Commission for Human Rights.

The letter, dated 14 December, states that Martinho left Jakarta for East Timor on 3 November to pay a visit to relatives. He left Dili for home on 2 December by ship, aboard the Dobon Solo. According to an eye-witness, he was arrested at 11 am by army officers when the ship docked at Tanjung Perak harbour. He was taken from the ship and did not return when the ship set sail to continue the voyage to Jakarta. He was expected to arrive back in Jakarta on 5 December but the family have heard nothing about his whereabouts since the time of his arrest.

The Pereira family appeals to the National Commission for help in settling this matter. Martinho heads a family of eight children and is responsible for the livelihood of his wife and children. His presence with the family is essential. The Commission is urgently requested to ascertain the whereabouts of Martinho Pereira so as to enable the family to visit him. The Commission is asked to ensure that he is treated in accordance with the laws in force.

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**AI UPDATE ON SURABAYA AND EMBASSY ARRESTS**

**AI EX157/95 INDONESIA Arrests**

**AI Index: ASA 21/67/95, 19 December 1995**

Further information on EXTRA 157/95 (ASA 21/64/95, 7 December 1995) and follow-up (ASA 21/65/95, 8 December) - Arbitrary detention / Fear of torture / Fear for safety

**INDONESIA / EAST TIMOR**

Martinho Pereira and 12 other East Timorese

32 protestors at the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta at least four protestors at French and Thai Embassies

and new names: Petrus Haryanto

Budiman

Arbitrary arrests of those involved in the embassy protests in Jakarta are continuing. Amnesty International fears that anyone
detained is at risk of torture and ill-treatment.

On 15 December, the military announced that Martinho Pereira had been arrested in Surabaya on 4 December, as the alleged “ring-leader” of the embassy demonstrations. Amnesty International is seriously concerned that he has not been granted access to independent lawyers and that he should have immediate access to representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). There is no further information on the whereabouts of the 12 other East Timorese arrested in connection with the visit to East Timor by the United Nations (UN) High Commissioner for Human Rights.

On 7 December, a pro-Indonesian demonstration - largely thought to have been organized with the connivance of the authorities - entered the Dutch embassy and attacked pro-independence demonstrators and embassy staff. On 9 December, the pro-independence protestors were forced to leave in the custody of police who entered the embassy compound. Prior to departing from the embassy, however, East Timorese protestors stated that they had requested asylum from the Dutch Government. The latter has since stated in Dutch parliament that it could not consider the claim, because the security situation in the embassy was imperative and should take precedence. The pro-independence protestors were taken to Jakarta Police Headquarters where they were questioned before being released after 24 hours. However, the whereabouts of around 20 of those believed to have left the police station in a bus, was not clear.

On 15 December, East Java Regional Military Commander, Major-General Imam Utomo, announced that 32 of the protestors in the Dutch Embassy had been rearrested in Surabaya and were being questioned. However, the whereabouts and identities of the 32 remain unclear.

The protestors in the Russian Embassy - who had been forced to leave the embassy on 8 December - were reportedly held in police custody for 24 hours before being released. Amnesty International has no further news on the protestors detained at the French and Thai Embassies, although at least four are believed to remain in detention.

Petrus Haryanto, an Indonesian activist who entered the Dutch Embassy, was arrested by plainclothes officers at a medical clinic in Jakarta where he was seeking medical assistance. He was believed to have been detained at the Sub-District Military Command (Koramil) in Ciladuk, Jakarta, but was released on the morning of 12 December. His arrest was carried out without a warrant. Since then, it is believed that Petrus and another Indonesian, Budiman, have received summons from the police in relation to charges of “insulting the President.”

**FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:**
- Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/express/airmail letters in English or Bahasa Indonesia or in your own language:
  - urging the authorities to clarify exactly the identity of those detained in Jakarta and East Timor;
  - seeking assurances that those remaining in detention, including Martinho Pereira, are being treated humanely in accordance with international standards; that they are being given access to lawyers of their choice; that their relatives are informed of their whereabouts; and that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is allowed regular unrestricted access to their place of detention;
  - requesting that, unless they are charged with recognizably criminal offences, they be immediately released;
  - seeking assurances that no one will be subjected to arrest simply for engaging in peaceful opposition activities to Indonesian rule in East Timor.

**INDONESIA LEGAL BODY PROTESTS ARREST OF TIMORESE**

*slightly abridged*

**JAKARTA, Jan 5 (Reuters) - Indonesia’s main legal aid body has protested what it said was the disappearance of an East Timorese man suspected of being behind embassy break-ins in Jakarta last month, it said in a statement on Friday.

More than 100 East Timorese and their Indonesian sympathisers broke into the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta on December 7 in a protest which coincided with the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of the territory.

The Legal Aid Institute statement, sent to Armed Forces commander General Feisal Tanjung, accused the military in East Java of arbitrarily arresting Martinho Rodrigues Pereira.

The statement, obtained by Reuters, said Pereira’s whereabouts were unknown since he was arrested on arrival in Surabaya, capital of East Java, from the Timorese capital of Dili on December 4. “Chief of the Bakorstanasa (security agency) of East Java Major-General Imam Utomo has been quoted by some newspapers as saying that Pereira was arrested in connection with his anti-integration activities,” it said.

But the military later denied the reports when the institute, which was asked by Pereira’s family to represent him, tried to confirm the report, it said.

The official Antara news agency earlier quoted Utomo as saying the 38-year-old Timorese was arrested on suspicion of mastering the break-ins.

**MARTINHO PEREIRA RELEASED**

According to a Reuter report of 9 January 1996, Martinho Rodrigues Pereira, who was arrested in Surabaya on 4 December on his way back to Jakarta from Dili, has been released.

According to his friends he was released five days ago after being interrogated by the army on suspicion of “master-minding” the embassy break-ins on 7 December.

‘He has been released and is now in Jakarta. He said he had been interrogated by the military and was given an airplane ticket to fly to Jakarta,’ one of his friends told Reuter by phone.

A lawyer at the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute, which followed the case since his arrest, said the 38-year-old Jakarta resident had been released.

The Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute protested last week over what it said was Pereira’s disappearance since his arrest in Surabaya. The Institute’s statement, sent to the armed forces commander, General Feisal Tanjung, accused the military of arbitrarily arresting Pereira.

**AI: MARTINHO PEREIRA AND OTHERS RELEASED**

AI Index: ASA 21/04/96, 10 January 1995

Further information on EXTRA 157/95 (ASA 21/64/95, 7 December 1995), and follow-ups ASA 21/65/95, 8 December and ASA 21/67/95, 19 December 1995 - Arbitrary detention / Fear of torture / Fear for safety

**INDONESIA / EAST TIMOR**

Martinho Pereira and 12 other East Timorese

32 protestors at the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta at least four protestors at French and Thai Embassies

Amnesty International has received confirmation that Martinho Pereira, arrested on 4 December 1995 in Surabaya, East Java, was released from military custody on 5 January.

He had been arrested by the authorities who suspected him of being responsible for embassy demonstrations in Jakarta. Fears for his safety were compounded by the fact that the authorities did not confirm whether he was being detained or clarify his precise
In the eyes of the military, the street unrest and intellectual ferment are linked in a potentially dangerous pattern.

Amid that climate of suspicion, Pramoedya, Aditjondro and Pakpahan make easy targets. Pramoedya, who won the 1995 Magsaysay Award for literature, led the oppressive leftists cultural organization Lekra in the early 1960s and remains unrepentant. Aditjondro moved to Australia while under investigation for allegedly insulting President Suharto, a criminal charge.

Pakpahan was accused by the government of fomenting the June 1994 Medan riots, but was acquitted recently by the Supreme Court. He vehemently denies the latest charges. “I’m a nationalist and I believe in Pancasila and the 1945 constitution,” he says, referring to the state ideology. “I’m not a communist.”

A fortnight before Soeyono’s outburst, sociologist Franz Magnis-Suseno called on authorities to stop what he called “the despicable habit” of accusing individuals and non-governmental organizations that defend human rights of being “infected” with communism.

British political scientist Michael Leifer weighed in at a recent Jakarta conference: “There is a danger of governments assuming a fixed mind-set so that the very phenomenon of opposition, which is one dimension of the concept of civil society, may be perceived in terms of disloyalty to the state and even incompatible with the virtues of Pancasila.”

Abdurrachman Wahid, leader of the 35-million-strong Muslim organization Nahdlatul Ulama, sees the recent spate of government warnings as a ploy. “It’s easy to find a common enemy when you’re in trouble, so I think we should expect this,” says Wahid, a frequent government critic. “I see it as a way to divert attention from the internal problems of the government.”

Soeyono doesn’t have a habit of treading softly. The general, who was Suharto’s adjutant in the late 1980s and is the son-in-law of Women’s Affairs Minister Mien Sugandhi, was made chief of staff in a surprise two-step promotion from the Central Java regional command earlier this year. Since then, his public comments have earned him a reputation for shooting from the hip.

His latest outburst seems to have caught even the army by surprise. Though they are deeply suspicious of Pramoedya, military sources acknowledge there is no concrete evidence to support the charges either against Pakpahan or his father, who Soeyono contends led a PKI-incited labour strike in northern Sumatra in the early 1960s.

Official discomfort with Soeyono’s claims is evident in statements by Susilo Sosdarmo, the coordinating minister for political and security affairs, and other senior figures. Justice Minister Oetjo Oesman warned against “looking for ghosts behind every tree.” And retiring Supreme Court Justice Bismar Siregar said if the allegations were based solely on suspicion, as was common in the 1960s, “then my heart cries out.”

More than half a million people were killed in nine months of bloodletting after the military foiled what it said was a coup staged by the PKI on September 30, 1965. The incident and its aftermath led to the fall of President Sukarno and the emergence of the little-known Army Strategic Reserve’s commander, Gen. Suharto, as the nation’s leader.

Certainly, methods of dealing with dissent have grown relatively less sophisticated in the past year. Some analysts trace this to the 1993 downfall of former Defense Minister Benny Murdani and the subsequent scaling-down of the intelligence apparatus he once headed. “You can say what you like about Benny,” says one, “but he was good at what he did.”

The government’s spate of warnings against organisasi tanpa bentuk (OTB, or formless organizations) draws on quarter-century-old fears. The term comes from a 1968 self-criticism by the PKI central committee, which listed the mistakes that led to the party’s downfall and then went on to lay down general guidelines for its eventual revival.

Communism does not appear to be the only target of the government’s campaign, however. Indonesian military sources say the term OTB can also be applied to right-wing extremists — meaning certain Muslim organizations.

Soebihyo, chief of the civilian intelligence agency Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Nasional (Bakin), has been the only government offi-
cial to openly address the subject. In an interview with the weekly Tiras magazine, he pointed to the difficulty of tracking groups who use religious activities as a cover. Bakin, he added, is investigating the emergence of a new group in western Java promoting the proclamation of an Islamic state.

"It seems like the extreme-right wing is becoming stronger because the religiousness of our people in the countryside is on the rise and this is not being channelled through the right institutions," Soedibyo said. "They are instead snared by specific groups who take them in the direction of a political attitude that is extreme-right wing."

If all this talk about OTBs isn’t confusing enough, the current controversy has spawned yet another acronym in a country that is already drowning in alphabet soup. No longer does KGB stand for Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bespasnosnyy, the Soviet intelligence agency. Now it means koumis gaya baru — Indonesian for "new-style communism."

JAILED JOURNALIST TO RECEIVE AWARD

by Farhan Haq

NEW YORK, Nov 2 (IPS) – The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), a U.S.-based media watchdog, hopes Indonesian journalist Ahmad Taufik can be in town here Dec 6 to receive the group’s International Press Freedom Award.

But for now, that hope seems dim. Taufik was sentenced on Sep 1 to 32 months in jail after being charged with publishing an unlicensed newspaper and violating a law forbidding the expression of "freedom of hostility, hatred or contempt toward the government."

Taufik is expecting to hear later this month the Indonesian courts’ response to an appeal he has filed against the September ruling. The CPJ hopes that, by that time, enough international attention can be focused on his case to prod the courts to reverse its conviction.

"Our hope is that the award will bring international attention to this particular case, and what it indicates about the state of press freedom in Indonesia," Vikram Parekh, the CPJ Asia coordinator, says.

Parekh notes that, since June 1994, when three leading Indonesian weeklies — including Tempo, for which Taufik worked — were banned by the government, reporting on a number of issues has been restricted.

"I think it’s an attempt to crack down on reports of autocracy and cronyism" in the Indonesian government, he says.

The three banned weeklies — Tempo, Datu and Editor — all tested the waters by printing articles on subjects formerly considered off-limits, Parekh says. Among the subjects being covered more thoroughly than before were arms deals made by top Indonesian officials and the ongoing Indonesian Army occupation of East Timor, which Jakarta annexed in 1976.

"One of the reasons (for the banning) was that their reporting on East Timor was a little too blunt for the government," says John Miller, New York coordinator of the East Timor Action Network.

In response to the bannings, Taufik last year helped form the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), an alternative to the government-sponsored Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI). He also continued to take on sensitive topics in an AJI-published newsletter, Independen.

Among Independen’s more controversial articles was one suggesting that Indonesian Information Minister Harmoko “has managed to acquire shares in quite a lot of publications in Indonesia,” Parekh says.

The government struck back, arresting Taufik and AJI colleague Eko Maryadi along with an office assistant, Danang Kukuh Wardoyo on Mar 16. It said Independen did not have a valid license. Taufik and Maryadi have both received 32-month jail sentences, while Wardoyo was sentenced to 20 months.

Since then, CPJ executive director William Orme noted in a letter last week to U.S. President Bill Clinton, Indonesian authorities have pressed new organisations to dismiss reporters who belong to AJI. The arrests and threats, he wrote, have “contributed to a climate of fear for many Indonesian journalists.”

Some U.S. lawmakers agreed. A letter to Clinton sent by 28 members of the House of Representatives before his meeting with Indonesian President Suharto last Friday cited the jail sentences against Taufik and Maryadi.

“Freedom of expression is under attack by the Indonesian government,” the lawmakers wrote. “Over the past year, seminars held by Indonesian non-governmental organisations have been broken up by the police, and gag orders issued against controversial speakers.”

Clinton did discuss human rights issues with Suharto in their Friday meeting, a State Department official said. But he was unable to confirm whether the Taufik case specifically came up.

Parekh says he has heard that the U.S. State Department sent an observer to Taufik’s trial. But Washington has generally downplayed human rights concerns with Indonesia, one of Washington “big emerging markets” (BEMs). Many sources say the talks last week centred on economic agree-

ments, including the upcoming Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting in Japan.

Taufik, however, seems not to have been discouraged by his jail sentence.

“Journalists should tell the truth and only the truth,” he said during his trial. “I’m prepared to be jailed just for the truth.”

STATEMENT BY SPRIM

(Solidaritas Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia Untuk Maubere) Solidarity Struggle with the Maubere People (SPRIM), via AKSI (Action Solidarity Indonesia) news service, 11 November 1995

The following is a translation of statements were received by AKSI on 11 November 1995 in commemoration of the November 12 Dili massacre.

This year, 1995, is two entire decades of the New Order regime’s oppression of the people of East Timor. In this time, more than 200,000 Timorese have been slaughtered by the regime. Killings, torture and rape continue to be perpetrated on the people of East Timor.

Four years ago, on November 12 1991, hundreds of East Timorese youths went to the Santa Cruz cemetery to pay their respects to a youth killed by the military a week earlier. The result was 180 youth shot dead by the Indonesian military, and to this day it is still unclear where they were buried. This incident showed the international community that the issue of East Timor has not been resolved.

This also showed the strength of the East Timorese people’s desire for self-determination. The regime’s lie that the people of East Timor desire integration with Indonesia is revealed by the people’s struggle for independence which continues to this day.

Four years after the Santa Cruz tragedy, after continuous international pressure on the New Order regime, the regime continues to oppress the people of East Timor. Sensitive political issues are used by the regime to create unrest as a tool to legitimise its military presence. SPRIM demands that:

1. The Indonesian government puts an end to the war in East Timor.
2. The Indonesian government withdraw all of its troops from East Timor.
3. The Indonesian government forms an autonomous government for the Maubere people.
4. Respect the right to self-determination through a referendum as soon as possible.
5. And in order to facilitate this, withdraw current restrictive political laws.
ONE STRUGGLE, ONE TRANSFORMATION!

Jakarta, November 12, 1995

SPRIM Coordinator

Wilson

WITHDRAW REPRESSIVE POLITICAL LAWS AND FREEDOM FOR THE MAUBERE PEOPLE NOW!

To all journalists,

On November 12, 1991, hundreds of East Timorese youths and students where shot by the military at the Santa Cruz cemetery, and their bodies taken away in trucks. It is still unknown where they were buried. This incident showed the international community that the issue of East Timor is unresolved as claimed by the Indonesian government. Despite diplomatic efforts to convince the world that East Timor is integrated into Indonesia the UN continues to regard East Timor as a disputed territory. Offers to carry out a referendum under the auspicious of the UN have not been carried out by the Indonesian government.

Four years after the Santa Cruz tragedy, little has changed. Although the government claims East Timor is “open,” restrictions continue such as the recent banning of human rights activist HJC Princen who wished to meet with Bishop Belo and the Governor of East Timor.

Unrest is increasing. The riots last month are an indication of this and cannot be separated from the issues of independence and self-determination for the people of East Timor. The democratic referendum under the auspicious of the UN. What is the meaning of development while the people of East Timor live in fear. As said by Xanana, what the people of East Timor desire is their right as a free nation to be acknowledged.

In support of the people of East Timor’s struggle, SPRIM will hold a candle lighting ceremony to commemorate four years since the Santa Cruz massacre on Sunday, November 12 at the Indonesian National University starting at 5.00pm.

This is an invitation to all Indonesian people who are struggling against oppression and who support the struggle of the East Timorese people under the slogan: ONE STRUGGLE, ONE TRANSFORMATION.

WILSON
SPRIM Coordinator

STATEMENT BY STUDENT SOLIDARITY FOR INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY (SMID)

(Part of a document titled “Jakarta, November 12, 1995 Petrus H. Hariyanto General Secretary, SMID”)

People of East Timorese, continue your struggle

In 1995 the Indonesian people celebrated 50 years of independence. This is not so for the people of East Timor who are also forced to join the celebrations. Because this year is the second decade of oppression of the people of East Timor by the New Order regime. It is thus very difficult for most East Timorese people to celebrate Indonesian independence. The people of East Timor were forced to become part of Indonesia by military oppression, by tyranny and slaughter, resulting in the deaths of more than 200,000 East Timorese.

The New Order regime does not want change and those who think differently are met with violence, legitimised on the grounds of state and national security. They will not even acknowledge that the people of East Timor desire self-determination and continue an international campaign claiming that integration is the desire of the East Timorese themselves, even though they see themselves that the people of East Timor continue to struggle against the New Order regime.

The struggle by East Timorese youth has not been given up. On November 12, 1991 when youths went to the Santa Cruz cemetery to pay their respects to a youth killed by the Indonesian military a week earlier. The result was 180 youth shot dead by the Indonesian military.

Four years after the Santa Cruz tragedy, after continuous international pressure on the New Order regime, the regime continues to oppress the people of East Timor. Sensitive political issues are used by the regime to create unrest as a tool to legitimise its military presence. SMID demands that:

1. The Indonesian government puts an end to the war in East Timor.
2. The Indonesian government withdraw all of its troops from East Timor.
3. The Indonesian government forms an autonomous government for the Maubere people.
4. Respect the right to self-determination through a referendum as soon as possible.
5. And in order to facilitate this, withdraw current restrictive political laws.

ONE STRUGGLE, ONE TRANSFORMATION!

Jakarta, November 12, 1995

Petrus H. Hariyanto
General Secretary, SMID

INDONESIA ATTACKS CRITICS OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

(slightly abridged)

Jakarta, Nov 15 (Reuters) – Indonesian Planning Minister Ginanjar Kartasasmita on Wednesday attacked his country’s critics saying misinformation abroad could threaten the nation’s development programmes.

Ginanjar said he was also concerned that the so-called misinformation had originated from information supplied by local non-government organisations.

“For me, criticism is okay, but criticism is different from sabotaging our development,” Ginanjar told reporters after meeting President Suharto.

“Because if foreign aid is stopped it will have an impact on our development,” he said.

Ginanjar said he had a tape of allegations, broadcast in the United States, that Indonesia used military supervision to force women to join family planning programmes.

There were other accusations that the Indonesian government was a military dictatorship, he said.

“There is no military dictatorship in Indonesia. It is not true that Indonesian women have been forced to join family planning under armed military guard,” he added.

Ginanjar said the programme makers were trying to stop foreign aid being given to Indonesia, but the country still needed this assistance.

“If they make efforts to stop the funds it means they will stop our development for the people,” he said, adding Indonesia needed more infrastructure to reduce poverty.

Indonesia has received pledges of $5.3 billion in aid in 1995 from donor countries and financial institutions, including United States and the World Bank.

This was slightly more than the $5.2 billion it received in 1994.

“We will use foreign aid, with soft-loan conditions and no political bindings, in line with our capability to repay it. If these conditions are changed, we will certainly not use this type of aid,” Ginanjar said.

Indonesia has firmly rejected past attempts to link aid to its human rights record.

Indonesia is regularly criticised internationally for its labour rights record as well as its sometimes brutal rule in the troubled province of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, which it invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year.
INDONESIAN ACTIVISTS CALL FOR MILITARY WITHDRAWAL

AKSI News Service, Nov. 17

On Sunday November 12, public protest commemorations of the 1991 massacre in Dili were organised for the first time in Jakarta despite threats from general Hartono, the army chief of staff.

About 90 people attended a commemoration organised by Indonesian People in Solidarity with the Maubere People (SPRIM) on the University of Indonesia campus. Also at the commemoration was the chairman of the Peoples Democratic Union (PRD) and Haji Princen, director of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights.

Under the banner, full independence for East Timor, SPRIM and PRD both called for the immediate cessation of all war activities, the withdrawal of all Indonesian military forces, including police, from East Timor and the right for the East Timorese for self-determination. In accord with the appeal by the Asia Pacific Coalition on East Timor, the commemoration included a candle lighting ceremony in memory of the almost 300 people who died at the Santa Cruz ceremony in 1991. SPRIM, co-ordinator, Wilson, began the ceremony with all other participants also joining in lighting candles.

A highlight of the ceremony was a speech by a Maubere youth who had been wounded at the Dili massacre and who gave a graphic description of the event. During the speeches, plain clothes intelligence agents approached the gathering and demanded copies of all the statements and speeches. Statements were read out by Haji Princen, Dita Sari, President of the Indonesian Centre for Working Class Struggle (PPBD), Petrus, Secretary-General of Students in Solidarity with Democracy in Indonesia (SMID) and a representative of the National Peasants Union. The well-known dissident poet and dramatist, Wji Thukul, read anti-militarist poems at the commemoration office to the airport. There was no explanation,” Pangaribuan said.

An immigration official at Jakarta’s Soekarno-Hatta international airport, who asked not to be named, told Reuters Hadjar was deported on Garuda Indonesia flight GA 964 which left for Singapore at 2.30 pm local time (0730 GMT).

He said Hadjar was being deported on the order of the Director-General of Immigration Major-General Pranowo, but he said there was no reason given for the expulsion.

A diplomat at the French embassy said earlier he was being deported because of problems with immigration matters and his involvement in human rights activities while in Indonesia.

Hadjar is a vocal critic of the Indonesian government, particularly on Internet bulletin boards. Activists said it was not inconceivable his detention was related to his Internet writings.

Pangaribuan said the four Indonesian activists detained with Hadjar were released after interrogation on Wednesday night.

An official at police intelligence told Reuters Thursday morning that Hadjar had earlier been handed over to immigration officials after being interrogated and held overnight.

This is the third delicate human rights problem faced by France’s Jakarta mission in the last two weeks. Two groups of East Timorese asylum-seekers entered the embassy compound on Monday and last week before travelling to exile in Portugal.

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INDONESIA DEPORTS FRENCH HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST

JAKARTA, Nov 23 (Reuters) - Indonesia deported on Thursday a prominent French human rights activist detained after attending the trial of an Indonesian legislator accused of defaming President Suharto, a local human rights lawyer and officials said.

Jusfiq Hadjar, an Indonesian French national who lives in the Netherlands, was detained by police on Wednesday along with four other activists at a restaurant near the court where former legislator Sri Bintang Pamungkas was being tried.

“He has already departed,” Luhut Pangaribuan, director of the Legal Aid Institute, told Reuters.

“He was taken straight from the immigration office to the airport. There was no explanation,” Pangaribuan said.

An immigration official at Jakarta’s Soekarno-Hatta international airport, who asked not to be named, told Reuters Hadjar was deported on Garuda Indonesia flight GA 964 which left for Singapore at 2.30 pm local time (0730 GMT).

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GJA - WHY WAS PT SRITEX TARGETED?

Why was PT Sritex targeted by the Indonesian pro-democracy/pro-East Timor movement?

By George Aditjondro, Nov. 13, 1995

ON Monday, December 11, 1995, in the wake of the Human Rights Week celebrations, 14,000 workers and student activists demonstrated in Solo (Surakarta), Central Java. Thins industrial action was organized by the People’s Democratic Union or PRD (Persatuan Rakyat Demokratik), to protest against the extremely distressing working conditions in PT Sritex (Sri Rejeki Isman) textile factory in Sukoharjo, Central Java, which is not abone the largest integrated textile factory in Southeast Asia. The organizer of the
SRI BINTANG’S MORTAL SIN
Inside Indonesia, June 1995: 5-6

Why are the Indonesian authorities currently treating one of Indonesia’s finest (former) MPs, Dr Sril Bintang Pamungkas, as a crook?

The official reason is, as stated bluntly by those in power, that he instigated public rallies against President Suharto in Germany, last April (as if the German activists themselves could not do that). A more important reason, and one that the Indonesian media are suppressing, is that Sril Bintang was the first Indonesian MP to expose the credit scandal of PT Sritex, an Indonesian-owned textile factory near Solo, Central Java, which prides itself of being the largest integrated textile factory in Southeast Asia.

Apart from criticizing the aging Indonesian ruler in front of a foreign public, this is the “mortal sin” that led to Sril Bintang’s dismissal from the parliament earlier this year. Bambang Warikh Husuma, another MP but from the ruling party, Golkar, had also been dismissed from the parliament around the same time, after disclosing the credit scandals of PT Kanindotex, another large textile factory in Central Java with close ties with the Indonesian regime. Fortunately for Bambang, coming from the ruling party and not having expressed his criticisms in public rallies abroad, he has so far been spared from police interrogation, unlike Sril Bintang.

Sri Bintang’s accusation

In March 1994, during the height of the public outcry over the misuse of state bank credits by 37 large business groups, the outspoken Islamic parliamentarian had added fuel to the fire by pointing his finger at the Solo-based textile factory in a speech at the Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta. After denials by Sritex spokespersons as well as a harsh rebuke by the local military commander, the Sritex case was shelved.

In November last year the issue resurfaced, after the governor of Bank Indonesia, the central bank, admitted in a hearing with Sril Bintang’s commission in the parliament, that PT Sritex was involved in some credit irregularities with Bank Dagang Negara (BDN), an Indonesian state bank. The magnitude of credit at issue was Rp 1 trillion (nearly US$ 500 million). But again, the news story was promptly ‘killed’ by authorities of the Department of Information.

Why should the Information Department officials kill the Sritex story, which they had not done in the case of the Eddy Tanzil-Bapindo case? The answer would seem to lie in family connections between Sritex and Golkar chairman and Minister for Information, Harmoko, and the Suharto family.

Buddy-buddy

Lukminto (formerly Loo Kie Hian), the majority shareholder of PT Sri Rejeki Isman Textile Factory, in short, Sritex, has had a very close relationship with Harmoko since childhood. Born in Kertosono, Nganjuk, East Java, on June 1, 1946, Lukminto comes from the same home town as Harmoko, who was born there on February 7, 1937. A former Confucian, he allegedly converted to Islam during the process of obtaining a large loan from BDN, and has used the name “Mohammad” in addition to his chosen Javanese name.

As a result of his long-lasting friendship with the Golkar chairman, all yellow Golkar batik shirts have to be ordered from Sritex, which in September 1994 obtained a copy-right for those designs. Practically speaking, every time Harmoko appears on the stage TV screens addressing a Golkar crowd in any village in Indonesia, he is not only campaigning for Golkarhe is also promoting Sritex, paid for by the TVRI subscribers.

The company also monopolizes the production of military jungle uniforms as well as primary and secondary school uniforms.

Although Harmoko’s name is not officially listed in any of the records of the companies established by Lukminto, the name of a younger brother of the Golkar chairman, Noor Slamet Asmoprawiro, is listed in two of Lukminto’s companies. The first one is PT Golden Cahaya Video, a video production company established in 1985 with a capital investment of Rp 20 million, equally divided by Lukminto and Noor Slamet. Two years later, Noor Slamet brought his business partner, the former film actress Nuke Mayasahpita into a new joint venture with Lukminto, namely PT Merdecino Permai, a food and beverages company. In 1987, however, the business trio sold the company to its current owners.

Noor Slamet Asmoprawiro, who recently passed away, has taken his female business partner into other ventures, viz an outdoor advertisement company and Bnis Maritim, one of the 10 media of Harmoko’s Pos Kota Group.

Suharto family

Besides being close to the Harmoko family, Lukminto is also close to Suharto’s eldest daughter, Mbak Tutut. Hence, Sritex has taken part in Mbak Tutut’s drive to employ young East Timorese workers in Indonesian factories, and to export the fruits of their toil to East Timor’s official metropole, Portugal. On February 14, 1994, the first shipment of 15 tons of cotton yarn from Sritex was cleared by customs at the Port of Leixoes in Portugal. It was ordered by Manuel Joaquim Rodrigues Madeo, a Portuguese businessman who heads the Indonesian-Portuguese Friendship Association. The raw material was to be turned into cloth for making, among other, shirts and sheets in Macedo’s textile factory in Ermesindo.

Ironically, although they had contributed to Mbak Tutut’s pro-integration (and pro-Escudo) campaign, the East Timorese workers do not enjoy the same religious freedom as their Muslim co-workers. The poor girls are not free to attend the Sunday mass in Sukoharjo, the textile mill town, since they have to report for work on 07:00 pm. In contrast, Muslim workers are free to say their sholat prayers during work hours as well as attend the Friday jemaah prayers in the company’s musollah. Of the 100 East Timorese workers who arrived three years ago, only 30 have stayed.
Small beginnings

From a small textile shop in Pasar Kliwon in the heart of the city of Solo, Sritex has grown into a conglomerate of 16 companies, involved in trading, textile and paper production, tourism, and other services, based in Surabaya, Solo, Yogyo, Magelang, Jakarta, and Hong Kong, with a Rp 140 billion (about US$70 million) worth of assets and Rp 175 billion (about US$87 million) worth of sales turn over. Last year, it was already rated among Indonesia’s hundred largest conglomerates by the Economic & Business Review Indonesia.

In spite of belonging to the hundred largest conglomerates in Indonesia, Sritex’s labour and environmental records have been very poor. Early last year, when members of the Indonesian parliament inspected the factory, it was found that only one third of the 12,000 workers were covered by the government’s worker insurance scheme, Astek. Apart from that, there were still workers who received daily wages of Rp 1,600 (about US$0.75), far below the required Central Java minimum daily wage of Rp 2,600 (about US$1.25). Even Central Java governor Soewardi had criticized Sritex for its poor waste control system and its lack of participation in alleviating the poverty of the surrounding communities.

So, what was wrong with Sri Bintang’s attempt to disclose the misuse of public funds by Sritex, which is a proper task for every parliamentarian as well as the parliament as a body, which, according to Article 23 of the 1945 Indonesian constitution, has to uphold the people’s budgetary power over the executive branch of the government? Unfortunately, Suharto believes that exposing the business connections of the Harmoko family is a mortal sin. As Harmoko’s major protector, Suharto wants to punish Sri Bintang Pamungkas, just as he may be, can expect it to fight back. Sri Bintang Pamungkas, until earlier this year a par-ticipant in the Habibie family’s business connections in the German Navy ships deal.

HOW MUCH FREEDOM?

 Asiaweek Feature, Nov. 17

Indonesia is moving at its own pace toward democratic reform. But political activists sometimes pay a heavy penalty for going too fast for the government

By Keith Loveard in Jakarta

TWENTY MONTHS IN PRISON for helping two dissident journalists distribute material offensive to the government. As the sentence was handed down in Jakarta’s Central Criminal Court on Aug. 24, Danang Kukuh Wardoyo looked stunned. The 18-year-old office boy stood silent for a minute, un-sure what to do, before walking over to talk to his lawyers. In the gallery, a few activists shouted abuse at the judges, but the show of defiance did not last long. After eight days, the trial of Indonesia’s youngest political prisoner was over.

“I am very disappointed,” Wardoyo told Asiaweek in the court room. “I am not a criminal. All I did was sweep the floors and make the coffee.” The pathos of his case was underlined a week later when the two journalists he was accused of assisting, Ahmad Taufik and Eko Maryadi, appeared in the same court. Watched by a packed gallery of sympathizers, the members of the rebel Alliance of Independent Journalists were each sentenced to 32 months’ imprisonment - setting off pandemonium in the corridors as protesters taunted security guards.

As Suharto’s presidential term approaches its end, Indonesia waxes and wanes between openness and authoritarianism. A period of press freedom that began in 1992 ended last year when three publications, including the respected Tempo newsmagazine, were closed. This year, a succession of political arrests has gone hand-in-hand with moves to improve the human rights of former political prisoners and to scrap a system that required any gathering of more than five people to be licensed by the police. In Indonesia, knowing how far protest - or even criticism - can go without tempting arrest is an elusive skill.

Just a few years ago, things were more clear-cut - and more bloody. I recall arriving in a village in East Timor shortly after the day in 1991 that troops killed as many as 100 demonstrators in the capital, Dili. As I watched, the military were carrying out intensive searches of vehicles. While it is true that a close encounter with armed soldiers can be unnerving for anyone, the look of sheer fear in the eyes of one woman as she got down from a bus told me more about what had been going on than any eyewitness account ever could.

Some people have tried to explain why the troops behaved in the way they did in Dili; others have said the killings can never be forgiven. But one thing is certain: that day still represents the darkest moment for civil rights in post-independence Indonesia. All that happened before and has happened since is measured against it. So, how does 1995 compare with 1991?

These days, many Indonesians are undoubtedly concerned about the state of human rights. Others feel that tough government action is the price that has to be paid for national unity. “There are so many different groups and so many different views among us that there has to be some limit to freedom,” says a Jakarta worker. “We are not ready for democracy and freedom of speech. It would only lead to chaos.”

Former home affairs minister Rudini believes that economic growth dictates that a balance has to be struck between freedom and control. “All countries have some combination of security approach and prosperity approach,” he says. “The question is how long the military should be in a dominant position.” Anyhow, he says, democracy is growing. “There has been a lot of progress in freedom of speech over the past 10 years, but it will take time before we can enjoy, and handle, the level of freedom of, say, the U.S. or western Europe.”

While political control at the top levels of society may be loosening, acceptance of the status quo is still taught in classrooms and mosques in villages and towns across the country. One graduate recalls her compulsory social work in a village in Java. “I was horrified to hear the preacher telling everyone they had to accept their position in life, accept the fact that they could never have anything more. They were telling people that the rich were born to be rich, and they were born to be poor.”

Indoctrinated or not, most Indonesians do accept the state of the nation’s politics, and have few arguments with it. In the main, their lives are better than they were a decade ago and their daily tasks are little affected by lofty concepts of freedom or democracy. A young Indonesian journalist now working for the BBC in Britain agrees: “Seeing Indonesia from London makes it look all bad, a succession of problems. But when you get home, you see it in a different perspective. For most people, things are not so bad.”

For all that, visiting regions such as Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra, where a separatist movement was bloodily suppressed in the late 1980s, is an oddly disconcerting experience. At times of trouble in these areas, smiles are rare and people watch you pass with guarded expressions on their faces. Are they frightened that being friendly with strangers might be misunderstood by the ever-present military? Whatever is going through their minds, it is clear they do not like what is happening to their lives.

Those Indonesians who persist in fighting the system, however respected they may be, can expect it to fight back. Sri Bintang Pamungkas, until earlier this year a parliamentarian with the Muslim-based United Development Party, faces trial on charges of insulting Suharto. The accusations spring from a visit the president made to Germany last April, when he was met with violent protests. On his return to Jakarta, Suharto said his government would take stern measures against any Indonesians involved in the incidents. Pamungkas, who was in Germany
at the time on a lecture tour, is accused of helping to organize the demonstrations and of calling Suharto a “dictator” during a lecture. While he agrees he did witness one of the protests, he denies any involvement in organizing them. Last month he was named by army chief of staff Lt.-Gen. Suyono as one of 15 people behind an “organization without form” linked to the banned Communist Party of Indonesia. Pamungkas has privately acknowledged he expects to go to prison for up to six years.

Conditions for political prisoners are usually better than for ordinary criminals. Veteran journalist Mocthar Lubis, jailed by both the Sukarno and Suharto regimes, recalls being approached by the prison governor during one of his incarcinations and asked if he had trouble with his teeth. “When I told him there was nothing wrong with my teeth, he told me there should be, because then I could have a weekly visit to my dentist. Every week after that, I was taken home for an afternoon to see my family.” Other prominent prisoners have also received special facilities. Subandrio, former deputy prime minister and foreign minister under Sukarno, lived in his own cottage on the grounds of Jakarta’s Cipinang Jail until his release in August.

But activists who have worked against the unity of Indonesia can expect no such treatment. Luhut Pangaribuan, a director of the Legal Aid Institute who has defended many critics of the government, says that when he visited Aceh last year, he discovered prisoners who had been held for years without trial. Others who were brought to trial had suffered physical mistreatment during detention. Human rights sources allege that other Aceh militants simply disappeared. “Only the lucky ones get as far as court,” says one activist.

Many lawyers believe the creation of an independent judiciary is a more important prerequisite to genuine freedom than any move at this stage toward greater democracy. “Before the judges try a case, the decision is already in their pockets,” says Pangaribuan. “The courts are easily controlled by the government. From the beginning, we always knew it would be difficult to win a political trial.” But a few recent cases — notably last week’s defeat of the government in the Administrative Appeal Court over the revocation of Tempo magazine’s publishing license — suggest that some judges are now more prepared to be independent.

The work of lawyers is made more difficult by intimidation. When Pangaribuan represented Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão, who for more than a decade had fought Indonesian troops in East Timor, the Dili courtroom was invariably packed with military intelligence officers in plain clothes. No local people were brave enough to show their faces. Gusmão was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1993, later reduced to 20 years. In a 1993 case in Jakarta in which he unsuccessfully challenged the need for permits for meetings, Pangaribuan came out of the court building to find three of his car tires had been slashed and acid had been thrown over the paintwork. He acknowledges that his wife, who is a law lecturer, sometimes suggests it would be better for him simply to be a well-paid commercial lawyer. But he says his family has been able to adapt psychologically to the constant pressure and now considers it normal.

A.M. Fatwa says intimidation was for a long time a factor in his life. A leading member of the progressive Muhammiddiyah Islamic organization, he was also an outspoken activist with the Petition of 50 — a prominent grouping of government critics who in 1980 called on Suharto to justify his rule before Parliament. After being subjected to a number of bans, including limitations on traveling, Fatwa was routinely pulled in by the intelligence services and held for as long as a week. He was finally jailed in 1984 for being the instigator of a Petition 50-backed “white paper” criticizing the official version of anti-government riots at the Jakarta port of Tanjung Priok. In that incident, about 100 local demonstrators were gunned down by soldiers. Sentenced to 18 years’ imprisonment, Fatwa was released in 1993 after what he describes as an improvement in the political climate, paired with submissions to the president by then minister of religion Munawir Sjardal.

It is generally believed Fatwa was singled out for prosecution because of his popularity with Muslims at a time when many were increasingly dissatisfied with the government. He says: “There was a plot to arrest, try and sentence me heavily, as a form of shock therapy not only to me personally, but also to the people as a whole, and especially to Muslims.” The activist is nervous about talking to the press, since his release is conditional on his good behavior. But that does not stop him sometimes speaking candidly about what happened to him. “I and my family were the victims of terror,” he says. “I tried to express the aspirations of the people for justice, and there was a risk involved in that. I had to accept that risk. There’s no point in being sorry about it, or in being sick at heart at what happened to me. Nor do I feel any need for revenge.”

Political soothsayer Permadi says he enjoyed his five months in jail, before and during his trial on charges — trumped up, he says — of insulting Islam. Permadi, who claims to be able to forecast the political future of Indonesia, was accused of describing the Prophet Muhammad as a dictator at a seminar last year. “In prison, I made friends with all the robbers, murderers and rapists, and they were all protecting me,” he says. “All the hoodlums too. Now if I have any trouble, all I have to do is get in touch with their friends.” Permadi was jailed for seven months by a Jogjakarta court, and then released days after the sentencing last August. He is now awaiting appeal. Thousands demonstrated outside the court when he was sentenced.

Like Fatwa, Permadi sees his arrest and trial as a deliberate attempt to remove him from the public stage. In an interview with the Sunday edition of Media Indonesia, produced under contract by former employees of Tempo, he said his trial was a conspiracy. “I’ve been told this by a number of sources, including senior military and police officers. They said the word was that Permadi had to be tried for whatever reason that could be found, so long as he was tried.” He believes the aim of his prosecution was to sideline him until at least the next elections in 1997.

The soothsayer told the newspaper: “I do not want a revolution, but if demonstrations are stopped and petitions are refused, a revolution will certainly occur. That is the law of nature, the law of God.” Permadi’s comments led publisher Surya Paloh to voluntarily close the Sunday paper for a month, in a bid to forestall what many believed would be a revocation of his license. Two weeks later, in a discussion with Asiapweek, Permadi had no qualms about repeating his prediction. “Nobody wants a revolution, but if the government never provides an answer to the aspirations of people, there will be one.”

While many of Indonesia’s most prominent political prisoners are now free again, their places behind bars have been taken by a new generation of dissidents. Best known abroad is Fretilin leader Gusmão, but there are also hundreds of separatists from Aceh, Islamic idealists from Lampung and a new wave of journalists and pro-democracy activists, many of them from Jakarta itself. Also in detention are a number of soldiers. They have been either sentenced or are awaiting to go before a court martial for allegedly using unnecessary force in incidents this year in Irian Jaya and East Timor. That the military should be held accountable this way is seen as a definite sign of progress on the civil rights front. This, though, will be little consolation for Danang Kukuh Wardoyo, who is serving his 20-month sentence in Jakarta’s Salemba prison, in the company of the capital’s petty criminals.
ABRI TAKES ON THE INTERNET

The following is taken from the forthcoming issue of TAPOL Bulletin, December 1995

The Indonesian armed forces, ABRI, has announced its intention to ‘wage a war of words’ on the Internet because of its anxieties about the anti-Indonesian articles and information circulating on various networks. According to Marshall S. Diharto who has been in charge of the Internet project, activists who have been very busy circulating damaging material include George Aditjondro, Paul Salim and Jusfiq Hadjar whose objective, he says, is to ‘corner’ senior government officials. Said Lieut. General Soeyono, ABRI chief-of-staff (who has been making the running on the OTB campaign - see separate item), their activities can be described as ‘agitational and propaganda’ aimed at destroying national unity. ‘We need to take action to counter-balance their work with positive information.’ It will be a ‘war of information,’ he said. For TAPOL Bulletin readers with access to the Internet, we are happy to announce the two home pages that will be available for your perusal: Hankam.gov.net for the Defence Department, and ABRI.mil.net for the Armed Forces. You will find information there about the structure and personnel of both bodies, photographs(!), ranks, duties and responsibilities, plus an account of defence policy, the history of the armed forces and lots more besides. All of it will be yours, in both Indonesian and English, for the cost of a phone-call. [Forum Keadilan, 4 December]

As an organisation that has been using the Internet for the past six years - which only shows how we NGOs have outstripped the regime - TAPOL welcomes our new sparring partners. Like many others on the Internet, we look forward to downloading these contributions which could save us a great deal of time and effort currently spent looking up information about officers, their ranks and their functions.

MOSLEM GROUP TO DEFEND INDONESIA ON INTERNET

by Jim Della-Giacoma

JAKARTA, Dec 14 (Reuters) – A politically well-connected group of Indonesian intellectuals is planning to counter criticism of the archipelago on the Internet with its own cybervoice – the Indonesian Media Network (IMN).

The Association of Indonesian Moslem Intellectuals (ICMI), headed by Research and Technology Minister Jusuf Habibie, aims to blunt the impact of attacks by various anti-Indonesia groups through the Internet.

“There are many stories that we feel are not reflecting the real situation in Indonesia is,” Parmi Hadi, chief editor of IMN, told Reuters.

Both foreign and domestic human rights activists, environmentalists, student groups and those opposing Indonesian rule in East Timor use the Internet in a sometimes vigorous debate and lobbying effort against the Indonesian government.

IMN (http:www.imn.co.id) was formally launched on December 7 at ICMI’s congress by a beaming President Suharto as he publicly “surfed” the Internet and found a picture of himself in traditional Javanese dress.

Hadi said the event was unprecedented in Indonesia’s tightly-controlled media because Suharto effectively launched a new electronic publication which is yet to be licensed.

“There is no law, regulation or ministerial decree concerning the Internet and now IMN has been declared open by the President,” said Hadi, the chief editor of Republika.

ICMI is a non-government group in name but Suharto is the chairman of its board of patrons and the association and nine cabinet ministers sit on ICMI’s executive board.

Hadi, known to be close to Information Minister Harmoko, said he hoped there would be no Internet regulation.

“Until now I have not seen any signs or signals. Even Harmoko, when he saw our first presentation, smiled all the way,” he said.

Hadi said the new venture also hoped to make a profit by selling advertising space.

Republika was Indonesia’s first newspaper to go on line in August through local provider Radnet (http://www.rad.net.id). But by translating some of its daily output into English Hadi hopes to pitch its product to a wider international audience.

Hadi said ICMI represented the voice of the majority of Indonesia’s more than 190 million people, of which around 90 percent are Moslem.

“I cannot deny we are the voice of the Indonesian people, the 88 percent who are Moslem, but if you say that we are the voice of the government that is not completely wrong or completely right,” Hadi said.

“TAPOL’s Sparrow Unit’s main aim.

INDONESIAN MILITARY DEATH THREATS AGAINST JOSÉ RAMOS HORTA ON INTERNET

CNRM Media Release, 4 January 96

Indonesian state-sponsored terrorism against the people of East Timor and opponents of the Suharto dictatorship is set to increase this year. CNRM has received a disturbing email letter from an Indonesian with likely links to the military intelligence, announcing the formation of a ‘Sparrow Unit’ “to eliminate all East Timor people from our land.” Killing CNRM Special Representative José Ramos Horta is said to be the Sparrow Unit’s main aim.

After realising the extent of the uncensored information flow on the true situation in Indonesia and East Timor, which circulates globally on the Internet, last August the Indonesian Military announced the intention to set up a task force to “fight on the Internet battle front against campaigns by Indonesian detractors threatening national stability.”

Since October, frequent opinion articles and comments on other postings, reflecting the bigotry of the Indonesian military, started to appear on the electronic conferences. Many of them were authored by someone calling himself by the unlikely name of Antonio Merlin, the purported author of the 3 January letter to CNRM, which we quote unedited.

From: merlin@server.indo.net.id
(Leonard Adi)
Subject: Announcement Letter

Dear Sir,

I’d like to inform you, that we the Indonesian who doesn’t like East Timor people has been build our new fighter to eliminate all East Timor people from our land.

We don’t like them because they are tend to be a traitor and like to use our people to be a traitor of their country. Our new unit will be called ‘Sparrow Unit,’ and starting to kill by the end of January 1996. We will supported by The Indonesian Progressive Military Unit. Our primary goal is to kill J. Ramos Horta, so please to tell him to be careful by the end of January 1996.

Thanks.

Given the well proven use of state sponsored terrorism by the Indonesian military in the East Timor occupation war, of which the infamous ‘ninja’ campaigns against the civilian population and the attack on the Netherlands Embassy in Jakarta last December are recent examples, this latest threat needs to be taken seriously. It again reflects
the despair of the Indonesian Military at its failure in East Timor in the face of the East Timorese people’s determined efforts to continue their 21 year struggle for their right of self determination and freedom from a brutal foreign occupation. CNRM has taken measures to protect the safety of its overseas based personnel from terrorist actions covertly sponsored by the Suharto dictatorship.

XANANA SPEAKS FROM PRISON


Here is the text of the Xanana interview as it appeared in the Guardian Magazine. This interview was also published in the Nation (USA, Dec. 25), Irish Times (Dec. 5), Aftonbladet (Sweden), Manchester Guardian Weekly (Dec. 10) and other places.

Introduction and interview by John Pilger:

In East Timor there is a single, recurring sound. It interrupts the silence of the night and the early morning. It is a name spoken under the breath, a whisper - “Shananaa ...” Watching the sun rise over the oil town of Suai, I was approached by a man who, without looking at me, held a furtive conversation ending with, “Shananaa ...” On the verandah of a hotel in Dili, the capital, an old man nervously asked me to phone his daughter in Darwin, then offered the familiar whisper and departed.

That was two years ago. These encounters were remarkable for the courage they epitomised - just to be seen talking to a foreigner was to invite arrest. But the name being whispered as a password of hope belonged to a man who 10 months earlier had been caught and locked away, perhaps for the rest of his life. Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, known as Xanana (the “X” is pronounced “Sh”), Commander of the Forces of the East Timorese National Liberation Front (CNRM), has been the symbol of East Timorese resistance since 1981, and remains so in his cell in Cipinang prison near Jakarta.

If a people’s history of the 20th century is ever written recording the true distinction of those who led ordinary people against the onslaughts of power and greed, at the risk of their own survival, Xanana’s name will join those of Mandela, Gandhi and Ho Chi Minh. At 49, his own life mirrors a national struggle and suffering which, until a few years ago, were consigned to historical oblivion by the “international community” and most of Western journalism.

Few images and reported words reached the outside world when Indonesian para-troopers landed in East Timor on December 7, 1975. The only foreign journalist to report main behind on the invasion day, Roger East, an Australian, was executed by the Indonesians.

Xanana was made leader of the resistance movement Fretilin, in 1981. With his beard and beret, he looked strikingly similar to Che Guevara and, like him, became a pin-nermel figure, eluding capture for more than a decade. In their frustration, the Indonesians deployed a tactic known as “the fence of legs.” They forced tens of thousands of old people, women and children to march through the jungle in all conditions, “sweeping” the undergrowth for guerrillas and calling on them to surrender.

However, what Xanana and his men heard were voices warning them in the Timorense language, Tetum, which the Indonesians didn’t understand. “You are in danger,” they shouted. “Quick. Run now. We will cover for you.” Thousands of civilians were caught and punished for this, often with death, demonstrating that the guerrillas were, and remain, immensely popular and the locus of a movement that has repeatedly regenerated itself. “The old men embraced me,” wrote Xanana in his diary. “They cried out, ‘Son, carry on the fight! Don’t ever surrender.’ We were moved by this and swore to die for the homeland.” In classic fashion, the guerrillas have relied on ambush; on several occasions frightened Indonesian units have tried to negotiate an “amnesty” for themselves.

In 1970 Xanana married Emilia, “in a registry office, after insulting the priests!” he wrote in his diary. They have a son, Nito, and a daughter, Zeni, now both in their twenties and living in Australia. Nito’s only memory of his father is riding on his shoulders, each of them with an ice cream.

While Xanana was in the mountains, Emilia was terribly abused. Once, with the children watching, a pistol was rammed into her mouth and the trigger pulled. In 1990, after long negotiations, she was allowed to leave for Australia. On the day she was driven to the airport, hundreds of school-children appeared out of the fields along the route and stood with their heads bowed in a defiant gesture of respect for her. When her plane landed in Bali she found a crumpled note in her pocket which read, in verse:

You leave us not forever
We do not forget,
You have helped Timorense women keep
their dignity and hope,
Xanana remains and is not alone,
So you can leave us.
Go! Shout like Winnie Mandela!

In his diary, Xanana noted that the resistance passed a resolution “allowing individuals, under certain conditions, to marry twice” if they were separated from wives they were unlikely ever to see again. When a friend asked him, “Are you going to get married (again)?” he replied, “No ... a tough and prolonged war is ahead of us, we realise that...”

Xanana was captured in a safe house on the outskirts of Dili on November 20 1992 after one of his drivers was tortured. He was found in a concealed room beneath the floorboards. Interrogated day after day, he was confined in a small cell with a convicted criminal suffering from (highly infectious) Hepatitis B and who, on pain of death, was to report everything he said. At the same time, hundreds of young East Timorese were rounded up and forced to declare their allegiance to Indonesia by drinking each other’s blood, taken from them with a single syringe and squirted into a bowl mixed with wine. Such public acts of humiliation, often conducted near a church with a priest made to attend, have been turned into rituals of defiance, with people quietly chanting, in their own language, Xanana’s words: “We resist to win.”

Today the resistance consists of mainly young people who were infants when Xanana went into the mountains and whom the Indonesians believed they had “re-socialised.” Last July I made contact with Xanana in prison through an underground network which, since his “trial” in an Indonesian kangaroo court three years ago, has ensured that he continues as chairman of the National Council of Maubere (Timorense) Resistance. Strategy documents, poetry and Christmas cards have all been smuggled out. In messages sent from London in code, I proposed an interview on videotape. Within a fortnight I received a hand-written note. “Dear JP I agree ...” It was signed “X.” I had read in my message that I was concerned about what might happen to him when the interview was made public; that we could be under no illusions about the Jakarta regime’s vindictive talents. His reply to me echoed the statement he had read out at his “trial” until the judge ordered him silenced. “As a political prisoner in the hands of the occupiers of my country,” he told the court, “it is of no consequence at all to me if they pass a death sentence here today. They are killing my people and I am not worth more than [their] heroic struggle...” Addressing any concern, he replied that any risk was his right to take and his responsibility alone.

As that message arrived in London, he was suddenly moved to solitary confinement. The previous occupant of his new cell, Indonesia’s former foreign minister, Subandrio, spent almost 30 years there. Smuggling in a video camera was now out of the question. Instead, a miniature tape recorder reached him, along with my coded questions. His response is a personal record
of the East Timorese holocaust and of a re-
sistance movement that has survived solely
on its popular base, without outside help. It
is also a document of defiance; he calls Su-
harto, his jailer, a murderer and warns that
unless the question of East Timor’s self-
determination is resolved, it could ignite an
uprising in Indonesia itself.

He also offers Indonesia terms of recon-
ciliation that would allow the world’s fourth
largest nation to reclaim some international
respect worthy of its own struggle for inde-
pendence against the Dutch. He distills his
anger for “complicit foreign governments,”
such as the British, Indoneisa’s biggest arms
supplier, and the “cynical” Keating govern-
ment in Australia.

I had asked him to send me some of his
poems, knowing that this had helped to sus-
tain him during his years in the mountains.
Although he replied that “I consider myself
neither a poet nor a writer,” the verse he
sent is spine-tingling. Listening to the tape,
which is 60 minutes long, it is clear he is
speaking in a small and empty space. To-
wards the end he is rushing and speaking
more closely to the microphone, presuma-
ably for fear of being caught. He ends with a
personal message to me - “um grande
abraço” - a big hug - and signs off with his
verse often caused a crisis of conscience.

XG: I was on the Lois river with our troops,
and their murder of five Australian journa-
lists. Who were trying to stop the a dvance of
the [Catholic] seminary. I worked as a fish-
der in Australia.

JP: What happened as the months turned
into years and the world remained silent?

XG: Between 1977 and 1978 large numbers
of people surrendered. Their men had been
murdered, their scanty possessions pillaged
and their women raped. In Uatulan, for in-
stance, all those who could read and write
were massacred, and in some villages only
women remained. In those years the Indone-
sian troops would tie people up and leave
them outdoors, naked and exposed to the
harsh heat and the cold of the night while,
little by little, they would cut pieces from
their skin, their arms and legs. They often
cut off their penises or their ears, which the
victims were then forced to eat. Each village
had a detention centre which held the able-
bodied men and women. At night their bod-
dies were disposed of. From 1980 we tried to
tell the world about this, but no one was
listening. It is this which the murderer Su-
harto calls “returning to the people of East
Timor their human rights!”

JP: What were the conditions you and your
men had to endure during the 17 years
you were in the mountains?

XG: We were constantly on the move and
exposed to heat and heavy rains. We suf-
f ered a lack of food, medicine and clothing,
as we stayed just ahead of the enemy. It
was not uncommon to be on the march for
three weeks, sleeping two hours a night and
craving food and clothing.

Xanana sent one called “Generations”

Names without faces
Hearts stabbed
with memories
of the tears of children
shed for their parents . . .

More than death
made them utter their last word
in every tear the cruel spectacle . . .
the whimpering of a mother
without energy
upon her body are etched
the blemishes of anguish
depleted
The rags
which cover her
in tatters
in the din of her own flesh
cruely scorned
by the Indonesian soldiers
one by one
on top of her

Inert, the body of a woman
becomes a corpse
insensitive to the justice
of the dagger
which has liberated her from li fe
and in the meantime . . .
blows of the rifle butt
resound
in the tear drops
of the very same children

A father pays the price
for the last “no” of his life and...

the tears dried

replaced by the sweat of the struggle ...

JP: How significant is the supply of Western arms to Indonesia?

XG: Extremely significant. In the early years American Bronco and Skyhawk aircraft relentlessly bombed and machine-gunned the camps and wells of the refugee population. And the new aircraft sold by Britain will invariably be used in East Timor. As for the denials that the Hawks will not be used against us, the Western powers, concerned primarily with profits, have made these lies the condition for the continuing sale of arms and ammunition.

The British Government must accept its share of moral responsibility for the war in East Timor. The imminent sale of 24 Hawks provides Jakarta with precisely the approval it requires that it may continue to persecute and murder with impunity. [The sale, by British Aerospace, follows a “soft” loan to Jakarta of 80 million which Britain’s Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker delivered in person last May. Despite Amnesty’s report that repression and violence were worse in East Timor than at any time since the Santa Cruz massacre, she announced that “human rights have improved in Indonesia.”]

JP: What do you say to Australia’s Prime Minister Paul Keating and Foreign Minister Gareth Evans when they argue that Australia has no choice but to form a close “partnership” with Jakarta?

XG: Never have I encountered in the whole world two more cynical and insensitive Labour party politicians as Messrs Evans and Keating. The Australian Labour Government has shown itself to be without principles. To the point where Canberra has even stooped to kowtowing to the Suharto regime, this is truly a disgrace. They are traitors of the conscience of the Australian people.

JP: But what about the historical debt that the Australian people are said to owe the East Timorese?

XG: I belong to the generation which grew up immediately following the Japanese occupation. As a child I knew that East Timor fought to ward off Japan’s invasion of the Australian continent. Yet Australia claimed victory! If there is a military threat to Australia today, it comes from Indonesia. Logically, East Timor would serve as a bulwark against Indonesia in the defence of Australia. But no! Due to its fear of an Indonesian invasion, every Australian government since 1975 has given its approval to the taking by force of the small territory which 50 years ago saved Australian soil... and it recognises the criminal 20-year occupation as the best option for us. [The Australian government was the first to defy the United Nations and recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, in 1985. Keating and Evans have tied much of Australian foreign policy to “doing business” with Suharto. In the past year, the Australian military has been integrated into Indonesia’s war effort in East Timor, training the same units of special forces that have committed some of the worst atrocities and welcoming to Canberra, as an honoured guest, the general responsible for the massacre of 270 unarmed demonstrators in Dili in 1991.]

JP: Has the East Timorese resistance any suggestions for a solution?

XG: We propose a process that gives everyone the right to debate integration [with Indonesia], autonomy or independence, based on the UN’s understanding of East Timor’s legal-political status. After a period of time we propose a plebiscite to be carried out under international supervision. If the East Timorese freely opt for integration, we will make every effort to maintain a climate of peace and understanding. But if the people decide upon independence, Indonesia must be prepared to respect this. The regime is now aware that the case of East Timor is a far greater threat to its credibility than any other domestic problem. Until a few years ago Indonesian society was closed. Now human rights are better understood, thanks to the revelation of their violations in my country.

There are also signs that Suharto is no longer sure of who his friends are, now that most of the old guard have returned. Not all of them can be made ministers, and the new generation of generals are now anticipating their share of benefits from the regime, which has already begun to promote the idea of the immortality of Suharto. If the Indonesian opposition fails to recognise that the time has come for mass-mobilisation and risk-taking, it will die out.

JP: What can people all over the world do to help bring about freedom in East Timor?

XG: Go out on the streets and protest in front of the nearest Indonesian Embassy, as they do in Australia. Put the lie to Indonesian claims that the problem of East Timor is a domestic one for Indonesia. During the African colonial wars, [the Portuguese dictator] Marcelo Caetano was mobbed in the streets of London and forced to return to Portugal like a bandit fleeing from the police. Actions such as these are worth more than a million letters written to Suharto or UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali. This is what the British people should do. Show the regime that it will never be free of public displays of repudiation for as long as the question of East Timor remains unresolved.

JP: You are now on your own in solitary confinement, could you describe your cell, and the possessions you are allowed to have?

I am under the supervision of military intelligence. Everything I do is recorded every day; everything: the hour I wake up, what I do then, and the hour I go to bed. I am not permitted to mix with other East Timorese prisoners or with other so-called “subversive” inmates. I am only allowed to receive Red Cross visits twice a year. If my family wish to visit me at other times they are not allowed. Intelligence officers visit me regularly and ask me stupid questions. I am in a cell three metres by four metres with an outside area 10 metres long. I can see the sun through the iron bars. I don’t have a lot of possessions, as you can appreciate. [He has been offered exile but has refused it until all East Timorese political prisoners are released.]

JP: Like any human being in such confinement, your spirit must ebb and flow. When you are not at your strongest, what restores you?

XG: The memory of my people’s sacrifices and an awareness that no sacrifice I could make could compare with the sea of blood that has washed over my homeland. And so I do my best to overcome my own difficulties...

JP: For those who have never been to East Timor, could you describe its beauty and the particular memory of it you have in your mind and heart?

XG: Would I say that my country is beautiful? Perhaps yes and perhaps no. The thing that enchants me is the primitive harmony of the relationship which exists between human beings and the natural world. And how beautiful it is to feel an instinctive fondness for the cool of the mountains which are not blue, no, they’re not blue. It is the fragrance that hangs in the air, close to the earth, that is blue. And how beautiful it is to feel the peace which invades the soul as the body brushes through the dense foliage of the woods, the sensation of a concealed freedom.

[abridged]

TIMOR GROUP PROTESTS AGAINST RED CROSS, ACTIVIST

Jakarta, Dec 4 (Reuter) – More than 20 youths staged pro-Indonesian protests on
Monday against the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and an activist, denouncing their “interference” in the territory.

“Don’t sell East Timor for money!” read one of the banners displayed during the protest against Dutch-born human rights activist Poncke Princen in front of his Institute for the Defence of Human Rights in east Jakarta.

Some protesters said the group was made up of East Timorese. However, others told Reuters they were paid 20,000 rupiah ($8.70) each by the military to join the protest.

“We are forced to join the protests and only seven of us are from East Timor. The others come from Flores (island) and West Timor,” one protester said.

The protest lasted about 30 minutes and included a brief dialogue with Princen, an Indonesian citizen, before the 26 protesters boarded a bus and went to the ICRC mission in a southern suburb.

No arrests were reported in both protests, which were watched by police and plainclothes military officers. Princen is among the most outspoken Indonesian activists on East Timor issues.

A total of 43 East Timorese have sought political asylum in foreign embassies in Jakarta since September 24. All were granted asylum in Portugal, the territory’s former colonial master.

The youths at Monday’s protest denounced what they called the ICRC’s interference in helping the asylum seekers leave.

INDONESIANS DETAINED IN LATEST JAKARTA CRACKDOWN

JAKARTA, Dec 4 (Reuters) - More than 1,500 people, including alleged gamblers and drug traffickers, have been detained in Jakarta during the latest Indonesian military crackdown on underworld activities, a military spokesman said on Monday.

The crackdown - codenamed “Operation Cleansing” - was launched on November 11 with over 4,000 soldiers and police.

Lieutenant-Colonel Didi Supandi, a spokesman for the Jakarta military command, said 1,551 people had been held so far in the sprawling capital of about 10 million inhabitants.

“This crackdown aims at making Jakarta safer, as well as reducing the number of crimes. The activity will continue for an indefinite period of time,” he told Reuters.

The operation started one day before the fourth anniversary of the massacre on November 12, 1991, of up to 200 demonstra-

menters in Dili, the capital of troubled East Timor.

It will also overlap, on Thursday December 7, with the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s military invasion of East Timor after its former Portuguese colonialists left.

Many foreign embassies in Jakarta have boosted security, some with barbed wire, following a spate of break-ins by a total of 43 East Timorese political asylum seekers since September 24.

All of the Timorese were granted asylums in Portugal.

Supandi said those arrested since November 11 including 537 alleged gamblers, 509 people without identity cards, 251 drunkards and 56 petty criminals.

He said two Colt pistols with ammunition, 83 knives, 3,606 bottles of alcohol and more than 3,000 barbiturate pills were taken from detainees, now in police custody.

TRANSMIGRATION EASES POVERTY BUT THREATENS ENVIRONMENT

By Yuli Ismartono

JAKARTA, Dec 4 (IPS) - Population resettlement projects have succeeded in alleviating poverty in some developing countries, but critics of Indonesia’s transmigration programme denounce it as a threat to the nation’s social and ecological balance.

Participants at a recent international conference here on population resettlement agreed that despite problems of funding and implementation, such projects have helped ensure a more equitable distribution of resources in some countries.

“My government is currently intensifying land reforms to resettle 1.4 million landless workers and unemployed people,” said Brazilian Minister of Agriculture Raul David do Valle.

Namibian Minister of Resettlement and Land Rehabilitation Richard Kapelwa Kabadjan said resettled people in his country are given four to seven hectares of land for agriculture, plantations and fish breeding.

In war-torn Cambodia, resettlement programmes are focused on relocating hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced people from the 12-year civil war that ended in 1993 following United Nations-sponsored multi-party elections.

Indonesia’s transmigration programme, launched in 1952, has moved 7.2 million people from the densely populated islands of Java, Bali and Lombok to the sparsely populated islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Irian Jaya.

The programme is aimed at redistributing Indonesia’s 190 million people more evenly around the archipelago’s 13,700 islands.

More than 60 percent live in Java, Bali and Lombok, which comprise less than a quarter of the total land area.

“A majority of those resettled were poor families and had no land to till,” said Indonesian Minister for Transmigration Siswono Yuwohusodo. He said 95 percent of the people resettled had significantly improved their incomes.

The government plans to enlist transmigrants to cultivate 30,000 hectares of idle land in 16 provinces in the coming year in an effort to expand food producing areas.

Among an estimated 600,000 of fallow land in Indonesia, the largest is found around southern Sumatra, measuring some 15,000 hectares, followed by 3,000 hectares in remote Irian Jaya.

Agriculture Minister Sjarifudin Baharsjah recently announced plans to convert 1.3 million hectares of swamps in central Kalimantan into rice fields and forestry estates.

He said the 217-million-dollar project, which is expected to be completed in 10 years’ time, will involve private companies for part of the funding and transmigrants to farm the land.

Officials say transmigration also helps to conserve the country’s tropical rainforests by moving squatters to permanent settlements outside the forest areas, but critics say in fact it wipes out indigenous cultures and harms flora and fauna.

Environmentalists estimate up to 12,000 sq km of Indonesian forests are lost every year partly because of the widespread clearing of woodland for settlements for new migrants.

The programme has also encroached on the country’s 25.5 million hectares of wetland, much of it undisturbed till a few years ago. With many of the resettlement sites failing because the land is unsuitable for agriculture, the programme has led to the development of peat swamp areas for fuel and food resources.

“Peat swamp forest is a unique ecosystem and once lost, can never be replaced,” warned a representative of the Indonesian environmental group Skephi.

Many migrants also complain of lack of government assistance once they settle in their new lands. They find themselves stranded in remote and unclear areas, without any infrastructure or facilities to support their new ventures.

And often, the settlers must contend with the local population of the designated transmigration areas, whose culture and traditions differ greatly. The settlers are often viewed with suspicion, of attempting to ‘colonise’ their lands.

A programme to move some 10,000 people from Java and Sumatra to Siberut island four years ago was greeted with protests.
from the Mentawi people. Village elders feared the influx of outsiders encouraged to intermarry with the Mentawi might lead to the gradual disappearance of their 3,000-year-old culture.

Violent disputes between settlers and local communities sometimes take place when land ownership comes into conflict with traditional laws.

Not surprisingly, some transmigrants eventually go back to their place of origin rather than continue their hard struggle in a strange and unwelcoming land.

The government denies claims that it is coercing people to move to the outer islands. “Transmigration in Indonesia is voluntary. People participated freely in the programme to improve their situation,” said Siswono.

Despite the programme’s flaws, critics admit transmigration remains one of the most effective tools to distribute the population more evenly, and hence promote regional development.

The Jakarta conference called on the international community to increase its contribution towards population resettlement. Said Siswono: “The concept of population resettlement has been widely accepted, but it cannot be implemented in full because of a shortage of funds and technology.”

**INDONESIA OUT NOW! MOVEMENT STARTS**

**FROM AKSI, NEWS SERVICE, 12 December 1995**

An abridged version of this article appeared in the December 12 Sydney Morning Herald titled “Dissent alive in Indonesia”

**By Max Lane**

40 Indonesian leaders and members of the Peoples Democratic Union (Persatuan Rakyat Demokratik - PRD) joined 60 East Timorese in sit-ins on the Dutch and Russian embassies on December 7. This dramatic action signals the start of a movement in Indonesia amongst Indonesians demanding that the Suharto government withdraw from East Timor. It also signals an escalation in the militancy of the democratic movement in Indonesia generally.

Support for the East Timorese cause in Indonesia has been slowly increasing over the several years, especially since the 1991 Dili massacre. This has been reflected in the outspokenness of academic critics such as Dr George Adijonjro as well as critical statements taken by a number of community and human rights organisations. For at least two years now, there has existed a Joint Committee on East Timor bringing together a range of community organisations. The Embassy occupations by the Peoples Democratic Union, however, are the first real open acts of defiance by a pro-democracy group. The actions have put its demands of Indonesian withdrawal of all police and military forces from East Timor and for a referendum on independence into the Indonesian media and over the cable TV broadcasts into Indonesia.

Moreover, the Peoples Democratic Union itself represents a new trend in Indonesian politics. It is an organisation that brings together organised support amongst trade unionists, students, farmers and artists. For the last 20 years opposition to the Suharto government has been restricted to the campuses and to dissatisfied former elements of the government. Some of these people later formed community based welfare and human rights groups but none attempted to organise broad memberships in ongoing campaigns against government policy. The formation of PRD in May, 1994 marked the beginning of a new stage in Indonesian politics. It immediately took the lead in pushing forward the public campaign against last year’s bannings of Indonesia’s three major newsweeklies, Tempo, DeTik and Editor.

Yesterday (Monday 11 December), the PRD launched another action in the form of a strike and rally of over 12,000 textile workers in the Central Javanese city of Solo. The rally was dispersed with at least 40 people arrested. The action will be supported by the PRD’s national affiliates, the Indonesian Centre for Labour Struggles and Students in Solidarity with Democracy.

This follows a string of other actions, including a six day strike, a demonstration and march of 14,000 workers in July just outside Jakarta.

The emergence of PRD and its willingness to support East Timorese independence is part of a deeper process of change in Indonesian society. Numerous political parties, trade unions and other organisations developed deep roots in Indonesian society beginning in the 1920s. After independence in 1945, Indonesia experienced a period of 20 years of dynamic, sometimes volatile, political pluralism. In the 1960s this gave rise to big conflicts over issues such as land for the millions of landless peasants and the role of foreign business. In 1965 these conflicts came to a head and the Indonesian military, under general Suharto, seized power. Almost all of the long standing political parties, trade unions, farmer organisations were either physically suppressed or taken over by the government, depending on how radical they were.

However, the political outlooks that these organisations represented - from left to right - remained deeply rooted in Indonesian society. They were the organisations that fought Dutch colonialism and created the Indonesian nation. Today they are beginning to force themselves back into the mainstream. Apart from the emergence of the PRD, there has been the inability of the government to stop the gradual rise of radical Sukarnoism. Megawati Sukarno is now the president of the Indonesian Democrat Party, some of whose members have already publicly endorsed the PRD’s campaign for a repeal of all repressive political laws, including those banning new political parties. In the last three weeks, leaders of several of other supposedly extinct political groups have announced their reformation, using different names but the same acronyms.

All these trends are, of course, facing severe repression by the government. Leaders of PRD are regularly detained and their activities harassed. Although all the protesters from last weeks Dutch and Russian Embassy protests have been released from police custody, it is reliably reported that military and police agents are attempting to round up as many East Timorese activists as they can find. However, it will be increasingly difficult for the government to hold back the process of Indonesia’s pluralistic political traditions reemerging. Widespread discontent with massive gaps between rich and poor and the absence of basic democratic freedoms is forcing many young people to seek out vehicles for expressing their discontent. This is especially the case amongst the literally millions of young people who have flooded into the country’s sprawling industrial areas working for $2 a day in semi-militarised factory conditions.

The recent Embassy protests reveals the potential for discontent on these issues to link up with concerns about government policy on East Timor. The Suharto government therefore faces the prospect of not only dealing with increasing opposition to its invasion of East Timor in the international community and in East Timor. It now faces a new battle front on East Timor - in Indonesia itself, amongst its own discontented people. The actions in Jakarta over the last few days do not signal an immediate threat to Suharto’s rule, but do indicate that things will not be so easy for him and his government in the months ahead.

These developments also expose the bankruptcy of the Australian government’s policy on East Timor. Behind assurances that Canberra takes up human rights issues with Jakarta is the fact that Foreign Minister Evans has made it clear again and again that in his view the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia is “irrevocable.” Now he needs to address this not only to the East Timorese and their Australian supporters but also to the most active section of the democratic movement in Indonesia itself. In
this respect, the Australian government is more and more revealed as an ally of the Soeharto government vis-à-vis the democratic opposition in Indonesia.

As the old dynamic, pluralist Indonesia starts to re-emerge in a new 1990s version, with demands for democratic change and withdrawal from East Timor at centre stage, it will become clearer and clearer that independence for East Timor is inevitable. It is only a question of time and the cost in human life and suffering. Current Australian government policy by supporting Jakarta only prolongs the suffering.

**AI: INDONESIA FAILS TO PROTECT WOMEN’S RIGHTS**

**AS INDONESIA COMMEMORATES THE ROLE OF WOMEN THE GOVERNMENT STILL FAILS TO PROTECT WOMEN’S RIGHTS**

*From: Amnesty International News Service, 13 December, News Service 236/95*

**AI INDEX: ASA 21/60/95**

As Indonesia approaches Hari Ibu on 22 December – the day on which it commemorates the country’s first women’s congress – Amnesty International today is calling on the Indonesian Government to stop violating the human rights of women in Indonesia and East Timor.

“There is a striking gap between the Indonesian government’s pronouncements on the protection of women’s rights at the international level and the grim realities on the ground,” the organization said.

Amnesty International today released its first report on violations against women in Indonesia and East Timor. The report documents cases of political imprisonment, restrictions on labour activists, rape and torture of women in detention, ill-treatment of suspected prostitutes, extrajudicial executions and the death penalty. The report also looks at how impunity enjoyed by members of the Indonesian security forces contributes to human rights violations against women.

The Indonesian Government has defended the right of women to enjoy “inalienable human rights as recognised by the international community” in an international human rights meeting. Sadly, these rights do not seem to be recognized by the Indonesian Government itself.

“Women in poor, isolated communities, with limited access to independent lawyers or human rights groups are frequently at risk of human rights violations,” Amnesty International said. “This makes them particularly vulnerable to abuse by security forces and less likely to report violations or seek justice.”

Others at risk include labour activists, those opposed to development projects, and religious activists or alleged supporters of separatist movements. Women activists seeking to defend the human rights of others are also at risk of harassment and imprisonment.

Two labour and human rights activists were arbitrarily detained and questioned on 22 November in Jakarta, merely for associating with another known human rights and democracy activist. An East Timorese woman, Felesmina dos Santos Conceição, was released from prison in October, after serving four years of a five-year sentence for distributing military documents containing an interview with the East Timor Governor and information about the schedule and accommodation of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to East Timor.

Women seeking to protect their social and economic rights are frequently subjected to human rights violations including arbitrary detention, torture and imprisonment.

“It is only when the rights of women not to be arbitrarily detained, tortured, killed, or ‘disappeared’ are guaranteed that women’s socio-economic rights and their right to development can be achieved,” Amnesty International said.

The shame frequently felt by those women who are raped and sexually harassed in military and police detention means that these violations are often not reported.

“A greater responsibility should be placed on the Indonesian Government to ensure transparency in all forms of security detention – all women in detention should have access to lawyers of their own choice and women guards should be present at all times,” Amnesty International said.

Women suffer violations because members of the security forces are not held to account for their actions. The widows in Aceh and East Timor whose husbands were killed or “disappeared” by the security forces have never been told by the government what happened to their husbands or received compensation. They still live in a climate of fear, making them reluctant to talk to outsiders.

Other women who suffered rape, torture, imprisonment and unfair trial for their alleged links to the Indonesian Communist Party in the 1960s, still bear the scars of their torture and treatment. They conceal their identities because of continuing restrictions on former prisoners yet those who committed the violations were never brought to justice.

Two months after governments adopted a Platform for Action to protect women’s rights at the UN Conference on Women in Beijing, the responsibility on the Indonesian Government is even stronger.

“The Indonesian Government should ensure an end to human rights violations against women and that particular mechanisms are put in place to enable women to report human rights violations. The government should also ensure that members of the security forces who violate women’s rights are brought to justice,” Amnesty International said.

**INDONESIA SAYS AMNESTY RIGHTS REPORT BIASED**

JAKARTA, Dec 13 (Reuters) - Amnesty International said on Wednesday Indonesian women, particularly activists, were the target of rape, torture, execution and other rights violations by security forces, Jakarta called the report biased.

In a report released in Sydney on Wednesday entitled “Women in Indonesia and East Timor, Standing Against Oppression,” Amnesty alleged the practice of torture was not overt government policy but “has become institutionalised within the security forces.”

The report by the London-based rights group was denied by Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl, who said it was “biased” and the allegations were not new.

“Amnesty International has always been engaged in the distortion of facts on human rights in Indonesia,” Fadyl said.

The Amnesty report said women most at risk were those involved in land disputes, Islamic or other religious activities or those criticising central rule over the provinces of Aceh, Irian Jaya and East Timor.

It listed a number of allegations of imprisonment, rape, torture and execution of women in Indonesia in the 1990s.

“There is a striking gap between the Indonesian government’s pronouncements on the protection of women’s rights at the international level and the grim realities on the ground,” Amnesty spokeswoman Nalyni Mohamed said in releasing the report.

“Women who challenge the Indonesian authorities frequently suffer human rights violations, including arbitrary arrest, rape, torture and extra-judicial executions,” she said in Sydney.

Fadyl said the report showed Amnesty’s ignorance of what Indonesia was doing to promote the advancement of women.

He said Indonesia had set up 62 study centres for the advancement of women as well as the promotion and protection of their rights, and its efforts had been praised by United Nations bodies.

“Indonesia is one of the leading countries in Asia promoting and protecting women’s rights,” he added.

Amnesty said it had received 40 testimonies from women describing torture since 1993. Methods included electric shock, ciga-
said that whatever considerations the government had about solving the East Timor issue, the possibility of special status, let alone autonomy or independence, was not on the cards.

Up to now, Jakarta has tried military force, economic assistance and even resettlement programmes to quell the protests of Timorese activists seeking independence from Indonesia, but none have worked.

Military might has seen violent crackdowns in recent years – the worst being the 1991 Dili massacre which resulted in several deaths and international condemnation of the Jakarta regime’s human rights record.

Every November, Timorese activists mark the anniversary of the bloody army crackdown with various demonstrations – most recently, they have been focused on foreign embassies as a means of gaining international attention for their plight.

Last week, students staged similar tactics in marking the 20th anniversary of the invasion – their demonstrations at the Dutch and Russian embassies coinciding with the visit of U.N. envoy on Human Rights Ayala Lasso.

What was significant about last week’s demonstrations was that they were joined by non-Timorese youths who described themselves as members of the People’s Democratic Union in support of the Timorese cause.

Their demands were not for political asylum. Rather they sought: the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor, a referendum to determine the territory’s political status, and a repeal of repressive politically related laws that have been in force on East Timor since 1985.

And while mainland support for the Timorese activists remains outwardly small, the timing of last week’s protest was particularly awkward for the Jakarta government and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was forced to admit that the integration process was far from complete – even 20 years on.

“It’s obvious they are part of a campaign to challenge Indonesia by a minority in East Timor who refuse to accept the reality of 20 years of integration,” Alatas told reporter.

Shortly after East Timor gained independence from Portugal in 1975, it was invaded by Indonesia which formally annexed the territory in 1976 – a landgrab that the United Nations refused to recognise.

Human rights organisations claim that as many as 200,000 people out of a total population then of 650,000, may have been killed by the Indonesian armed forces during the invasion and annexation.

Political observers say that in addition to the historical grievances that remain over Jakarta’s invasion and subsequent annexation of East Timor, there are prevailing circumstances that are not adding fuel to the fire – like the resettlement of thousands of Indonesians to East Timor.

The apparent aim of the resettlement programme is to increase the ratio of Muslims to Christians. Currently, Catholics make up 95 per cent of the 800,000 people living on East Timor, but in recent years 25,000 Muslims have been making a home on the province annually.

Timorese complain that the influx is further undermining the economic situation on the province, where unemployment is rampant.

Timorese member of parliament Salvador Ximenes Soares made a similar observation in an interview with the ‘Far Eastern Economic Review.’

He also said that the provincial government should be given the authority to levy taxes and accept direct foreign aid, and that East Timor should be allowed to adopt its own educational system.

But this would amount to giving East Timor a form of special administrative status, which observers say, is not on Jakarta’s agenda now, or for the future.

Comment from Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US:

“worst being the 1991 Dili massacre which resulted in several deaths ???”

There is a well-researched list of 271 names of people who were killed in the Dili Massacre. Even the Indonesian government admits to 50.

Comment from Constâncio Pinto: (Former Secretary of the Executive Committee of CNRM in the underground movement and the organizer of the 12 November, 1991 peaceful demonstration)

Yes it is true that there is a list of 271 killed at the Santa Cruz Massacre in 1991, but this does not include the names of those people who were massacred at the Military hospital and others in Hera and Bemos.

As someone who compiled the above list I admit that up to 400 people were killed by the Indonesian army from November 12 to December, 1991.

INDONESIAN ARMY ANNOYED BY ALATAS

NRC-Handelsblad, 16 December 1995. By Dirk Vlasblom. [Slightly abridged]

A report filed last night by Antara had the effect of a time-bomb. Major-General
Imam Utomo, commander of the East Java military command seized the occasion of a farewell ceremony for retired officers to announce, in a display of professional pride, that his men had arrested the key people involved in the actions at the Dutch and Russian embassies.

The announcement shattered the credibility of Foreign Minister Ali Alatas who had promised the embassy occupiers that they would only be questioned by the Jakarta police and then be released. A police spokesperson had announced that ‘if the embassy did not make any charges, there would be no reason to prosecute the people.’

It is questionable whether the men in uniform have any regrets for embarrassing Alatas. For years, they have been annoyed by all the efforts made by Alatas to clean up Indonesia’s image by removing the East Timor stain. It was Alatas who in October 1991 invited a delegation of Portuguese parliamentarians to visit Dili. At the last minute, the invitation was declined much to the disappointment of people in East Timor. When the whole thing exploded and the uniformed men started shooting at the rioters, we became caught up in an inquiry commission and a military tribunal, many army officers argue.

From then on, Alatas brought one UN official after another to East Timor, the most recent being the Ecuadorean Jose Ayala Lasso, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, which caused a great deal of commotion and it was left to us to maintain law and order, say the fellows in the barracks. In the past few months, East Timorese have been climbing over embassy fences and then ‘rewards’ with free passages to Portugal - but from the military point of view, this is just asking for trouble.

The slogans yelled by loyalist youngsters calling the Russian and Dutch embassy occupiers ‘traitors’ was music to the ears of the security officers. The inquiry which Alatas has promised to (Dutch Foreign Minister) van Mierlo should determine whether those slogans were in fact designed by the generals themselves. If this proves to be true, they will be held responsible for the counter-actions waged on Dutch territory the original purpose of which was probably intended to scare off future embassy occupiers which ended up in acts of violence against Dutch diplomats.

One thing is certain: the safety guarantees provided by the diplomats have been spurned by the military. While Alatas is trying so hard to protect Indonesia's image abroad, for the military, everything must serve a higher goal, internal security.

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**INDONESIA TO REOPEN MISSION IN CUBA**

[abridged]

JAKARTA, Dec 20 (Reuters) - Indonesia will reopen its diplomatic mission in Cuba following an improvement in ties, especially over East Timor, the official Antara news agency reported on Wednesday.


“Now it is about time to have our own office in Havana, especially that Cuba appointed its ambassador to Indonesia in 1992. It is based on the principles of reciprocity that we should also open our own mission there,” Alatas said on Tuesday.

Antara said Indonesia closed its permanent mission in Havana in 1985 for financial reasons. Since then, Indonesia's ambassador to Cuba, speaking at the installation of Indonesia's charge d'affaires to Havana, said: “The latest stance of the Cuban government with regard to the East Timor issue has become increasingly favourable to Indonesia.

“Our relationship has also become increasingly intensive as fellow members of the Non-Aligned Movement,” he added.

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**MAN WITH THE RIGHT MATES (GJA ON BENNY MURDANI)**

Benny Murdani’s cukong

THE WEST AUSTRALIAN, January 3, 1996. By George Aditjondro

Former Immigration Minister Gerry Hand has upset Labor Left colleagues by forging a partnership with Robby Sumampow, the Indonesian businessman who controls the Christmas Island casino. This report profiles Mr. Sumampow and the political patronage behind his success.

TWENTY years ago, Robby Sumampow was a practically unknown businessman – still living under the Chinese name of Sung Fung Liang.

But even before he changed his name, Mr. Sumampow, born in Solo, Java, on November 9, 1944, could find the right contacts – the people who knew people.

One of those contacts was, and remains, General Benny Murdani, who two decades ago was a rising star in the Indonesian army.

So, when General Murdani – now retired – was assigned by President Suharto to command the Seroja Operation – codename for the December 7, 1975, invasion of East Timor – he gave Mr. Sung and his younger brother Hendro the job of supplying logistics support to the troops.

Once the troops settled down under the command of General Murdani, Dading Kambuadi and Sahala Rajagukguk (now Indonesia’s Ambassador to India), the Sung brothers’ fortune grew in leaps and bounds.

They set up PT Denok, a company which used the occupation to get the monopoly over the entire East Timor coffee trade. Another Sung brothers’ company, PT Salazar Coffee Plantations, took over the deserted Portuguese-owned coffee plantation [in the] district of Ermera.

From this lucrative start, the Sung brothers set up more than a dozen other companies in East Timor, including monopolies over the production of marble and sandalwood.

Another company produced high-value carvings from East Timor’s marble and sandalwood.

Two civil engineering companies set up by the brothers won the lion’s share of all infrastructure projects in East Timor. They operated a real estate project, Marina department store, cinema and two hotels.

The group established its own shipping company, PT Pelayaran Nee Diak, and a trading arm, PT Batara Indra, which eventually became the group’s holding company.

The whole cluster of companies is now called Batara Indra Group.

As well as profiting from the abandoned Portuguese coffee plantation, the group was allowed to take over a former Portuguese stadium, former Chinese and Portuguese shopping centres, warehouses and hotels.

Without political backing from the commanders of the Indonesian troops in East Timor, it would have been impossible to get all these preferential business opportunities.

During this time the Sung brothers changed their Chinese family name to Sumampow – after the then Indonesian police commander.

In return, Alex, son of the late Maj.-Gen. W.F. Sumampow, was given a 15 percent share in PT Gunung Kidang [one of the Group’s civil engineering contractors], and groomed to become the group’s chief executive.

Alex Sumampow, who has spent the past 20 years in East Timor, now heads the group in Timor, holding the position of treasurer of the Indonesian ruling party’s branch and head of the Indonesian provincial Chamber of Commerce. He has often represented the group in business tours and exhibitions in the Northern Territory [Darwin, Australia].

Despite Alex Sumampow’s public profile in East Timor, this second-generation New
Order conglomerate is actually run by Har- 
tanto, a Sino-Indonesian businessman head-
ing Batara Indra’s “representative office” in 
Jakarta.

HOWEVER, the Tanah Abang office is 
only the appendix of Batara Indra’s real 
headquarters, since the two brothers actu-
ally spend more time in their multi-storey 
office in Jakarta’s Chinatown [which 
 stretches from Jalan Pecenongan No. 15 
back-to-back to Jalan Batu Tulis Raya No. 51].

From this building they launched PT 
Motorollain Corporation, the first Indone-
sian private company to receive a clearance 
from the armed forces to deal in radio pagers 
in the late 1970s.

It was also from this Chinatown office 
that Robby Sumampow managed Tommy 
Suharto’s clove monopoly board BPPC.

When Robby Sumampow began to man-
gage his Christmas Island casino from this 
Chinatown office, Tommy Suharto’s airline 
company, Sempati Air, got the monopoly to 
fly Indonesians VIPs from Jakarta to Christ-
mas Island.

Apart from business relations with Mr. 
Suharto’s youngest son, Robby Sumampow 
also has business relations with Mr. Su-
harto’s second son, Bambang Trihatmojo, in 
North Sulawesi.

Meanwhile, the fortune of the Sumam-
pow brothers’ business empire in East 
Timor has declined drastically – overshad-
owed by a new group, Anak Liambau, a 
joint venture involving Mr. Suharto’s and 
son-in-law [and the family of Indonesi-
an- 
appointed governor Joko Agung Soekarno-
Soares].

East Timor, however, was only a stepping 
stone for the Sumampow brothers to 
accumulate their wealth.

They have since opened the Christmas 
Island casino and have an estimated personal 
wealth of US$ 161 million.

There is a typical Indonesian New Order 
rags-to-riches story: if you have close con-
nections with the army and the First Family 
and don’t mind sacrificing the poor people 
you have a long way to go.

There is nothing wrong with having a 
business partner provided the partner does 
not have a sinister East Timor background, 
which contradicts the reputation of Gerry 
Hand and the Labor Left as staunch sup-
porters of East Timor’s right to self-de-
determination. Mr. Hand’s stance is in line 
with Prime Minister Paul Keating who has 
accepted Jakarta’s claim over the territory.

So it is hardly surprising that members of 
the Labor Left and unions in Victoria, Mr 
Hand’s home State, have called for his resig-
nation from the party’s top decision-making 
body.

George Aditijondro is an exiled Indonesian 
academic based in Perth

P.S.: The same edition of the WEST 
AUSTRALIAN and the SYDNEY 
MORNING HERALD of December 30, 
1995, mentioned that Robby Sumampow 
and Benny Murdani have set up a company 
in Perth in September 1995, called Taruma 
Australia Pty. Ltd. Its directors include 
former Indonesian Air Force commander, 
Air Vice Marshall Teddy Rusdi, former di-
rector of Indonesian’s national airline, Ga-
ruda, Mr. Mohammd Suparno, as well as 
former tourism and transport minister in the 
previous South Australian Labor govern-
ment, Barbara Wiese. So, this shows that 
the “Indonesian” way of closely linking 
business and politics has now been “ex-
ported” to Australia. GJA

XANANA GUSMÃO 
HARASSED BY INTEL ON EVE 
OF LONDON MEETING

CNRM Media Release, 15 January

Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão har-
assed by Indonesian military intelligence on 
eve of London UN-sponsored ministerial 
talks

East Timorese Resistance Leader Xanana 
Gusmão, serving a 20 year sentence in a Ja-
karta jail, is set to be interrogated on Mon-
day following accusations of having sent out 
interviews from prison to the international 
media. Xanana has been strictly prohibited 
by the Indonesian authorities -who pretend 
he is a “common criminal”- from any unau-
thorised contacts with the outside world.

CNRM learned from contacts close to 
members of the Indonesian Armed forces 
(ABRI), about a document issued by the 
Correctional Institutions Directorate Gen-
eral raising concerns about the political con-
sequences of statements allegedly supplied 
by Xanana Gusmão to the media. 
The document is said to recommend his transfer 
be to a more isolated area of the prison, for-
merly occupied by top level Suharto regime 
political prisoners, such as recently released 
former Indonesian Deputy Prime Minister 
and Foreign Minister Subandrio and General 
Omar Dhani.

According to the source, Xanana will 
be questioned by prison and military intelli-
gence on Monday 15 January, the eve of the 
7th round of the (so far quite unproductive) 
talks between Portuguese and Indonesian 
Foreign Ministers under the auspices of the 
UN Secretary General, scheduled for Lon-
don on Tuesday.

This latest situation once again highlights 
the incoherence of Indonesian approaches to 
the East Timor problem, and the lack of 
credibility of Foreign Minister Alatas’ 
statements. Resistance Commander Xanana 
Gusmão continues to be referred to as a 
“common criminal,” (e.g. an Alatas ‘Gatra’ 
magazine interview as recent as 1 January). 
Xanana Gusmão has indicated in the past 
that he will refuse to cooperate with Indo-
nesian prison authorities interrogations re-
arding political matters while he remains 
classified, and is referred to, as a “common 
criminal.”

CNRM condemns the Indonesian treat-
ment of Commander Xanana Gusmão, and 
rises its concerns about his well being in 
the light of these latest and ill-timed harass-
ment.

CNRM asks the United Nations Secre-
tary General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali and 
the Portuguese Foreign Minister Mr Jaime 
Gama, to strongly raise the situation of the 
East Timorese Leader in their meeting with 
Minister Alatas on Tuesday, and to press 
for Gusmão’s immediate and unconditional 
release.

By its actions Indonesia is once again ex-
posing its lack of true commitment to the 
search of a genuine solution to the East 
Timor problem, and is threatening the con-
tinuation of the current process of talks.

For Comment : José Ramos Horta in 
London tel +44 181 771 2904

EVENTS IN WEST PAPUA

There have been many developments in 
West Papua during this period, including 
an escalation of pressure and awareness 
on Freeport-MacMoRan, and the OPM 
taking several Indonesian and foreign 
hostages. There is no way to include 
even a significant sampling of information 
in East Timor Documents.

INDONESIAN MINING 
PROJECT POSED 
‘UNREASONABLE HAZARD’

By Pratap Chatterjee

WASHINGTON, Nov 3 (IPS) – The 
world’s largest gold mine, located in Indone-
sia and operated by Freeport McMoRan, a 
Louisiana-based company, is causing “an 
unreasonable or major environmental, health 
or safety hazard,” according to a U.S. federal 
agency.

At midnight Tuesday, the Overseas Pri-
ivate Insurance Corporation (OPIC), the 
U.S. government agency that insures U.S. 
companies overseas against the “political 
risk” of nationalisation, unrest or war, an-
nounced that it was canceling a five-year-
old, 100-million-dollar insurance policy for the mine.

Activists are now calling on a World Bank affiliate which also insured the operation to follow suit. The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) sold a 50-million-dollar policy to Freeport in 1990.

“OPIC has done the right thing. We are calling on the World Bank, which has also guaranteed Freeport’s mine, to follow their example immediately,” said Danny Kennedy, an activist with Action for Solidarity, Equality, Environment and Development (A SEED) Australia.

A MIGA spokesman, however, said no decisions have yet been made. “We have communicated with OPIC and we are awaiting a response from them,” said Gerald West, senior adviser to MIGA, who refused to speculate on the possibility of MIGA canceling its insurance.

The mine is located in the western half of the island of New Guinea which was renamed Irian Jaya by Indonesia when it took over the island in 1967. Freeport set up its mine shortly after the invasion and was granted permission to expand operations in 1990.

“OPIC has discovered as a result of a monitoring visit in Jul. 1994 that Freeport’s expansion of the project... has caused substantial adverse environmental impacts which compel OPIC to deny all further coverage of the project,” wrote Robert C. O’Sullivan, a lawyer for OPIC, in a Oct 10 letter to the company. The letter was obtained by IPS Friday.

Alison Rowen, an OPIC spokeswoman, told IPS that the agency would not comment on its grounds for canceling the insurance. O’Sullivan was not in his office Friday to answer telephone calls.

When Freeport applied for the insurance policy, the company stated that maximum ore production at the mine would be 52,000 tonnes a day. During the July 1994 visit, however, OPIC consultants discovered that Freeport’s production had increased to 100,000 tonnes a day and that the company was planning to increase this to 160,000 tonnes a day.

“If OPIC had understood that the ore and tailings (mining waste) production levels would be at such high levels, the agency clearly would not have issued the policy,” according to O’Sullivan.

The production increase has resulted in the “massive deposition of tailings in the Ajkwa river and the sheet flow tailings that has degraded a large area of lowland rainforest between the Ajkwa and Minajeri rivers,” says the OPIC letter.

The O’Sullivan letter explains that the environmental problems include, among others, those “associated with acid mine drain-

age from overburden and tailings; the concentration, mobilisation and bioavailability of toxic metals in the tailings; the degradation of surface and groundwater quality... and the mismanagement of solid and hazardous wastes at the site.”

In addition, the project has caused “increased sedimentation...caused by the discharge of higher percentages of coarser grain tailings.”

On Oct 31, O’Sullivan sent a second letter to the company to confirm the policy’s cancellation. He also informed the company that OPIC would return the 971,885.24 dollars that Freeport had paid for the insurance premium for 1996.

Freeport defends itself. The company claims that it “is in compliance with Indonesian environmental regulations and has received all necessary approvals from the government of Indonesia after detailed reviews of its operations” according to Greg Probst, Freeport’s official spokesman.

“Freeport believes that OPIC lacks a legal basis for canceling this coverage and, therefore, the coverage remains in effect. Resolution of this dispute has been submitted to arbitration,” added Probst.

The Indonesian government was recently sued in Jakarta by WALHI, an Indonesian environmental group, for failing to follow national environmental laws when it issued mining permits to Freeport.

Emmy Hafield of WALHI says that the OPIC decision confirms the group’s findings. “We now want to set up an independent environmental monitoring system near their operations especially to monitor water quality in the local rivers. The company itself has an extensive system but it won’t release the data to us,” she said from Jakarta.

Freeport originally responded to the WALHI lawsuit by sending a letter to the U.S. Agency for International Development (US AID), which funds WALHI. The letter, written by Paul Murphy of Freeport, complains about the lawsuit and the fact that WALHI is affiliated with radical environmental groups like Earth First! and Friends of the Earth.

USAID, however, approved a new grant to the group for 250,000 dollars. The agency has given about 1.1 million dollars to WALHI over the last 11 years, according to sources.

The OPIC decision, which had been rumoured for two weeks, was fought by powerful lobbyists in Washington. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, called the State Department to stop the cancellation, according to the Los Angeles Times. The newspaper reported that Kissinger and his consulting firm received 600,000 dollars from Freeport in 1994.

Last week, Indonesian president Suharto made a personal appeal to U.S. President Bill Clinton, when they met at the White House. While in Washington, Suharto was also feted at a dinner hosted by James Moffett, Freeport’s chief executive.

Three reports have also been issued this year on serious human rights abuses, including torture and murders, near the Freeport project. The first two were issued in April and September by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA). The third report, by the Indonesian government’s own human rights commission, confirmed many of the incidents cited in the ACFOA reports.

While the abuses were reportedly carried out by the Indonesian Army, investigators say that Freeport permitted the army to use some of its facilities. Freeport, which runs its own security service on site, has denied any involvement.

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**JAKARTA JOINS THE ROW OVER GRASBERG**


The Indonesian Government has stepped into a potentially damaging public-image battle between the massive Grasberg copper-and-gold mine in Irian Jaya and a U.S. insurance firm that has withdrawn country risk insurance from the project.

The US firm, Overseas Private Investment Corp, is the equivalent of the Australian Government’s Export Finance and Insurance Corp which provided SUS250m in country risk insurance to the Lihir gold project in Papua New Guinea.

On Sunday OPIC withdrew a $100m country risk policy from the Grasberg project, citing human rights issues and an expansion plan that has raised environmental concerns.

An escalation of the dispute will be bad news for CRA Ltd, which is likely to assume control of RTZ’s 12 per cent interest in the project once the announced $27b merger between the two mining giants is completed.

The Indonesian Government has signalled its intention to request a formal explanation from OPIC as to why it has withdrawn its insurance cover.

The Government said it had no interest in defending Freeport McMoRan Cooper and Gold Inc., the operating company, but only to question the negative political implications of the withdrawal.

Indonesia’s US ambassador, Arifin Siregar, said if the reasons behind the cancellation involved environmental and human rights issues, then Indonesia had been
slapped in the face. ‘Indirectly, they (OPIC) are signalling that Indonesia tolerates those alleged violations,’ he said.

**FREEPORT MCMORAN: A TIMELINE**

*Austin Chronicle, Nov. 14*

1936 Dutch explorer-geologist Jean Jacques Dozy discovers Ertsberg (Dutch for “ore mountain”) in Papua New Guinea. His discovery is recounted in a paper which was promptly ignored.

1959 Forbes Wilson, exploration chief for Freeport Sulphur Co., learns of Ertsberg from Dozy’s report, visits site.

1961 Jim Bob Moffett graduates from UT with a bachelor’s degree in geology.

1967 Freeport becomes first company to sign a contract under Indonesia’s new foreign investment law.

1968 Moffett, along with UT boosters Ken McWilliams and Mac Rankin, Jr., form McMoRan Oil & Gas Co. The three later strike it rich in South Texas oil fields.

1972 After years of building infrastructure, Freeport Sulphur begins mining at Ertsberg. Immediately has problems with weather and problems of mining at 13,000 feet above sea level. Wilson writes that the company was “deeply in the red” due to low copper prices.

1975 Indonesian military invades East Timor. An estimated 200,000 Timorese die in conflict with Indonesian military. Suharto regime later prevents journalists from entering the former Portuguese colony.

1977 Amungme tribal people steal dynamite, blow up slurry pipeline at the mine. Military crackdown kills as many as 900 local villagers.

1980 Freeport and Indonesian government start relocating local tribal people in the lowlands.

1986 Moffett becomes CFO of McMoRan Oil.

1981 McMoRan merges with Freeport Minerals – a company twice as big as McMoRan.

1987 UT President William Cunningham begins serving on Freeport’s board of directors.

1988 Freeport named top corporate polluter by EPA.

1989 UT Geology Department signs $1 million agreement with Freeport to do exploratory work at the Indonesia mine.

1990 Moffett earns $8.82 million from Freeport. Compensation expert Graef Crystal names him the fifth most overpaid CEO in the U.S.

June 7, 1990 The PUD rebellion. Austin City Council votes against Freeport subsidiary FM Properties’ 4000-acre real estate project on Barton Creek.

October 17, 1990 Officials from half a dozen environmental groups send letter to Freeport, asking about problems with mine tailings. Letter cites findings from a United Nations Development Report that says company has “continuously dumped untreated copper mine tailings” into a tributary of the Ajkwa River.

Freeport responds, saying that “environmental concerns are certainly a significant part of our operations considerations.”

Sept. 17, 1991 New discoveries of ore at the Grasberg deposit cause Freeport to double estimates of mine reserves. Value of gold, copper and silver in mine estimated at $50 billion.

Nov. 1991 Some 200 civilians are shot to death in a cemetery by Indonesian military while attending the funeral of another civilian who died at the hands of the Indonesian military. American journalists are present and stories are run in the N.Y. Times, Christian Science Monitor and elsewhere. CBS News runs footage of shooting. The Austin Chronicle fax press reports to Cunningham. He refuses to comment.

Feb. 1992 National Wildlife Federation spans Freeport, after company runs TV ad claiming that it had won an award from NWF. Freeport cancels ad. After flap, Moffett refuses to give interview to a local TV reporter, saying that she doesn’t “understand the way corporate America works.”

June 1994 Suharto closes down four opposition publications, including Tempo, an influential newsmagazine.

June 1994 Scientists from Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a federal agency, visit Freeport mine, take water samples, investigate environmental problems at mine.

Dec. 1, 1994 UT Board of Regents decides to name new building on the Forty Acres after Moffett.

Dec 25, 1994 Demonstration by local tribal people near the mine. Military attacks, at least three civilians are killed.

Feb 23, 1995 “Son of PUD” deal proposed by Freeport is voted down by the Austin City Council. Freeport lobbyists begin pushing Austin-bashing legislation at the Legislature.

April, 1995 Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) releases a report detailing dozens of human rights abuses at Indonesian mine, implicates Freeport security personnel in the attacks.

Apr. 17, 1995 New York Times reports that several Indonesian journalists are arrested on charges of “insulting the government,” a crime punishable by up to seven years in prison.

May, 1995 Freeport suit against City of Austin, asking for $75 million in damages, goes to federal court. Six-member jury finds for Freeport, but awards them only $113,000.

August, 1995 Catholic Church of Jayapura releases report on abuses at the mine, corroborates many of ACFOA’s findings.

Sept. 11, 1995 Dr. Steven Feld resigns his position as an ethnomusicologist at UT in protest of Chancellor William Cunningham’s association with Freeport.

Sept. 22, 1995 Indonesian Commission on Human Rights releases report confirming human rights abuses, and asking that “the scope of operation activities between the provincial government and the armed forces with PT Freeport Indonesia be defined clearly.”

Sept. 26, 1995 The Texas Observer sends a list of questions to all of the members of the UT Board of Regents regarding Cunningham’s association with Freeport. It includes copies of the ACFOA and Catholic Church reports. Chairman Bernhard Rapaport responds for the entire board, saying “I do not believe further review is in order.”

Oct. 10, 1995 OPIC sends letter to Freeport, explaining that the company’s $100 million insurance policy is being cancelled. Letter says mine poses “unreasonable or major environmental, health or safety hazards.”

Oct. 20, 1995 Austin Chronicle files Freedom of Information Act request with OPIC. Agency refuses to comment on insurance issue.

Midnight, Halloween 1995 OPIC coverage of Freeport mine expires.

Nov. 1, 1995 OPIC confirms that insurance has been cancelled.

Nov. 1, 1995 UT Geological Society cancels dinner planned to honor Moffett, citing Moffett’s “scheduling conflict.”

Nov. 2, 1995 LA Times and NY Times run stories on cancellation. Freeport says it will take issue to arbitration. Austin American-Statesman buries four inch story on page A6. In New Orleans, where the Times-Picayune runs the wire
story on front page. Moffett storms into the newspaper offices, demanding that it run a correction. “He denied that OPIC had cited environmental reasons for cancelling their insurance,” said a source at the paper.

Nov. 3, 1995 Times-Picayune runs excerpts from the OPIC letter on the front page. Feld calls for Cunningham to resign immediately from Freeport’s board and to cancel the UT Geology Department contract with the company.

Nov. 6, 1995 Austin Chronicle requests interview with Cunningham. Again, he refuses.

Nov. 8, 1995 Daily Texan reports that Freeport has withdrawn a $600,000 grant from Loyola University, following “anti-Moffett protests.”

**NCHR WON’T INVESTIGATE FREEPORT**

*Jakarta Post, 22 December 1995. Abridged*

The National Commission for Human Rights yesterday rejected an appeal by Irian Jaya students to look into allegations that PT Freeport Indonesia played an active role in the killings of civilians in (Timika) earlier this year.

The commission’s report implicated Freeport, an American copper and gold mining company but only to the extent that some of the killings occurred in the company’s area of operation and that some of its facilities had been used.

Clementino do Reis Amaral, a member of the commission, who met with the twelve students, said his organisation had neither the capacity nor the authority to follow up its finding on the allegations of human rights violations.

“It is under the authority of the Irian Jaya provincial administration and local police to conduct a follow-up investigation,” Clementino said. “You have the right to know the result but you have got to go to the local administration and police because we have submitted our report to them.”

He denied that the commission was protecting Freeport. He admitted that the commission’s team, during their trip to Irian Jaya, used Freeport’s helicopter but this in no way affected the impartiality of the report. He said the Freeport helicopter was the only mode of transport available to take the team to remote areas during the course of its investigation.

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**ABRI SET ON WEST PAPUAN BLOODBATH: JOSÉ RAMOS HORTA’S GOOD OFFICES OFFER**

*CNRM Media Release, January 20, 1996*

The hostage drama in the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya involving 4 British, 2 Dutch and 8 Indonesian citizens, held by OPM West Papua fighters since last week, could soon develop into a bloodbath. The Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) having so far failed to solve the problem are losing their patience, as once again their lack of competence becomes publicly evident.

ABRI’s Irian Jaya Commander yesterday announced a strong ultimatum to the OPM kidnappers, threatening a full ABRI action if the hostages are not released this weekend.

To avoid the widespread violence which can be expected from an ABRI attempt to ‘resolve’ the hostage problem, CNRM Special Representative José Ramos Horta last week made an offer to the governments of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands of his good services to assist in the peaceful resolution of the problem. The East Timorese Resistance has no structural or other links to the Free Papua Movement, OPM, yet personal rapport and understandings exist between, these fellow victims of Indonesian military oppression. OPM leaders respect the East Timorese Resistance and the CNRM leadership for the way it has maintained the struggle for the rights of the East Timorese people over these two decades of exposure to brutal military occupation by Indonesia. In particular, José Ramos Horta is widely respected by West Papuans for his diplomatic skills and his professional teaching activities in peaceful conflict resolution.

With the agreement of OPM members, José Ramos Horta has made himself available to talk to the abductors so as to secure the safe release of the hostages, and avoid the bloodshed, mostly of innocent civilians, that experience has shown inevitably accompanies ABRI’s involvement. The offer was acknowledged with interest by both governments, but has not been taken up so far. Instead, the murderous Brig. General Prabowo Subianto, Suharto’s son in law, who bears such great responsibility for ABRI atrocities and violence in East Timor, on which he based his rapid rise through the military ranks, has been put in charge of the Irian Jaya hostage military rescue operation.

With the experience accumulated in two decades of tragic East Timor history, CNRM appeals for pressure on the Indonesian government to prevent ABRI from launching an ultimately futile action in Irian Jaya, certain to result in large human suffering and bloodshed of innocents, only serving Suharto’s son in law to further professional credits.

José Ramos Horta reiterates his offer of good offices to help to peacefully resolve the Irian Jaya hostage issue with the OPM West Papua fighters.

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**YEAR-END REVIEWS**

**ANTARA: INDONESIA PURSUES ACTIVE DIPLOMACY IN 1995**

*From ANTARA (Indonesian Government), 29 December. Year-end Review:

Jakarta - While a free and active foreign policy has been Indonesia’s creed ever since it proclaimed independence in 1945, with President Soeharto attending four summit meetings in 1995, the year is likely to go down in history as one of the country’s busiest in the diplomatic front.

The first heads of state/government gathering that President Soeharto attended was that of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in Cartagena, Colombia, in October.

At the summit, Indonesia handed over the NAM chair which it held for the past three years to the host, Colombia.

It was in Cartagena that Indonesia was repeatedly praised for its achievements during its chairmanship (1992-1995), especially in directing the Movement to a non-confrontational approach to enable it to concentrate more on cooperation programs among its members.

Also in October, the Head of State went to New York for the 50th anniversary celebration of the United Nations where he gave a speech that called for the reformation of the world body.

After both trips, came Osaka, Japan, the venue of the meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum’s leaders, in November.

The APEC Meeting, although it was not officially called a summit, was attended by most of the top leaders of the 18 member-APEC forum.

Despite previous skepticism, the Osaka Meeting managed to come up with a more concrete step towards the trade and investment liberalization era in the Asia-Pacific region in 2010 (for the developed APEC members) and in 2020 (for the developing ones).

ASEAN Summit

The last month of 1995 was marked by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Summit in Bangkok, Thailand,
which saw the signing of the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (SEANWFZ) not only by the seven members of the Association (Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam), but also Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar.

Observers viewed the signing as a prelude to the establishment of a united Southeast Asia at the beginning of the 21st century.

After all, the three other Southeast Asian countries are now making serious preparations to become full-fledged members of the ASEAN, they said.

Earlier in March, President Soeharto attended the UN Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen, Denmark, where he spoke on various issues concerning problems and challenges faced by most developing nations.

The year 1995, apart from the summits, holds significance also from the foreign policy point of view as the country joining the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) for a two-year tenure.

The country’s non-permanent membership at the UNSC prompted Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to say that Indonesia should be considered for a permanent seat at the Council if it was going to be expanded.

As the year approached to its end, however, no important step had been made towards any effort to expand the Council, mainly because the Permanent Five (Russia, China, France, Britain, and the US) are still in full control with their veto rights.

While various international forums became a success story of the country’s foreign policy in 1995, the so-called East Timor issue remained an unsolved problem.

In June, East Timor’s pro and anti-integration camps met in Austria under the All-Inclusive East Timor Dialogue (AETD) scheme.

The dialog turned out a statement in which the two camps expressed agreement to continue their meetings in the coming year.

Fence scaling

Meanwhile, some East Timorese youths continued to scale the fences of foreign embassies in Jakarta in an effort to seek for asylum in Portugal.

Foreign Ministry officials, however, kept on describing the move as “an old game that no longer attracts anyone’s attention.”

In January, Alatas met with his Portuguese counterpart José Manuel Durão Barroso in Geneva, Switzerland, for the fifth tripartite dialog held under the auspices of the UN Secretary General to seek for a solution of the East Timor issue.

However progress remained slow, and the East Timor issue became another debacle when Jakarta withdrew the nomination of retired Lt. Gen. HBL Mantiri – because of his past statements about East Timor – to the post of Indonesian ambassador to Australia.

The withdrawal left the post vacant for six months until Jakarta announced in December that Wiryono Sastrohardoyo, a senior career diplomat, will be its new envoy to Canberra.

The signing of the Agreement of Maintaining Security between Jakarta and Australia capped the busy diplomatic year of 1995, as it was the first agreement of such kind Indonesia ever established with any country.

It remains to be seen whether the year 1996 will be as busy as 1995 in terms of diplomatic activities.

Most analysts believed that as the 1997 General Elections gets closer it is likely that everything will be more inward-looking.

UP! 1995: EAST TIMOR HAUNTS INDONESIA

UPI 1995 Yearend Feature, by Sukino Harismamoto

JAKARTA (UPI) – Twenty years after Indonesia seized East Timor, simmering dissent in the former Portuguese colony continues to haunt Jakarta and tarnish its image on the world stage.

Continuing protest in the territory against Indonesia’s occupation – highlighted by East Timorese youths scaling the gates of foreign embassies in Jakarta to seek political asylum – and outrage over alleged human rights abuses have stoked international criticism of Indonesia.

Even Indonesian President Suharto acknowledged recently that while the country’s swift economic development has received praise around the globe, the reaction to its policies in East Timor “is very unfavorable.”

A Portuguese colony for more than 400 years, Roman Catholic East Timor was invaded by Indonesia – the world’s most populous Muslim nation – in 1975 and incorporated as its 27th province a year later.

Human rights groups say the invasion and subsequent anti-insurgency campaigns killed some 200,000 people – one-third of East Timor’s population. The United Nations does not recognize the annexation and continues to regard Lisbon as the territory’s administrative center.

Diplomats expect little progress to come out of tripartite talks between Indonesia, Portugal and East Timor on the disputed territory’s status. The seventh round of the effort is scheduled for January in London under the guidance of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Jakarta has already ruled out holding a referendum on self-rule in East Timor, maintaining that a vote 19 years ago proved the majority of territory’s people want to remain part of Indonesia.

“There is no referendum in our dictionary...because it is already finished,” Suharto said.

A flood of East Timorese youths climbing the walls of foreign embassies in Jakarta to seek political asylum further clouded prospects for the talks. The students were allowed to leave by Indonesia and were sent to Portugal.

Portuguese Prime Minister Antoniouteres accused Indonesia of creating conditions “for a generalized exit of Timorese with the object of easing internal pressures.”

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas blamed the exodus on Lisbon and said it underscored Portugal’s unwillingness to resolve the East Timor issue.

“We need two hands to clap and so far we’ve been clapping with one,” he said.

“The other hand is almost motionless, except for sending students to embassies.”

Jakarta has spent a considerable amount of money trying to lure Indonesian settlers to East Timor and to improve the territory’s infrastructure and economy.

But East Timorese dissidents maintain the efforts have done little to improve their lives. “We, the East Timorese people, remain poor while the newcomers get fatter and fatter,” one activist said recently.

It has also failed to stabilize life in East Timor, or to improve Indonesia’s internationally criticized human rights record in the territory.

“Since November 1994, there have been increased, and sometimes violent, demonstrations against Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor,” human rights watchdog Amnesty International said in a recent report.

Some of the violence stems from tension between East Timorese and Indonesian settlers, or in the activities of the territory’s separatist Fretilin rebels, whom the military says have killed at least 16 people in recent months.

But Amnesty and other groups allege the government has continued to take a brutal hand in cracking down on even peaceful protest in East Timor.

“The authorities have responded to the unrest with arbitrary detention, including detention of peaceful protesters, beatings, torture and in some cases shooting,” the Amnesty report said. “There have also been reports of suspected extrajudicial executions.”

Indonesia has dismissed criticism of its human rights record in East Timor, saying...
rights abuses occur the world over and that developing countries shouldn’t be held to standards set by the industrialized West.

In December, Alatas said Jakarta also had no plans of complying with a U.N. request to reopen the investigation into a massacre of pro-democracy activists in the East Timor capital of Dili four years ago.

The government has said some 50 protesters were killed in the incident and that the troops opened fire to protect themselves against an unruly mob.

Human rights groups allege the soldiers fired unprovoked into crowds of protesters and put the death toll at between 100 and 200 people.

**INDONESIA ORDERED 35 FOREIGNERS OUT OF EAST TIMOR IN 1995**

JAKARTA, Dec 22 (Reuters) - Indonesian authorities ordered 35 foreigners to leave East Timor in 1995 for disturbing peace in the troubled former Portuguese colony, the official Antara news agency reported on Friday.

“During 1995, a total of 35 foreigners received immigration sanctions and were ordered to leave East Timor for various activities that breached local security and order rules,” it quoted East Timor’s head of immigration, Yohannes Triswoyo, as saying.

On November 24, Indonesia lifted a 14-day travel ban on foreigners visiting the territory, some 2,000 km (1,250 miles) east of Jakarta and to the north of Australia.

All foreign visitors were asked to leave East Timor on November 10 ahead of the fourth anniversary of the so-called Santa Cruz incident.

Indonesian troops opened fire on a group of pro-independence protesters at the Santa Cruz cemetery near the East Timor capital Dili on November 12, 1991, killing up to 200 people, according to rights activists and other sources.

The Indonesian government put the death toll at 50.

Antara quoted Triswoyo as saying four foreigners, who held tourist visas, were deported in January after being found documenting an anti-integration demonstration at the state-run East Timor University. It gave no further details.

“The other 31 were expelled between November 9 and 20 for conducting provocative activities, namely, commemorating the fourth anniversary of the November 12 incident,” Triswoyo, in November, Triswoyo told Reuters he had deported seven foreigners from East Timor and barred another eight from entering the territory. He declined to identify them.

Timorese exiles said the group included Namibian Member of Parliament Daniel Botha and American, German, Australian and Filipino activists.

**SUIHARTO: NEED TO FOCUS THE MIND ON SETTLING DISPUTES**

Australian Associated Press

JAKARTA, Jan 1 AAP - Indonesia’s President Suharto has used a year-end address to call on the nation to avoid the sort of “social flare-ups” that occurred during 1995.

“All flare-ups, whatever the reasons behind them, either economic, social, cultural, religious or political reasons, that had happened, constituted a setback in our nation as a whole,” President Suharto said last night.

He was quoted by the official Antara news agency as saying the nation must “focus our mind” on settling past disputes, and avoiding their recurrence.

Although President Suharto did not refer to East Timor by name, the former Portuguese colony was hit by repeated unrest, riots and vandalism during 1995, partly blamed on ethnic and religious tensions.

Violence was reported between the predominantly Roman Catholic indigenous population and mainly Muslim migrants from other parts of Indonesia, resettled in the province under the government’s transmigration program.

Tensions in East Timor increased with the marking of several anniversaries associated with Indonesia’s 1975 invasion of East Timor.

In other unrest, parts of central Java were hit by anti-Chinese rioting in November, after an ethnically Chinese man ripped pages from the Islamic holy book, the Koran.

Antara reported that President Suharto said the diversity of the Indonesian nation led to a great potential for unrest - but also great potential for national advancement.

He said that there were sections in society which still faced “various challenges” while others were “able and ready to maintain the momentum of national development.”

“Therefore, while being aware of the fact that the diversity had the seeds of unrest, we must be ready to take and make use of the positive aspects of diversity,” President Suharto said.

**INDONESIAN AND PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET IN LONDON**

JAKARTA, Nov 22 (Reuters) - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Wednesday that recent political asylum bids by people from East Timor had been set up by Portugal and would strain U.N.-sponsored peace talks on the territory in January.

He told reporters five mass asylum bids by a total of 43 East Timorese youths in Jakarta were engineered by exiles, activists and the former colonial power, Portugal, undermining commitments by the two sides to show restraint before the talks.

The countries’ foreign ministers are meeting in London in January for talks under U.N. auspices on the future of East Timor, ruled by Portugal before Indonesia invaded 20 years ago.

“How can we imagine they will show restraint because we keep seeing demonstrations, even burning the Indonesian flag?”

“This is their plan to undermine us, and it is clear it will affect the atmosphere of the talks,” he said.

Usually prickly ties have worsened in recent weeks after Portugal provided exile for all youths who clamored into foreign missions in Jakarta seeking asylum abroad.

Indonesia, about to mark 20 years of rule over East Timor, faces lingering international criticism and widespread local resentment, especially among the tiny territory’s youth.

Security forces said on Wednesday they captured 27 East Timorese trying to flee to Australia by boat early on Tuesday.

Portugal’s Prime Minister Antonio Guterres accused Jakarta on Monday of using the flight of opponents from East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, as a safety valve to ease tension.

Alatas denied the accusation, and blamed Lisbon for helping to instigate the incidents.

“It is a baseless accusation. In fact what has happened is the opposite. It is clear there was instigation from abroad to continue to create problems,” Alatas told reporters.

“When there is an international conference attended by Indonesia, or the coming of what they call an important date, they try to attract world attention,” he said.

Four Timorese who sought sanctuary in the French embassy this week were the lat-
est to leave Indonesia, flying out late on Tuesday for exile in Portugal.

“I think it was engineered from abroad, maybe by (exile leader José) Ramos Horta’s group, and helped by elements of the Portuguese government,” Alatas said.

Indonesia, which invaded East Timor in 1975 and formally annexed it a year later, accused Portugal last week of fanning the exodus from the Pacific territory to embar- rass Jakarta. The Portuguese foreign ministry dismissed the charge as absurd.

**AKASHI ASSISTING EAST TIMOR TALKS**

*Kyodo News Service, December 22, 1995. Translated from Japanese*

Comment: *Kyodo also released an abridged English version. Akashi is a well-known figure in Japan for his role in the Cambodia peace keeping operations."

New York – (Japanese career diplomat) Yasushi Akashi, a special advisor to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, stated in an interview on the 21st with Kyodo News Service that he is assisting mediation efforts between Indonesia and Portugal over the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The Secretary General, noted for his “quiet diplomacy” in mediating conflicts, is a go-between in talks on East Timor between the foreign ministers of the two countries. Akashi said the task of negotiating a settlement over East Timor is a “new chal- lenge in a different sense from the mammoth peacekeeping operation in Cambodia and the former Yugoslavia.”

Indonesia declared the integration of East Timor in 1976 after the Portuguese army withdrew. But because of the large support for independence among the East Timorese, neither the United Nations nor Portugal recognizes the integration.

Talks mediated by the Secretary General between the two foreign ministers have been held six times, but are only now starting to get into substantive issues. Advisor Akashi is currently preparing for talks in London in mid-January between the foreign ministers.

With the UN financial crisis, Akashi noted, large scale peace keeping operations are difficult, making “quiet diplomacy” and “preventative diplomacy” areas that the “UN should pursue from now on.” With respect to the East Timor issue, he said that he would like to see “progress in confidence building between the two countries and agreement on concrete and forward-looking measures.”

Advisor Akashi expressed the hope that Japan, “as an Asian country, would assist the efforts of the Secretary General.”

**ALATAS ON TIMOR TALKS IN LONDON**

*Reuter, Jakarta, 3 January 1996. Slightly abridged.*

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Wednesday the next UN talks with Portugal on East Timor would move towards creating a framework to solve the problem of the former Portuguese colony.

“We are now entering the substantive stage. We are going to discuss about the possibility of building a framework for a solution to East Timor,” Alatas told a news conference. “There has not been any clear idea on how the framework will be, but we’ll start to talk about it,” he said.

The seventh round of the UN-sponsored talks is due to be held in London on January 16 and will be attended by Alatas and his counterpart, Jaime Gama. It was not clear if the UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali would chair the meeting, as he did for the first time in Geneva last July. [My recollection is that Boutros-Ghali has been present at all the previous meetings. Carmel, TAPOL.]

Alatas said the next meeting would discuss efforts to strengthen social and cultural aspects of the Timorese people and to improve relations between Indonesia and Por- tugal. He said those issues were the first steps to enter the substantive issues - diplomatic code for the question of East Timor’s political status.

“It’s important for us to enter the substantive stage. We are going to meet for the seventh time and if we don’t enter such a stage, people will ask what the meetings are for,” he said. Alatas said the meeting would also discuss when the next informal meeting between East Timorese leaders would take place. Thirty East Timorese community leaders - some in exile and others still resi- dent in East Timor - met in Austria last June, issuing a declaration calling for the re- spect of human rights and preservation of East Timor’s cultural identity. [The declaration also made a specific reference to the UN General Assembly adopted in 1982, injecting a political dimension to it.]

Alatas said Indonesia supported such talks but would stick to its stance that no political issues would be discussed.

**NEW INDOonesian - EAST TIMOR TALKS?**

*Northern Territory News, 6 January 1996*

East Timor activists in Darwin yesterday welcomed statements by Indonesian foreign Minister Ali Alatas supporting the resump-

**LISBON SEeks to EXPAND EAST TIMOR TALKS**

*Jakarta Post, 12 January 1996. By Ahoeprjaji Santososo*

Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama, with an eye to next week’s round of talks with Indonesia on the future of East Timor, said on Wednesday that he would insist on the principle of self-determination for the East Timorese people.

Gama told the Jakarta Post that he would go to London where the talks will be held in January 16, with an open mind and he would also like to hear new proposals from Indonesia.

‘I hope we can have a positive development,’ Gama said. ‘London will not be a final result but certainly an important step.’

The seventh round of talks in London be- tween the two countries’ foreign minister is held under the auspices of the United Na- tions Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali. This will be the first in-
The two sides — theoretical and de facto — are at an impasse. Residents of the East Timorese capital, Dili, said the situation remained tense and violent. The U.N. peacekeeping force in East Timor, which was deployed in 1999, has failed to restore order.

A U.N. observer mission, which was established in 2000, has also been unable to prevent human rights abuses.

There are still many East Timorese who refuse to recognize the Indonesian government as the legitimate authority. They say that the country was occupied by Portugal until 1975 and that Indonesia invaded it in 1975. They believe that the U.N. should have intervened to protect the rights of the East Timorese people.

The situation has worsened since the Sept. 28, 1999, referendum in which the people of East Timor voted overwhelmingly for independence. Indonesia then invaded the territory and installed a military government.

The U.N. peacekeeping force has been unable to prevent widespread human rights abuses.

The situation has also been complicated by the fact that East Timor is a disputed territory. Indonesia says it is the legitimate authority, while East Timorese say it is occupied.

The U.N. observer mission has been unable to resolve the dispute.

The situation is still tense, with occasional incidents of violence. The U.N. peacekeeping force has been unable to prevent human rights abuses.

The situation is still tense, with occasional incidents of violence. The U.N. peacekeeping force has been unable to prevent human rights abuses.
thorities were to allow a meeting with Xanana Gusmão.” He added that, if Indonesia were to agree to direct participation of Timorese in the talks on the future of the occupied territory, then Xanana Gusmão would be the “undisputed” representative of the people of East Timor, “together with others, representing a broad spectrum.”

In statements to the LUSA news agency, Jaime Gama emphasised that “the release of Xanana is a key factor in the process,” although he admitted that “the choice (of its representatives) must be entirely up to the Timorese themselves, without prejudice to an understanding with the UN.” The Portuguese diplomatic chief stated that “there can be no solution to the problem of Timor without the Timorese themselves being involved.”

The Foreign Minister leaves today for London for yet another round (the seventh) of talks about the future of East Timor with his Indonesian counterpart, Ali Alatas, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General. The meeting is scheduled for Tuesday. He said that progress on the Timorese question depended largely on the Indonesian Government, and added that he was setting off for the meeting without any “great expectations,” but hopeful that the meeting might produce some “steps forward.”

“In Portugal, changes are being made at both Governmental and Presidential levels. The London meeting, organised by the UN Secretary General, will be an opportunity to establish communication channels, and to hear what the UN Secretary General and the Indonesian Foreign Minister have to say about the matter, but I do not think it will be the end of the journey, by any means,” commented Gama before the meeting with his Indonesian counterpart.

His views coincided with those of José Ramos Horta, special representative of the Maubere Resistance National Council, who had a two-hour meeting with Jaime Gama last Friday. “We do not believe that Indonesia will be putting forward any new ideas at this round,” stated Horta after the meeting. “It is up to Indonesia to make the first moves” towards finding a solution for Timor, he said. According to the Timorese representative, “countries like the US, Canada, Australia and the EU ought to be taking up increasingly firmer positions” in order to put pressure on the Suharto regime. However, although pessimistic, Ramos Horta said he still believed that the talks under UN auspices were not “an exhausted formula, but the most appropriate one” in the present circumstances.

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### AI: LONDON TALKS IMPORTANT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

**Amnesty International News Service, Jan. 15. News Release 06/96. AI INDEX: ASA 21/05/96**

A detailed framework for the protection of human rights in East Timor should be at the top of the agenda for tomorrow’s discussions between the Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers, meeting in London to discuss the future of East Timor, Amnesty International said.

The talks, sponsored by the United Nations (UN), are the seventh in a series between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments which began in 1992. The meetings are aimed at resolving conflict concerning East Timor, which has been occupied by Indonesia since 1975, although that occupation is not recognised by the UN.

“Any discussion concerning the future of East Timor must have at its core the protection of the human rights of the East Timorese,” said Amnesty International. “Without an end to human rights violations there can be no just solution.”

The human rights situation in East Timor remains critical. Prisoners of conscience are serving sentences of up to life imprisonment and alleged opponents of Indonesian rule are subject to arbitrary detention, during which they are frequently tortured. Extrajudicial executions and “disappearances” continue, despite a high profile investigation and trial of two soldiers for the murder of six civilians in January 1995.

Human rights has been on the agenda of the talks between the Indonesian and the Portuguese governments in the last few years. But Amnesty International considers that progress for the protection of human rights on the ground has been insufficient.

At previous sessions, the Indonesian government stated its recognition of the need to improve the human rights situation in East Timor, but the government has so far failed to act on commitments it has given during the talks to implement UN human rights resolutions.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has agreed that the talks are now at the “substantive stage” and that the possibility of “building a framework for a solution to East Timor” should now be discussed.

Amnesty International considers that substantive discussions and a possible framework for resolving the situation on East Timor must include a clear program for the prevention of future human rights violations and redress for past violations.

Such a framework should include immediate access for human rights monitors to East Timor, an end to the practice of arbitrary detention of those suspected of political activism, the release of all prisoners of conscience, and an end to torture, political killings and disappearances.

“The Indonesian government should back up talk with action,” Amnesty International said. “It should complement discussions on the future of East Timor with concrete measures to protect human rights there.”

### VOA REPORTS ON AI STATEMENT

**Voice of America, 1/16/96. By Andre de Nesnera, London**

Intro: the London-based human rights group Amnesty International has voiced concern about continued human rights violations in East Timor. VOA correspondent Andre de Nesnera reports amnesty’s statement came as Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers met to discuss the future of East Timor.

Text: An Amnesty International report says the human rights situation in East Timor remains critical. Amnesty’s Carey (sic, should be Kerry) Brogan says there has been a serious deterioration in the past 12 months.

“There is a very high level of arbitrary arrests of political activists and of people who are suspected of being political activists. And torture continues to be routine of political activists.”

The Amnesty report coincides with a London meeting between the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia to discuss the future of East Timor. The talks are sponsored by the United Nations and are the seventh between the two governments since 1992.

East Timor has been occupied by Indonesia since 1975. The occupation has not been recognized by the United Nations which considers Portugal to be the administering power there.

Amnesty’s Carey Brogan says the international community must put pressure on Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor. She says on many occasions the Indonesian government has stated its intention of complying with UN human rights resolutions – but it has failed to do so.

“One of the primary problems at the moment is that there is no access to East Timor for independent human rights investigators such as Amnesty International and other international organizations and even domestic organizations. A lot of international journalists cannot go to East Timor at the moment – so that lack of access means there is a lack of constant monitoring of what is happening on the ground in East Timor.”
A spokeswoman at the Indonesian embassy here repeated its official position that Amnesty International tends to exaggerate things and never reports the positive developments.

**TIMOR: GAMA’S DEBUT, XANANA BACK ON AGENDA**


London – It is not a new idea. The Resistance has always linked its struggle for the release of its leader, Xanana Gusmão, to his participation in the talks on the future of East Timor. Now the idea has been taken up by Jaime Gama (Portugal’s new Socialist Foreign Minister), who for the first time meets today with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

In an interview on 1 January published in the magazine “Gatra,” Ali Alatas again referred to Xanana Gusmão as a “common prisoner.” It would not be surprising, therefore, if this description of the guerrilla leader is repeated today when, at the seventh round of talks about the future of East Timor, Jaime Gama proposes Gusmão’s inclusion in the negotiating process taking place under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General.

With this proposal, Jaime Gama, who represents Lisbon for the first time in the talks that started over three years ago (and which have made scant progress) intends to get the process “moving.”

Apart from this initiative, the menu for today’s meeting is not encouraging. Only the subject of the intra-Timorese dialogue (discussion forum created in 1994 to run parallel to the Ministerial talks) might produce some visible results, albeit controversial. So, even on this point, things may not run smoothly.

Ramos Horta, in London as leader of the CNRM (Mauhre Resistance National Council) and Xanana Gusmão’s special representative, has already let it be known that he might not be willing to take part in a second round of talks on the question of East Timor’s political status. The Indonesian Minister will undoubtedly resort to reference to the final declaration of the Ministerial round that instituted the intra-Timorese dialogue, which stated that it “will not deal with East Timor’s political status.” So, to ensure that the intra-Timorese meetings continue in an acceptable form, Lisbon will be trying to find a middle ground between the impetus of the Resistance and Jakarta’s restraints.

The reason that Portugal is so set on a compromise being reached is not just because of the contribution the intra-Timorese dialogue can make to progress in the Ministerial talks. Its concern goes much deeper, and stems from the fear that an impasse on the question of the intra-Timorese dialogue could call into question the continuation of the Ministerial negotiations themselves.

This would be a very dangerous scenario, in which Lisbon and Jakarta would find themselves in the same boat: if the UN Secretary-General decided to end the process under his auspices, the question of Timor would be fatally returned to the UN General Assembly, at which voting is notoriously unpredictable.

Because Lisbon and Jakarta both fear an impasse being reached in the negotiations, the Indonesian Minister’s threats to abandon ship (he has questioned the point in continuing diplomatic talks if they are unproductive) should be seen in perspective. He has to be seen to respond to pressure from the Indonesian regime’s hard-liners, who view this diplomatic exercise as not only pointless but actually an encouragement to the pro-independence Timorese. However, there is still a certain distance between threatened and real action ...

**SECRETARY-GENERAL HOLDS SEVENTH ROUND OF TALKS ON EAST TIMOR**

UN Press Release, SG/1/2024, 16 Jan. 96 (Received from the Deputy Spokesman travelling with the Secretary-General.)

LONDON, 16 January – Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali held the seventh round of talks on the question of East Timor in London today with the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Jaime Gama, and the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Ali Alatas. At 10 a.m., the Secretary-General met with Foreign Minister of Portugal for one hour. At 11 a.m., he met with the Foreign Minister of Indonesia for one hour. At noon he chaired a joint expanded meeting with delegations from both sides attending. The Secretary-General is accompanied by his Special Adviser, Under-Secretary-General Yasushi Akashi. At 2 p.m., the talks continued over a working lunch and then resumed in the afternoon.

The agenda of the talks included developments since the last round of talks in Geneva on 8 July 1995, and issues relating to an eventual framework for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor.

The talks are expected to conclude at 5 p.m., after which a statement will be made in London by the spokesman travelling with the Secretary-General, and issued simultaneously as a press release in New York and Geneva.

At 6 p.m., the Secretary-General will meet with former Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

The Secretary-General returns to New York tomorrow, 17 January.

**COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SEVENTH ROUND OF TALKS**

1. The Secretary-General held the seventh round of talks on the question of East Timor in London on Tuesday 16 January 1996, with the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Mr. Jaime Gama, and the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Ali Alatas.

2. The Ministers discussed developments since the sixth round of talks in July 1995 and, in this connection, welcomed the visit of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. Jose Ayala-Lasso, to Jakarta and East Timor in December 1995 in the context of the implementation of the Chairman’s Statement adopted by consensus in 1995 by the Human Rights Commission, the importance of which was recognised.

3. The Ministers, without prejudice to their respective positions of principle regarding the political status of East Timor, continued their discussions on those substantive issues which have been identified related to an eventual framework for the achievement of a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor, as well as other related issues, inter alia, the preservation and promotion of the cultural identity of the East Timorese people and bilateral relations between Indonesia and Portugal.

4. The Ministers took note positively of the Secretary-General’s intention to facili-
tate and offer the necessary arrangements for another meeting of All-Inclusive Intra-Timorese Dialogue in accordance with the same terms of reference agreed at the fifth round of talks, which will take place in Austria in March 1996.

5. Following today’s discussion, the parties agreed to continue their efforts, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, to find a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of East Timor. The eighth round of talks between the Foreign Ministers under the auspices of the Secretary-General will be held in Geneva on 29 June 1996. In the interval, talks will continue at the Permanent Representative level with the participation of the Secretary-General’s Representative.

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**LUSA ON GAMA-ALATAS TALKS**

Translated and summarized by Mariza Cabral. Jan. 16.

According to LUSA (various reports of Jan 14-16), Gama presented two concrete proposals: (1) to visit Indonesia provided that he would be allowed to meet with Xanana Gusmão; (2) that Indonesia agree to have the East Timorese participate in these UN-sponsored talks, being represented by a person of their own choice, possibly Xanana should they choose so.

Proposal (1) had the support of some in the resistance, including Ramos Horta, and strong reservations by others, including João Carrascalão. While Horta would view such a visit as “legitimizing the Resistance,” Carrascalão would view it as legitimizing Indonesian sovereignty. According to Gama, Alatas’ response was to ask how it is possible that a member of the Portuguese government intends to visit Indonesia if the question of re-establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries continues to be a “tabu” for Portugal. To Gama, Alatas was evading the question, for there are ways to carry on such a visit in the absence of diplomatic relations.

Commenting on proposal (2), Gama stated that “it is not possible to find a solution for East Timor without participation of the Timorese themselves.” “I know of no similar process that was successful without a dialogue between the interested parties,” he stated. Gama also considered that “the intra蒂morese dialogue is an essential forum.” He commented that the UN should “consult both the East Timorese and the Indonesian authorities more effectively.” Regarding the Intra-Timorese Reconciliation talks, Gama stated his support but underscored the limitation that they exclude the Timorese political prisoners and those in clandestinity. In Gama’s view, liberation of the East Timorese political prisoners including Xanana Gusmão is a key to the process of finding a solution, through the participation of the Timorese and their leaders.

Other issues raised by Gama were questions relating to the Timorese Church and obstacles it faces, the prohibition of teaching Portuguese in East Timor, and the importance of electing East Timorese nationals to Public Administration positions, and hiring them as school teachers.

The main decisions of the Gama-Alatas meeting were that these talks should continue in the future, and that a new Intra-Timorese meeting will take place in March.

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**SEEKING A FURTHER ROUND**

Diario de Notícias, 16 January 1996. By Abel Coelho de Morais. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

The Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers, meeting in London today, may be on the brink of opening new doors in Lisbon-Jakarta relations, and making some headway towards finding a solution to the question of East Timor. ...

Departing from Lisbon, (new Socialist Foreign Minister) Jaime Gama said that “steps might be taken” so that confidence building measures could be reinforced, making it possible to then “go further.”

For his part, Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, said early in January in Jakarta that the two countries could be on the brink of reaching an understanding about establishing the “basis of an agreement” on the future of East Timor. He also said at the time that the discussion of “specific questions” concerning the situation in the territory would be possible in London.

At the 1995 Ministerial meetings, agreement was reached between Alatas and the former Portuguese Foreign Minister, Durão Barroso, on the usefulness of the intra-Timorese dialogue, the need to improve human rights in the territory, and to start discussion on the search for a settlement of the question of East Timor, and, naturally, about bilateral relations.

Today’s meeting will, therefore, centre on all these areas. It is also likely that the two Ministers will discuss the question of asylum seekers entering foreign embassies in Jakarta.

Finally, the status of Xanana Gusmão may also be on the agenda. Before leaving for the meeting, Jaime Gama referred to the imprisoned Resistance leader as a “key figure” in the search for a political solution for Timor, and expressed his willingness to meet with Xanana in Jakarta.

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**PORTUGAL, INDONESIA MAKE LITTLE HEADWAY OVER EAST TIMOR**

By Jonathan Thatcher

LONDON, Jan 16 (Reuters) - Portugal and Indonesia made little progress in negotiations in London on Tuesday over how to solve the problems of East Timor but described their talks as constructive and agreed to meet again.

The talks are the seventh in a series that stretches back to 1983 on the tiny territory invaded by Indonesia 20 years ago but which the United Nations says legally is the former colonial power Portugal’s to administer.

“We’ve had a very useful and constructive discussion,” Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters after some 7 1/2 hours of talks with his Portuguese counterpart Jaime Gama and U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The next meeting will be in Geneva on June 29, again with the U.N. acting as mediator when Gama said he hoped Boutros-Ghali would have some new ideas.

Neither side would go into detail of their talks though the Indonesians acknowledged they had not brought any fresh proposals to the table.

But one Indonesian official said Alatas had appeared to get on much better with the recently appointed Gama than his predecessor José Manuel Durão Barroso.

Gama said the latest talks had not been meant to provide a quick solution to the problems of East Timor but covered a range of areas from human rights there to the cultural identity of the Timorese.

“A very positive step should be made by a reduction of the military presence there,” Gama said.

Indonesia has long been the target of international criticism for its human rights record in East Timor and in recent months a number of East Timorese have successfully sought asylum in embassies in Jakarta.

But Alatas dismissed as the voice of a minority those East Timorese protesting Indonesian rule.

“We never claimed that East Timor is a paradise. But I refuse to accept...it is hell,” he said.

Gama asked to visit East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão who is in a Jakarta jail though he disputed Indonesian claims that this would imply diplomatic recognition by Lisbon of Jakarta’s sovereignty over the region.

The meeting also set a date for talks among East Timorese – pro- and anti-Indonesian – in March in Austria.
XANANA GUSMÃO MUST PLAY LEADING ROLE, SAYS PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER

Publico, 16 January 1996. By Luis Antonio Santos. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

London – ... In statements made to the press today, before commencement of the seventh round of direct talks between Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, the Portuguese Foreign Minister rejected out of hand the possibility of “interest offices” being set up in Lisbon and Jakarta. “There are many ways to develop bilateral relations, but what we cannot do is to allow them to evolve while, at the same time, the treatment of the question of East Timor deteriorates,” said Jaime Gama.

The (new Socialist) Minister confirmed that he intended to propose going to Jakarta to meet Xanana Gusmão. “He has a leading role to play in the entire matter, and it is inconceivable that he is not involved in a process of broad discussion. Until now, I have only been in touch with him through third parties, but I would like to hear what he thinks directly from him.”

Various Timorese leaders, including João Carrascalão and Ramos Horta, are currently in London to accompany the latest round of talks.

PORTUGUESE MINISTER ASKS TO SEE FREITILIN LEADER

By Don Woolford of AAP

LONDON, Jan 16 AAP - Portugal today increased the pressure on Indonesia when its new foreign minister Jaime Gama asked to see jailed East Timorese resistance leader José Xanana Gusmão.

However Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas did not give a direct reply, instead linking it to the issue of diplomatic relations between Lisbon and Jakarta.

The exchange over Gusmão, who is held in a Jakarta jail, occurred during the seventh round of talks on East Timor.

The talks between Portugal and Indonesia, held under United Nations auspices, are being held in London today.

The UN was represented by Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali and his special political envoy Yasushi Akashi.

All sides, speaking separately at news conferences, described the talks as constructive but refused to give details of progress.

Alatas and Gama agreed the cultural identity of the East Timorese and relations between their two countries were discussed.

Gama, who was the last of the three at the news conference, added human rights. But neither country brought new proposals to the meeting. Nor was there any sign of engagement over the basic issue: whether the East Timorese will be allowed to decide their own political future.

Gama, a member of the new socialist government in Lisbon, said he would like to go to Jakarta to talk with Gusmão, whom he described as “the symbol of East Timorese resistance.”

“For that I was prepared to go to Jakarta,” said Gama, whose country cut diplomatic links with Jakarta over Indonesia’s 1975 invasion of its territory.

Alatas said many people had seen Gusmão, including the UN Commissioner for Human Rights.

But if Gama wanted to see him, he’d have to come to Indonesia “and I thought that was taboo for a Portuguese foreign minister,” Alatas said.

“Does that mean Portugal will restore diplomatic relations?”

Gama, however, retorted: “It’s nothing to do with diplomatic relations. I just need an aircraft.”

Asked how he interpreted Alatas’ response, the Portuguese said: “It was not a formal yes, it was not a clear no.”

The two countries did agree on a second meeting of all the East Timorese factions, to be held in Austria in March.

But Alatas warned it would only be useful if the East Timorese, who are excluded from the main talks, complied with the ground rules and contributed practical suggestions - code for keeping off the issue of sovereignty.

Gama, however, said the East Timorese were free to talk about whatever they wanted.

“We can’t shut their voice,” he said.

Gama emphasised the importance he places on the East Timorese viewpoint when he said he’d go to Vienna to talk with the different groups the day after their meeting.

Although neither side could point to any substantive progress, they at least agreed to meet again in June.

This means there will have been three meetings within a year, which is at least an acceleration of their frequency, a development mainly attributed to pressure from Boutros Ghali.

The first seven rounds were spread over 13 years.

PORTUGAL-INDONESIA TALKS COLLAPSE AS JAKARTA REFUSES TO RELAX GRIP

The Irish Times, 17 January 1995. By Hugh O’Shaughnessy

London – Talks on East Timor between the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr. Jamie Gama, and his Indonesian opposite number, Mr. Ali Alatas, ended in London last night in stalemate. The talks, which were held under the personal aegis of the UN Secretary General, Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, achieved nothing more than the three men decided to meet again at mid-year in Geneva.

East Timor has been occupied by Indonesia, which refers to it as a province, since 1975, in defiance of the United Nations. Indonesia again refused yesterday to relax its grip in any way on the territory where 200,000 people are estimated to have died since the invasion. “The Foreign Ministers got to know each other a little. That’s the best you can say,” commented one conference source.

Each foreign minister took the opportunity, in successive press conferences, to make his own points. Mr. Alatas claimed the UN Security Resolutions of 1975 and 1976, ordering Jakarta to remove its troops from East Timor had been “superseded” by less forthright resolutions from the General Assembly.

Mr Gama denied this. The Portuguese Foreign Minister called for the monitoring of the use by Indonesia in East Timor of arms sold by the European states and the US to the Indonesians on the understanding that they would not be used in East Timor.

The EU, according to Mr. Gama, will take on increasing importance in the efforts to bring self-determination to the East Timorese. Indonesia, he forecast, would soon be talking not to Portugal alone but to the whole membership of the EU.

Mr. Alatas said: “East Timor is not paradise but its not the hell that is being described.” Mr. Yasushi Akashi, the UN Under Secretary General, refused to reply to a question at the news conference as to why the United Nations had not used the same military force to eject the Indonesians from occupied East Timor as it had used to expel the Iraqi forces from occupied Kuwait.
by Jaime Gama to Indonesia to re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Gama’s response to this was a vehement “This has nothing to do with diplomatic relations!, and he went on to argue the need for greater involvement of the Timorese in the process of finding a solution for the territory. 

(...)

INDONESIA, PORTUGAL FAIL TO AGREE IN LONDON MEETING

By Darius Bazargan and Darsha Damayanti

LONDON, Jan 17 (IPS) - The foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia failed Tuesday evening to resolve their totally different visions of East Timor after a day sat face to face with U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in London.

The two, Ali Alatas of Indonesia and Jaime Gama of Portugal had hoped to move towards a solution to civil unrest and human rights abuse in the disputed territory, but ended up only agreeing to another meeting on June 29 in Austria.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was invaded in 1975 by Indonesia. Jakarta has occupied it ever since in contravention of U.N. Security Council resolutions that they withdraw. Tens of thousands of East Timorese civilians have died since then in a number of well documented massacres by Indonesian troops.

“I have never said the situation in East Timor is paradise,” said Alatas angrily in a press conference after the meeting. “But I will never accept that it is hell the way some people depict it.”

“I raised the subject of human rights of the people in the territory, politely, but directly and objectively,” said Gama, who described the talks as “frank, open and very clear.”

Alatas maintained his country’s view that its troops did not occupy East Timor. “There are no foreign troops in East Timor, because East Timor is Indonesian.”

Spokesman for the East Timorese pro-independence movement Fretilin, José Luis Guteres, told IPS that there had been some positive steps at the meeting, notably the agreement to allow a second round of the so-called ‘Intra-Timorese Dialogue’ talks between 30 leading Timorese figures from all sides.

“Everybody is there in an individual capacity, not representing political parties of Indonesia or Timor,” said Guteres, including Fretilin, which has fought Indonesian troops since the invasion, while exiled activists campaign for self determination.

“I believe these meetings will be very crucial because I think that the Timorese can achieve some kind of consensus with regard to the major issues that preoccupy all Timorese,” he added.

João Viegas Carrascalão of the centre-right Timorese Democratic Union opposition party was less satisfied. “I didn’t expect it to produce anything positive. There is nothing new in the communiqué.

“I would like to see a more positive approach to the Intra-Timorese meetings, they only agreed to another Intra-Timorese meeting,” he told IPS. “I would like to see the Intra-Timorese meetings taking place every time there is a round of talks between the ministers.”

Lisbon is still considered by the U.N. as the ‘authorizing authority’ in East Timor, refusing to recognise Indonesian sovereignty over the territory on the grounds that no process of self-determination has taken place there.

Jakarta says that self-determination conditions were met when an East Timorese council convened in Balibo, East Timor, in May 1976 and voted for integration with Indonesia.

Guterres rejected this. “They have imposed the Indonesian language throughout the territory and they have imposed the Indonesian way of life on the Timorese people. We are not Indonesians, East Timor was never part of Indonesia and never part of any Asian empire.

“For 500 years East and West Timor have been divided. Even before the Portuguese colonialism the island was divided into two kingdoms. If you ignore these differences we cannot solve the problems of East Timor.”

Alatas also claimed Security Council resolutions demanding the withdrawal of Indonesian troops had been superseded more flexible demands.

Not so, said Gama. “There has been a clear recognition on all sides, including the Indonesian side, that very positive steps should be taken toward the reduction of military presence there.”

Clashes continue in East Timor between rebels and the Indonesian military. On Tuesday at least six people were killed and 10 Indonesian soldiers taken captive last week in a rebel ambush.

The United Nations sent Human Rights High Commissioner Jose Ayala Lasso to East Timor last month to assess the rights situation and to meet officials in Jakarta.

As the ministers met in the Dorchester Hotel here, five more East Timorese flew to Jakarta to meet with Xanana Gusmão, Jaime Gama said that Alatas replied with “neither an outright ‘no,’ nor with a clear ‘yes’”. However, in the public statements after the meeting, the Indonesian Minister linked any possible visit
Portuguese reporter: But it’s not my (interpretation) that is hell. I, in fact, I said literally we are going to interrupt. You are saying something unacceptable.

Portuguese reporter: You have always said that Ali Alatas dismisses them. "All of them are invariably refused (political asylum by other nations) because they are not being persecuted, and in the end they opt to go to Portugal, so they get a free plane ticket to Portugal. Fine. We’re not stopping them. Let them go."

**SEVENTH ROUND OF UN TALKS**

**AM, ABC radio, 17 January 1996. Presenter: Elen Fleming**

Presenter: Indonesia’s Foreign Minister Ali Alatas admits East Timor is not a paradise but he claims it’s far from hell. That frank comment has come at the end of the 7th round talks between Indonesia and Portugal - the former colonial ruler of East Timor. Mr Alatas says the talks have produced some progress, although he confirms the question of self-determination for the East Timorese people is not on the agenda. Our chief European correspondent Robert Bolton has this report.

Reporter: This was the first meeting between Ali Alatas and the new Socialist Foreign Minister of Portugal Jaime Gama. The Ministers said the talks supervised by the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali had focused on three areas - a possible conclusion of the preliminaries, the cultural identity of East Timor and relations between Jakarta and Lisbon. A date was set for another meeting in July. But tension for Indonesia soon became evident at a press conference, a Portuguese reporter asked Mr Alatas why he had claimed everything was "beautiful in your Indonesian garden." Provoking an angry outburst from Mr Alatas and an assertion the people of East Timor had requested integration with Indonesia in 1976.

Portuguese reporter: You have always said that, at least, that everything is beautiful in the Indonesian garden.

Alatas: I’m sorry to interrupt. I’m sorry to interrupt. You are saying something untruthful.

Portuguese reporter: I am paraphrasing it.

Alatas: No.

Portuguese reporter: That is the impression you give.

Alatas: No, no, no. I have never given that impression. I, in fact, I said literally we never claim that the situation in East Timor is paradise. But I refuse to accept your interpretation that is hell.

Portuguese reporter: But it’s not my (interpretation) that is hell.

Alatas: I said to everybody. So, don’t put words in my mouth that I have never said. I’ve never said it’s beautiful, I’ve never said that it’s perfect.

Portuguese reporter: You are denying almost, that the East Timorese had already signed or agreed as far as annexation or integration in East Timor is not true. (...) that’s what you say so.

Alatas: No, no. The majority of. Please listen carefully, please note it down. The majority of the people of East Timor, not all, the majority of them in 1976 have agreed to opt for independence through integration it was annexation. It was their request for integration. There is opposition, those in the mountains still have 100, 200, I don’t know maybe less. And those outside, a handful who are still waging their campaign against integration. We always said. Is that depicting it as beautiful or perfect? No.

Robert Bolton: Shortly after Mr Alatas left the room and Mr Jaime Gama, the Portuguese Foreign Minister took the podium. He said the day long talks had been very constructive.

NOTE: (...) = unclear.

**FORMALITIES OVER FOR GAMA AND ALATAS**

Diario de Noticias, 18 January 1996. By Carlos Albino. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

London – Lisbon and Jakarta have to come up with a framework of solutions for Timor once and for all. Jaime Gama sought to recover the initiative, and on 29 June, Alatas will have to either give a response or an acceptable justification.

The main aim of the proposed visit to Jakarta in exchange for assurances of a meeting with Xanana Gusmão was to give Portuguese diplomacy the chance to recover some spirit of initiative. Before international public opinion saw the two sides as being bogged down in the preliminaries, playing a game of cat and mouse. The response may well emerge in June and, if affirmative (which is doubtful), then Indonesian diplomacy could meet Lisbon’s request without losing face by leaving the organisation of Jaime Gama’s visit to the UN Secretary General (SG)...

Apparently, the two parties are inflexible on the fundamental question - self-determination which has brought the two Foreign Ministers and UN SG together on a quarterly basis. Portugal will agree to nothing short of self-determination as a condition for any kind of settlement, while Indonesia is equally unbending in its view that it annexed the territory after the Timorese allegedly chose that option themselves.

At the negotiating table, allegations of human rights violations have tragically adorned the avoidance of the main question and, after each of the 6 previous Ministerial encounters, Lisbon has had to accept the circumstances: military intervention is out of the question and would be in line with neither Portugal’s capacity nor principles; open encouragement of the guerrilla is equally excluded as it would merely end in even greater sufferings for the Timorese people, and international pressure (especially from the US) is dependent upon interests which usually have little or nothing to do with the principles of the UN Charter. That only leaves diplomatic channels, the good offices of the UN SG, and the maturing with time of the leaders of the Timorese Resistance.

The so-called “intra-Timorese reconciliation meetings” have been a God-send to both Jakarta and Lisbon, ... in that it has made Alatas and his Portuguese counterparts appear less engaged in futile exercises, but the intra-Timorese meetings seem more and more to be a Last Supper, at which everyone is trying to find Judas (the Judas of annexation, or the Judas of independence). Lopes da Cruz came to Fatima, and spoke to whomever he wished; Abílio Araujo went to Jakarta and spoke there to whomever he wishes. However, neither Ramos Horta nor João Carrascalão have gone to Dili, and not even a minimum structure, or small representative body, or secretariat has come out of the intra-Timorese meetings.

Jaime Gama’s diplomatic challenge (to meet with Xanana Gusmão) is, therefore, going to be the equivalent of the end of a series of 7 inconclusive and secret rounds of formalities which, because that is all they have been, are serving Jakarta to deliberately discredit the UN itself. If Jakarta agrees to Abílio Araujo’s intended meeting with Xanana, that would be a positive sign for 29 June.

**MR. AKASHI DENIES REPORTS OF “APPOINTMENT AS PERSON IN CHARGE OF EAST TIMOR”**

Jiji News, January 19, 1996. Translated from Japanese (Translator’s note: I don’t have the official English version of the titles in this article. Sorry!)

New York, Jan. 18 – UN special political advisor to the UN secretary-general AKASHI Yasushi, denied on the 18th as “not true” reports in Indonesian media that he had been appointed the secretary-
of the world ... We do not propose to stand by and allow such persons to be removed from Australia and sent to East Timor, Indonesia or Portugal.”

The network has challenged the federal government, “in the name of freedom ... to reverse its policy against the East Timor refugee applicants.” It says that “if all avenues of appeal are exhausted, our group faces a higher moral obligation to consider the offer of sanctuary to East Timorese resisting deportation.”

**STATEMENTS FROM SANCTUARY NETWORK SUPPORTERS**

Dear Friends,

A group of Church organisations here in Australia have decided to offer Church Sanctuary to the East Timorese. We released this statement to the media today.

We are also holding a thirty day candle-light vigil - 24 hours a day outside the Town Hall here in Sydney.

Warm regards,

Kath

**THE CONGREGATIONS OF**

- Christians in Solidarity with East Timor, Australia
- Congregation of Sisters of St Joseph, Australia
- St. Mary’s Church, Sth Brisbane, Qld
- St. Vincent de Paul Church, Redfern, NSW
- Ballarat Church, Victoria
- Congregation of Sisters of St. Joseph Perthville, NSW
- Young Christian Workers, Australia
- Presentation Sisters Wagga Wagga, NSW
- Mercy Foundation, NSW
- Catholic Workers Movement, Brisbane, Qld
- St. Ignatius Church, Richmond, Victoria
- Sisters of Mercy Sisters, Parramatta, NSW
- St. Joseph’s House of Hospitality Adams-town, NSW
- Congregation of Sisters of St Joseph, Lochinvar, NSW
- Christian Centre for Social Action with Warehouse Church, Perth WA
- Sisters of Mercy, Redfern, NSW
- Sisters of Mercy, Erskineville, NSW
- Forster-Tuncurry Catholic Social Justice Group - Forster, NSW

**STAND BY EAST TIMORESE REFUGEE APPLICANTS AND STATE OUR BELIEF THAT AUSTRALIA HAS A MORAL OBLIGATION TO THEM**

In making this statement we take a clear stand against the government’s recommendation to the Refugee Review Tribunal to find that the 1300 East Timorese applicants currently in Australia are Portuguese citizens and, as such, cannot be given refugee status in Australia.

We also reject statements made by the Prime Minister, Mr Paul Keating, and the Foreign Minister, Sen. Gareth Evans, and which are prejudicial to the claims of these applicants.

**REASONS:**

These East Timorese people have fled a genocide which our Federal Government has done little to prevent at diplomatic, economic and military levels.

We remember the 40,000 people of East Timor (then a neutral country) who were slain by Japanese forces while offering sanctuary to Australian troops in World War II.

Community and cultural links and proximity to their country of origin provide an obvious basis for the preference of East Timorese to seek refugee status in Australia.

Given that the Australian Government has vehemently opposed Portugal’s claim to their country, Australia should not be able to represent the East Timorese in the International Court of Justice, the protestation that these people are Portuguese citizens is clearly hypocritical.

Even if Portugal were prevailed upon to offer citizenship, why would Australia take such a singular stance against the East Timorese and force them to go to Portugal?

**OUR STAND:**

We challenge our government in the name of a freedom sacred to all Australians to reverse its policy against the East Timorese refugee applicants.

We make this declaration in the knowledge that the offer of sanctuary is firmly rooted in our Christian tradition and theology.

If all avenues of appeal should be exhausted, our group faces a higher moral obligation to consider the offer of sanctuary to East Timorese resisting deportation.

**CHRISTIAN SANCTUARY NETWORK**

“God is the refuge of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? For God will hide me in shelter in the day of trouble: and conceal me under cover of the Lord’s tent setting me high upon a rock....”

Psalm 27

The Christian Sanctuary Network consists of a group of people whose concern has been heightened by recent incidences in East Timor and decisions made by the Australian Government. We feel that an appropriate Christian response is warranted.

The proposal of offering Christian Sanctuary simply acknowledges the proper theological and historical implication that sanctuaries in Churches, Convents, Monasteries and other sacred sites, be sanctuaries. That is offer shelter, protection, food, clothing, transport. While it is a first for Australia, Sanctuary of the Church is not a unique...
idea. It is offered presently in the Americas, Europe and Asia.

In our view, the protection of the human rights of the displaced East Timorese people creates a Christian imperative, namely, to provide protection in circumstances where the grief and suffering associated with flight is best minimised. It is inconsistent with Australia’s legal obligations and moral mission for refugees to bundle them off to another part of the world where many of them are further separated from their country and relatives in Australia. We do not propose to stand by and allow such persons to be removed from Australia and sent to East Timor, Indonesia or Portugal. Whilst no attempts will be made to conceal such persons from discovery, we propose, in the spirit of solidarity and moral obligation to offer sanctuary to these people.

For further information contact: Sr. Kathleen O’Connor RSJ 02 356 3888 BH 02 360 1756AH Christians in Solidarity with East Timor e-mail ciset@uniyajrs.apana.org.au

AUSTRALIA IRKED BY CHURCH’S SANCTUARY OFFER

By Suganthi Singarayar

SYDNEY, Nov 9 (IPS) - A coalition of Christian groups has put the Australian government in an awkward situation by offering sanctuary to more than 1,000 East Timorese refugees to prevent their deportation.

“If all avenues of appeal (have been) exhausted, our group faces a higher moral obligation to consider the offer of sanctuary to East Timorese resisting deportation,” the Christian Sanctuary Network (CSN) said in a statement this week.

The group, which has offered to keep the refugees in churches, monasteries and other sacred sites, said the situation in predominately Catholic East Timor and Canberra’s position on the refugee issue called for an “appropriate Christian response.”

The government last month told the Refugee Review Tribunal the 1,350 East Timorese seeking refuge here are Portuguese citizens and thus cannot be given refugee status in Australia.

“Given that Australia has vehemently opposed Portugal’s claim to be able to represent the East Timorese in the International Court of Justice, the protestation that these people are Portuguese citizens is clearly hypocritical,” said the CSN, which was formed especially to help the refugees.

But Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans described the CSN’s move as “wildly premature.” In an ABC radio interview, he said: “We have a process of refugee status determination... which is only just beginning and is going to take many months to resolve, and nobody should assume any particular outcome.”

Indonesia has warned that an Australian government decision to grant asylum to the East Timorese would threaten their diplomatic and trade relations.

Many of the refugees currently being assessed by immigration officials arrived late 1994 and early 1995 on tourist visas. Eighteen of them, including a baby less than a year old, reached Australia by boat in May.

A government spokesperson said the assessment process has been put on hold while the Immigration Department sought legal advice on the issues of nationality and its effect on refugee law, to help evaluate each applicant’s standing under Australia, Portuguese and international law.

Each case would be studied individually, said the spokesperson, who did not say how long the assessment process would take. Refugee status applications denied by the Department can be brought before the Refugee Review Tribunal. If they are again rejected, applicants may take their case to court.

Agio Pereira, executive director of the East Timor Relief Association, called the CSN’s move “courageous” because “the Church usually tends to prefer to stay away from controversial issues of this magnitude.”

He said the refugees are “the meat in the sandwich between Australia and Indonesia” and accused the Australian government of being very opportunistic and not understanding the situation in East Timor.

CSN coordinator Kathleen O’Connor, a Josephite sister, admits that offering sanctuary, while firmly rooted in Christian tradition and theology, does not have a legal basis. But she said members of the group were prepared to go to jail to protect the refugees.

She said the CSN wanted to show the East Timorese people that Australia recognised its moral obligation to them, to challenge the government’s moral stance, and to encourage debate on moral and social aspects of the East Timor issue, rather than just the economic and political concerns currently being debated.

O’Connor said Australia has a moral duty to the people of East Timor, especially as 40,000 East Timorese died protecting Australian troops during World War II.

The former Portuguese colony was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the following year, but the United Nations does not recognise Jakarta’s sovereignty over East Timor.

The CSN says Australia is the obvious choice for East Timorese seeking refugee status because of its proximity to the territory and their close community and cultural links.

But Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating made his position clear in a radio interview last month: while Australia recognises Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor, it considers East Timorese Portuguese citizens and thus not eligible for refugee status.

He disagreed with the interviewer’s view that Australia should have done more for East Timor during the invasion and owed a debt to them now.

Keating pointed out that there was a civil war in East Timor 20 years ago and, if it had gone to a free vote, the people would have voted for incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia.

He said Australia could not risk hurting its relations with Indonesia over East Timor. He said he pushes East Timor’s case whenever he gets to speak to Indonesian President Suharto, but added: “We can’t have a phony campaign about refugee status for people who enjoy Portuguese citizenship.”

Portugal says Indonesia’s invasion blocked East Timor’s move towards independence and prevented Portugal from completing the process of decolonisation.

A spokesperson for the Portuguese Embassy in Australia says East Timorese with documentary proof that they were in fact East Timorese are considered Portuguese citizens and can enjoy Portuguese protection.

SPIRITED TESTAMENT TO THE EAST TIMORESE STRUGGLE

Green Left Weekly, 5 Nov. 1995

Review: Wall of Testimony

Written by José Casimiro and Maria Alice Casimiro Branco

Performed by the Lafaek East Timor Association

Reviewed by Sally Mitchell and Tim E. Stewart

Wall of Testimony - the latest play by the Lafaek East Timor Association - made its explosive debut to a capacity audience of students, artists, parliamentarians, church parishioners and political activists at the Browns Mart Community Arts Theatre in Darwin on November 2.

The performance, a series of emotionally charged vignettes based around events related to the November 12, 1991 Dili massacre, is a spirited testament to the 20-year-old struggle of the Maubere people for freedom and self-determination in East Timor.

The play gives the Maubere struggle a very human dimension, taking the audience into the realm of everyday violence in East Timor; harassment, murder, and intimidation. Various episodes are set in the home,
on the street, in the church and in the mountains. The real impact, however, comes not from the re-enactment of military brutalities, but in the treatment of grief and mourning. Each death in the play becomes a commemorative act. Moments of sorrow give birth to revolutionary anger and determination to struggle against oppression.

The five performers - Carlos Soares, Dulcie Munn, Martin Soares, Benilde Lopes Da Cruz and José Casimiro - bring Wall of Testimony alive with concentrated surges of emotion; through the harrowing hymn of Kolele Mai, to the exhilarating percussion and singing of Oh Maubere at the end. The brutality, reality, which is the historical backdrop to the play, serves to underscore the political message: freedom and self-determination for East Timor.

José Casimiro, who co-wrote the play with sister Maria Alice Casimiro Branco, told Green Left: “The actors are on a mission where they can pass the message on of the suffering of the people. It’s very important for Timorese to take this play around Australia because it will be seen by lots of people ... It’s not only about political issues but also about cultural identity. We must show people who we really are.”

In writing Wall of Testament, they said the aim was to reflect on all facets of the twentieth century. The five performers - Carlos Soares, Dulcie Munn, Martin Soares, Benilde Lopes Da Cruz and José Casimiro - bring Wall of Testimony alive with concentrated surges of emotion; through the harrowing hymn of Kolele Mai, to the exhilarating percussion and singing of Oh Maubere at the end. The brutality, reality, which is the historical backdrop to the play, serves to underscore the political message: freedom and self-determination for East Timor.

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Brisbane: Nov 7, Resistance Centre; Nov 8, St Laurence College, South Brisbane; ph 337 79777
Canberra: Nov 11, Venue to be announced; ph 257 4600
Wollongong: Nov 14, Weskey Auditorium; ph 287 1533;
Sydney: Nov 16, Pitt Street Uniting Church; 17th East Side Uniting Church in Paddington; Nov 18, Campbeltown Uniting Church; ph 287 0900
Melbourne: Nov 23, Uniting Church Fitzroy; Nov 24,25, Uniting Church Kew; ph 965 42488
Hobart: Nov 28, Scotts Uniting Church Launceston: Nov 29, Pilgrim Church Burnie: Nov 30, Civic Centre; ph 243 967
Alice Springs: Dec 5, Uniting Church Hall; ph 531 955
Adelaide: Dec 2,3, ph 212 4066 Fremantle: Dec 7,8,9, Iona Presentation College
Perth: Dec 10, Christian Centre for Social Action; ph 459 8269.

**INDONESIAN FORCES TRAIN IN AUSTRALIA**

*Report from Martin Broek, Stop Arming Indonesia Campaign, Nov. 8.*

“Prior to participation in the multinational exercise Kangaroo 95, a unit of the Indonesian Kopassus special forces did counter-terrorist training with the Australian Special Air Service Regiment (SASR). In June 1995, the Australian Defence Minister, Senator Robert Ray, revealed that Kopassus units had been training in counter-terrorist operations in Australia since 1993. (…) The Australian defence Minister’s revelation inevitably led to criticism by East Timorese refugee communities and sympathetic parliamentarians and academics. Whereas the critics say that Kopassus would be used against local movements like East Timor’s FRETILIN and Irian Jaya’s OPM rebels, Senator Ray said that Kopassus would not use the skills it has acquired from the SASR against Indonesian citizens.”

ADJ 10/95, page 70.

*How does he know this?*

**2,000 COMMEMORATE DILI MASSACRE IN MELBOURNE**

*by Andra Jackson, through AAP*

Melbourne, Nov 12 (AAP) – Candles smuggled out of Dili were presented to a 2,000-strong crowd here today, commemorating the anniversary of the Dili massacre in East Timor.

The crowd included survivors of the November 12, 1991 massacre in which Indonesian soldiers opened fire on mourners at Dili’s Santa Cruz cemetery, killing scores of civilians.

Also present were several Australian World War II veterans, one of whom said he owed his life to an East Timorese soldier he fought alongside.

The candles were relayed by journalist and rock musician Paul Stewart who was part of an international delegation, including politicians and lawyers, recently turned back from entering East Timor via Bali by Indonesian security officials.

Mr Stewart, whose brother, television cameraman Tony Stewart, was one of five Australian journalists killed in disputed circumstances by Indonesian troops during the 1975 Indonesian invasion of East Timor, said the delegation had wanted to place flowers on the graves of the massacre victims.

He said one official warned the delegation: “Don’t go to Dili because we shoot tourists in Dili.”

The candles were later carried to St Francis’ Catholic church in Lonsdale Street en route to a protest outside Indonesian government-owned Garuda airlines.

The candles would remain in the church for a 21-day display of photographs of the massacre which Community Aid Abroad has sponsored.

A message of solidarity to Melbourne’s East Timorese community was also read out by Mr Stewart from Bono, the lead singer of Irish super rock group U2. The message said: “We assure you we know of your struggle.”

A poem, written by the singer to mark the anniversary of the Dili killings was also read to the crowd, pledged, “there is no grave wide enough to stop your story being told.”

It was a moment of mixed emotions for massacre survivor, Akoilong Lui, 33. He said, through a translator, that while he felt happy to be in Australia he was saddened by the memory of the killings.

He recalled: “There were over 3,000 Timorese people there at the Santa Cruz cemetery. They had put flowers on the grave and were shouting ‘Viva Timor’ and ‘Freedom’ when seven trucks arrived full of Indonesian soldiers.

“They surrounded us in a semicircle and started firing.

“I was one of the lucky ones, I ran to the forward ... to the cemetery wall and climbed over it.

“As I ran, people were falling down, shot.”

He was in hiding for six months as the Indonesian authorities rounded up those in
the cemetery whose killings, caught on video, were shown on news programs around the world.

When finally arrested, he spent a year in prison on charges that included “anti-Indonesian activities.” Amnesty International secured his release in July 1993.

Earlier, Shirley Shackleton, whose journalist husband was also killed in East Timor in 1975, said massacre was “unfortunately the word for what is still going on in East Timor.”

She said the Australia government’s stand on East Timor

**NOVEMBER 12 RALLY IN MELBOURNE**

*Reported by John Sinnott, Australia East Timor Association*

On Sunday 12 November, the largest East Timor rally ever held in Melbourne commemorated the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre.

The crowd of two thousand people included survivors of the massacre and ‘boat people’ who fled East Timor earlier this year. A street theatre re-enactment began the proceedings.

Speakers included:

- Shirley Shackleton, widow of journalist Greg Shackleton who was killed by Indonesian armed forces at Balibo twenty years ago last month,
- Lindsay Tanner, backbench Labor member of the Australian Parliament who has been very critical of the Government’s East Timor policy,
- Paul Stewart, brother of Tony Stewart another of the five journalists killed at Balibo and one of the group of international identities turned back at Bali airport after boarding a plane for Dili,
- Wilson da Silva, Australian journalist just returned from East Timor and
- Jim Aubrey, Australian Democrats candidate for the federal electorate of Holt who is standing against Gareth Evans at the next election.

The Executive Director of Community Aid Abroad, Jeremy Hobbs, launched a national campaign to send 100,000 post cards to Prime Minister Paul Keating calling on him to take a stand on East Timor.

A flame was lit by two young members of Melbourne’s large East Timorese community. It was taken on a march through the city and then to a special commemorative mass. It will burn in St Francis Catholic church in central Melbourne until December 7.

The event received wide media coverage, particularly on television. In the regional Victorian cities of Bendigo and Warrnambool vigils were held to mark the anniversary.

**DILI MASSACRE REMEMBERED**

*Green Left, Nov. 19*

Ben Reid reports that 2000 East Timorese and their supporters gathered in Melbourne on November 12 as part of a nationwide series of actions to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre.

Shirley Shackleton, widow of journalist Greg Shackleton murdered by Indonesian troops in 1975, condemned the Australian government and the ALP at the rally. She reminded the audience that the so-called “great man” of Australia, Gough Whitlam, knowingly colluded with the Indonesian invasion.

Democratic Socialist speaker Susan Price, referring to the policy adopted by the ALP national conference in 1994, told the rally that “the ALP’s call for reconciliation between Indonesians and East Timorese is facile and hypocritical. The real issue is self-determination for East Timor. The ALP’s policy on Timor puts oil before human lives. We need a foreign policy that puts people before profits.”

Abel Guterres, speaking on behalf of the East Timorese resistance, called on “all sectors of the Australian community to express their opposition to the federal government.”

During the rally, a flame was lit in remembrance of the victims of the massacre. East Timorese refugees, who led the march, carried it through city streets chanting, “Viva East Timor!” and “No Blood for Oil; Free East Timor Now!” In Bourke Street Mall, city traffic and trams were stopped as protesters held a “die-in.”

Outside the Garuda Airlines office, speakers from solidarity groups urged more people to become involved in actions for East Timor. Jo Brown from Aksi (Solidarity Action for East Timor and Indonesia) pointed to the growing movement of support in Indonesia. She pointed to the need to link the struggle for democracy in Indonesia with independence for East Timor.

From Perth, Arun Pradhan reports that more than 600 people attended a commemorative march and rally on November 12. Organised by Friends of East Timor and the East Timorese community, the actions followed a Catholic mass at All Saints Church.

Marchers wore black armbands and carried 274 crosses inscribed with the names and ages of the people killed at Dili. Before the rally “Speaking for the Dead” was performed by Curtin University’s Hayman theatre.

East Timorese representative and UDT member Domingos de Oliveira described the continued resistance against the occupation. He condemned the cowardice of both the Labor and Liberal parties and thanked the Australian people for their support, stressing that the fight was not against the Indonesian people but the regime.

Indonesian dissident Dr George Aditjondro, described the growing number of Indonesians, particularly young people, who were in solidarity with the East Timorese and called on Australians to boycott Bali.

Tony Cooke from the Trades and Labour Council pointed to the importance of union support for the campaign. Thanking the people who helped to fight the WA government’s second wave industrial legislation, Cooke encouraged them to also take on the campaign for self-determination in East Timor.

Other speakers included UDT and Fretilin representatives and Father Frank Smith from the Redemptionist Church.

Amber Copland from Friends of East Timor in Derby reports that 35 people gathered for a commemoration rally. Derby was the focus of controversy earlier this year as the location of detention camps for East Timorese refugees. The protesters also lit a torch symbolising freedom for East Timor.

From Grafton, NSW, David Noonan reports that students at the Catherine McAuley College organised a demonstration on November 10 around the demands “Free East Timor, No more Dili massacres.”

Speakers from Resistance and Amnesty International addressed students and staff. The protesters collected over 150 names on “Free East Timor” petitions and “Timor Woman,” written by Xanana Gusmão, was performed at the rally.

Kerryn Williams reports from Canberra that 100 people rallied outside the Indonesian embassy on November 12. Speakers included Ines Almeida of the East Timor Relief Association, Jim Redden from Community Aid Abroad, Marina Carman from Resistance. Kerryn Williams from the Democratic Socialist Party, Bill Tully from Campaign for an Independent East Timor and Bishop Pat Power of the Catholic Church. Recently arrived East Timorese refugees attended the rally. All emphasised the Australian government’s support for the Indonesian military and Power highlighted the ALP’s continued disgraceful policy on East Timor from Whitlam to Keating.

On November 13, Almeida addressed a forum organised by Community Aid Abroad and Campaign for an Independent East Timor. The 30 participants discussed vari-
ous aspects of the struggle for freedom in East Timor including the role of women, the banning of aid organisations from setting up projects or documenting conditions in East Timor, and what can be done in Australia to support the campaign.

RALLIES MARK 1991 DILI MASSACRE

By Paul Howes, Green Left #211, November 15, 1995

SYDNEY - On November 11 more than 1500 people marched and rallied to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre. After a mass at the St Mary’s Cathedral Timorese refugees led a lively march to Town Hall behind the commemoration candle from East Timor.

The rally was introduced by Sister Kath O’Connor from Christians in Solidarity with East Timor. This was followed by a colourful and emotional performance by the East Timorese Cultural Centre who portrayed the events on November 12. Other speakers included Milena Pires from UDIT, Harold Mouch from FREITILIN and Terry Munro the Aboriginal Metropolitan Lands Council who performed a traditional Aboriginal welcome for the Timorese refugees.

Speakers from other solidarity and political groups included Max Lane from Aksi - Indonesia and East Timor Solidarity Action, Gil Scrine from the Australia East Timor Association and Jen Crothers from the socialist youth organisation Resistance. A message was also read out from Indonesian People in Solidarity with the Maubere People.

Sally Mitchell reported from Darwin that more than 60 people gathered in the Mall to commemorate the anniversary. Speakers included survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre and Darwin East Timor independence activists.

Representing the November 12 organising committee Goncalo Pinto told the rally that “Australia’s foreign policy must be changed” and that the “current ALP government should be voted against.”

Dr Andrew McNab, who was part of an international delegation recently expelled from East Timor, lit a candle brought from Dili symbolising the ongoing struggle for Freedom by the Maubere people.

An all-night vigil was held outside the Indonesian consulate on November 11, followed by a commemorative service at St Mary’s Cathedral on November 12.

From Brisbane, Nick Everett reports that 400 rallied at Roma Street Forum where Louise Kallor from Resistance, Maria Cortereal from East Timorese community, Kirin O’Reilly from Christian Sanctuary Network and Sam Watson from the Aboriginal community strongly condemned the federal government for its decision not to grant asylum to the East Timorese refugees. The crowd marched through Queen Street Mall to Musgrave Park for a festival which included performers Connie, Chris Anderson, Phil Monsour and Hommus. Representatives from Community Aid Abroad, Aksi and Centre for Philippine Concerns also addressed the crowd.

From Newcastle, Alex Bainbridge reports that 40 people took part in an action on November 10 which was partly designed to welcome the Timorese refugees seeking asylum in Australia. Alico Santos spoke about the struggle in Timor and called on people in Australia to continue to show support for the Timorese.

The killing of Australian journalists in 1975 and the Australian government’s subsequent refusal to act on the issue was condemned in street theatre which also dramatised the massacres and ongoing repression of the Timorese. The street theatre ended on a positive note emphasising that people, both in Timor and around the world, who organise collectively, can successfully defeat repression.

Music celebrating the Timorese struggle was played by John Queripel and the crowd sang “Mount Ramelau” the Fretilin anthem.

The Asian Solidarity Network, the organisers of the action, invited a West Papuan speaker who was unable to attend. An Indonesian flag was burnt to symbolise people’s condemnation of the repression, and many candles of hope for the future were lit. Participants were encouraged to put personal messages on a giant postcard to be sent to foreign minister Gareth Evans.

GJA: AFTER THE BAMBOO CURTAIN HAS BEEN PULLED DOWN AGAIN

Speech at the Dili massacre commemoration rally in Perth on Nov. 12, 1995, by George J. Aditjondro, Indonesian academic-in-exile

Dear brothers and sisters of East Timor and Australia. Also, welcome to the Indonesian intelligence personnel present here: please get your cameras and tape-recorders ready to document this event, which may help your promotion back home – or at least earn you some pocket money. Let me begin my speech with a political joke, which appeared on the Internet four days ago. The joke runs as follows:

Question: How many Indonesians does it take to control one East Timorese?
Answer: Three. One to hold a gun to his head, one to convince him that he is a fellow Indonesian, and one to convince the Americans – or Australians, for that matter – that he is really a fellow Indonesian.

I believe that his joke is really appropriate for this occasion, especially after the Suharto regime has expelled 14 foreigners from Dili, peace pilgrims who came to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre, just as we are doing today, here. The reason given to deport all those foreign guests from East Timor, namely that “the local people can be easily provoked to stage protests in front of foreigners,” as stated by Indonesian immigration officer Yohannes Triswowy to the West Australian, yesterday, contradicts all earlier statements by the Indonesian security officers that only a handful of East Timorese still fight for their independence.

This most recent act of the Suharto regime also contradicts the statements of Suharto himself and his loyal servant, Alex Alatas, that East Timor enjoys the same status as all other Indonesian provinces. Because, in which Indonesian province can one find dozens of security personnel following foreigners wherever they go in the provincial capital? In which Indonesian province can one find guests being dragged out from their hotels in the provincial capital, and ordered to leave by police in full riot gear?

Now, not from the viewpoint of a foreigner, but from the viewpoint of an ordinary Indonesian citizen, in which Indonesian province can one find ten to twelve battalions patrolling the streets of the towns and villages, in an area as small as Belgium?

These ten to twelve battalions which are currently on “civic mission” in East Timor, do not consist of locals, but come from all major islands in the Indonesian territory. Such as, the 141 and 142 battalions from Sumatra, the 320, 411 and 521 battalions from Java, the 612 battalion from Kalimantan, and the 712 battalion from Sulawesi. We have to ask ourselves again, in which Indonesian province can one find so many military troops, who do not consist of locals? Are the presence of these non-local troops a trade mark of an Indonesian province, or the trade mark of a colony?

Apart from the presence of those “official” troops, an unknown number of plain-clothes military personnel operate in East Timor, who mainly consist of members of the Army’s elite corps, Kopassus, also known as the Red Berets, whose commanding unit in East Timor is known by the abbreviation SGI. This brings back the spectre of the Portuguese secret police, PIDE.

In addition to those plain-clothes military men, the Indonesian police in East Timor also operate under the command of the SGI. Although the police often officially detain East Timorese activists in their regional HQ.
Alkatiri, a “successful” businessman in Dili, last year, the bodyguards of Achmad, a foreign Affairs in the first cabinet of the Fretilin representative in Mozambique, freedom fighters. For instance, the East from families of well-known East Timor forces have been aided by East Timor million) by the occupation forces.

allegedly financed with Rp 2 billion (A$ 2 called “inter-gang fights” in Dili, which was occupation youth were recruited to stage so-

altered to Golkar subsidiary, Pemuda pro-independence youth. Or, by using the local branch of a Golkar subsidiary, Pemuda Pancasila. Recently, several of these pro-

occupation youth were recruited to stage so-called “inter-gang fights” in Dili, which was allegedly financed with Rp 2 billion (A$ 2 million) by the occupation forces.

In all these colonial acts, the occupation forces have been aided by East Timor collaborators, some of whom were recruited from families of well-known East Timor freedom fighters. For instance, the East Timorese Pemuda Pancasila branch is led by Achmad Alkatiri, an older brother of the Fretelin representative in Mozambique, Mar’i Alkatiri. Mar’i was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first cabinet of the Democratic Republic of East Timor (DRET). Last year, the bodyguards of Achmad Alkatiri, a “successful” businessman in Dili, physically harasses an Indonesian journalist of SUARA TIMOR TIMUR. Meanwhile, the money paid to the pro-integration gangs which harassed the pro-independence youth last month in Dili was allegedly channeled through Thomas Gonçalves, the former Indonesian-appointed bupati (district-head) of Ermera and son of the liurai of Atsabe, Guilherme Gonçalves.

Thomas’ father was the former head of the pro-Indonesian party, Apodeti, and second Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor. Last month, the old man had twice invited the wrath of the Suharto regime by publicly denouncing the validity of the so-called “Balibo declaration” which asked for integration with Indonesia, as well as the report from the East Timorese leaders stranged in Atambua (West Timor), which stated that the five Australia-based journalists in Balibo were killed in a crossfire between the pro-integration and pro-

independence East Timorese troops. By applying this old colonial “divide-and-rule” tactic within the prominent East Timorese families, the occupation forces were desper-

ately and unsuccessfully trying to persuade the East Timorese people to keep their Indonesian citizenship. Exactly like in the joke, where the East Timorese guy had to be forced at gun-point to admit that he was a fellow Indonesian.

The point I want to make by giving this sad background is that while we are safely congregating here in Perth, in East Timor today, especially in Dili, more and more people have been or will be detained, after the bamboo curtain has been pulled down before the eyes of the foreign dignitaries. As of yesterday, ten armored military vehicles were stationed near the Motael church, and two Brawijaya battalions from East Java were standing by in Taibisse, the old military barracks in Dili.

During the week prior to November 12, 1995, the military and police have been searching for car tires in Dili neighbourhoods, to prevent tire-burning demonstrations as what happened during the peak of the September uprising. Even car repair shops had their tires confiscated. And only four days ago, five farmers in Ermera were detained by the occupation forces, together with a field staff of an indigenous East Timorese community development organization.

This raises then the question: for whose interests of benefits is all these Indonesian taxpayers money wasted in East Timor, while poverty is still rampant in the neighbour-

inghabitable Indonesian provinces of West and East Nusa Tenggara? Ironically, while the East Timorese people are sacrificing their lives and the Nusa Tenggara people forsake their own economic development, the Jakarta elite has filled their Swiss bank ac-

accounts from the wealth generated in and from this so-called “economically unviable” territory.

In the past two decades, the Batara Indra Group, a conglomerate closely associated with the 1975-1976 butchers, Generals Benny Murdani, Daeng Kalbudi, and Sahala Rajagukguk, has reaped the benefits of East Timor’s coffee, sandalwood, marble, as well as the territory’s tourism and infra-

structure businesses.

Enter the 1990s, another conglomerate has began to overtake Batara Indra’s fortune in East Timor. This Anak Liambau Group is owned by the family of the current Indone-

sian-appointed governor, José Abilio Osorio-Soares, a protégé of Suharto’s son-in-

law, Prabowo Djojohadikusumo, second-in-command of the Red Berets. Two of Su-

harto’s daughters, Tutut and Titi, Prabowo’s wife, are involved in East Timor’s lucrative yet diminishing coffee and sandalwood trade.

Meanwhile, two of Suharto’s sons, Bambang Trihatmojo and Sigit Harjojudanto, monopolize the telecommunication projects in East Timor. Even Suharto’s grandson, Arie Haryo Wiribowo, Sigit’s son, has obtained a piece of the economic pie in the colony. The 24 year old drug addict has obtained a monopoly to levy a kind of “alcohol tax” for all alcoholic drink sold in East Timor, after obtaining a similar monopoly in Bali, South Sulawesi, West Kalimantan, and Irian Jaya from the Department of Interior (not from the Minister of Trade or Finance, sic!).

On top of all those ‘peanuts’ – or, actually, below them – lies the oil and gas re-

serves of the Timor Gap plus the on-shore reserves, which led Australian PM Gough Whitlam to give Suharto the green light to annex East Timor way back in September 1975. A diplomatic disaster, which contrib-

uted to Gough Whitlam’s domestic disaster a year later.

Considering all the sufferings of the Maubere people which have taken place until today, we cannot just meet, pray, sing, and commemorate the sacrifices of more than 300 young man and woman who died four years ago, and carry on with our lives tomorrow as if nothing serious has hap-

pened. Australians who enjoy something which is a luxury in East Timor as well as in Indonesia, namely the freedom of expression and assembly, should show their solidarity with the oppressed people of East Timor by sacrificing something concrete.

In that context I appeal to you to boy-

cott Australia’s favorite tourist place, Bali, based on the fact that Bali is the base of the Udayana army command that include the occupation forces in East Timor. Bali is thus the natural place where the butchers of East
Timor are promoted – if they have not yet received their reward in East Timor itself through civil service appointments or positions in Batara Indra.

Bali is also the origin of the many so-called “pioneer farmers” as the Balinese transmigrants are called, who have taken over the scarce land of the Maubere people in the frontier districts of Bobonaro and Covalima.

And last but not least, Bali is one of the “gold mines” of the Suharto dynasty, which has benefited tremendously from the sufferings of the East Timorese and Indonesian peoples, a dynasty which has changed the meaning of “merdeka” into “merda,” by violating the basic principle of the 1945 Constitution, which does not only recognize the right of every nation to independence, but also obliges every Indonesian to eradicate colonialism wherever in the world. Certainly, the 1945 Indonesian Constitution does not urge Indonesians to begin colonizing other countries with different cultures and histories, such as East Timor, or countries which are heavily populated by ethnic-Javanese, such as Suriname, where a Suharto-family owned conglomerate, PT MUSA, has attempted to colonize one million hectares of the country’s tropical rainforest by bribing ethnic Javanese ministers. With this appeal to boycott Bali, I am concluding my speech.

Viva Xanana!
Viva Timor Leste!
Liberade para Xanana!
Liberade para Timor Leste!
Let us all join hands to liberate the Maubere people of East Timor and their Marhaen brothers and sisters in Indonesia from the military and capitalist-bureaucratic yokes they are both suffering, so that we all may live in peace and harmony. Thank you!

**RECENT ACTIVITIES IN DARWIN**

*by Sally-Anne Watson, AFFET, Nov. 14*

11.11 Noon Candle-lighting ceremony lighting candles from candle brought out of East Timor/Bali that morning, speakers, singing. Held in Mall, attended by about 100.

11.11 6 pm outside Indonesian Consulate All Night Vigil. Many people stayed till the early hours, approx. 40-60 people. About a dozen stayed until 5 am and the “hard core” 5-6 stayers stayed until noon Sunday. Banner of “No More Dili Massacres” 30m long was stuck onto Consulate fence and torn off by police officers called to the consulate’s rescue.

12.11 7pm Mass followed by candlelight march to Consulate was attended by 200, well covered by media, candles laid outside consulate. Demo planned for 15.11 cancelled because of rain but is expected to happen within a week, banner with “Remembering These Timorese Civilians murdered in Dili 12.11.95” and all 27(2) massacre victims and their ages printed on banner (which is 30m long) will be used in this demo.

On passing the consulate today, I saw a rather dramatic change in its decor: Some unknown person has managed to cover most of the garuda of the Indonesian consulate with red paint, as well as splashing red paint over part of the front wall of the consulate. Tut tut.

**ETCHRRIET JOB OPENING IN MELBOURNE**

The East Timor Human Rights Centre is currently seeking the services of an Executive Director to head up its office. The position is part time and based in Melbourne.

The East Timor Human Rights Centre was established in 1995 and focuses on the promotion and protection of the human rights of the East Timorese people, in East Timor and abroad, and the development of a human rights culture amongst the East Timorese community in Australia. Human rights are understood to broadly encompass civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights, including the right of self-determination.

The Centre is autonomous and will have an active working relationship with East Timorese bodies, within and outside East Timor.

The successful applicant will be accountable to the Management Committee and responsible for administering the ETHRC office and its program and budget. One assistant will also work in the office on a part-time basis.

The successful applicant will have:
1. an active interest in East Timor and current knowledge of the issue;
2. a strong commitment to and basic understanding of human rights principles and procedures, including UN mechanisms;
3. Excellent organisations and report-writing skills and basic computer literacy;
4. Ability to communicate with and relate to people from a range of backgrounds and perspectives;
5. Ability to deal with the media and to represent the Centre in public forums.

Knowledge of Portuguese and/or Bahasa is an asset, but not essential.

Activities will include:
1. Establishing and administering an urgent action procedure on human rights abuse in East Timor;
2. Use of electronic mail and computer conferencing;
3. Overseeing the development and administration of a program of human rights training and education for the East Timorese community;
4. Liaising with international NGOs, government and the UN;
5. Servicing and liaising with the ETHRC Management Committee.

Salary: 3 days a week: salary range: 23,000 - 25,626 pr rata.

Initial appointment will be for 12 months with the possibility of extension.

Applications addressing the selection criteria should be sent to Mr Pat Walsh, Chairperson, East Timor Human Rights Centre, 124 Napier St, Fitzroy 3065, Australia.

Enquiries: Pat Walsh, tel. (03) 9417 7505 Fax (03) 9416 2746

Closing date for applications: Friday, 8 December 1995

**FRETILIN RELAUNCHED IN PERTH**

*By Arun Pradhan, Green Left, Nov. 19*

PERTH - “We want to raise the issue of East Timorese self-determination and justice for our people,” Francisco Soares, Fretilin representative for Western Australia told Green Left Weekly.

Fretilin was originally formed in May 1974 in East Timor on a platform that demanded independence from Portugal. It soon found itself fighting for independence from Indonesian occupying forces. Fretilin members who have left East Timor have combined with UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) internationally to lead the campaign for an independent East Timor.

Soares explained that for some time there have only been informal Fretilin activities in Perth, but with the arrival in Australia of more members it was time for an official launch. Soares said that Fretilin had an excellent working relationship with the well-established UDT community.

On Fretilin’s priorities, Soares said, “we will help to organise rallies and pickets, and to maintain knowledge of our culture and heritage, but above all we will fight for self-determination.”

**DARWIN HUNGER STRIKE AND RECENT ACTIVITIES OF DECEMBER 7**

7am Dec 7th: Re-enactment of the shooting of Roger East took place on a wharf in Darwin, where “Roger East” was beaten, shot and kicked over the wharf into the sea. This was well covered by media.
9am Dec 7th: Vocal and passionate demonstration of 30-40 outside Indonesian Consulate. Effigy of President Suharto was hung from the neck, beaten, spat on etc. ABRI (green-gold) flags were dragged, walked on and all twenty flags set alight and burned together amidst much cheering. The demonstration continued loudly with drums and speeches for one or two hours more.

**DARWIN INDONESIAN CONSULATE HUNGER STRIKE**

CNRM MEDIA RELEASE, 10 December

One Australian and three East Timorese - Sally Anne Watson, Luisa Ferreira, Antonio Gouveia and Nicolau Fragas - commenced a hunger strike on Friday morning December 8, outside the Indonesian Consulate in Darwin to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, and to show their solidarity with the oppressed East Timorese people, particularly the East Timor supporters callously delivered by Dutch Embassy officials to the Indonesian security apparatus in Jakarta on 9 December.

This hunger strike, planned to be held until 17.00 hrs on Human Rights day 10 December, is meant to remind the world of the constant abuse of human rights in East Timor by the Indonesian military. However, in solidarity with the East Timorese and Indonesian supporters who entered the Russian and Dutch Embassies in Jakarta, Sally Anne Watson and Antonio Gouveia decided to continue until 10:00 am on Monday 11 December. The pair hopes to draw international attention to the dangers faced by the Indonesian and East Timorese activists at present under intense interrogation by Indonesian police and military intelligence in Jakarta, after last week's protest actions.

Two of Antonio Gouveia’s brothers - Eusébio Oliveira Goveia and Mario do Santos - were among the occupants of the Russian Embassy abducted on 8 December by Indonesian police. The group had previously been given assurances of safe passage to a legal aid body, which, as common with Indonesian authorities, were not honoured.

CNRM salutes the hunger strikers, and expresses its admiration for their commitment to the two decade struggle of the Maubere people against the brutal Suharto dictatorship oppression.

We urge members of the media, and all wishing to express their support to the hunger strikers, to call their mobile telephone outside the Indonesian Consulate in Darwin: +61 15 613570 or 015 613 570 within Australia.

**JAKARTA TO SEND CIVILIAN ENVOY TO AUSTRALIA**

Sydney Morning Herald, November 9, 1995. By David Lague, foreign affairs correspondent

Australia has rejected a suggested Indonesian military candidate the vacant post of ambassador to Canberra, but a civilian appointment is expected before the end of the year in a sharp improvement in ties with Indonesia.

Senior Government sources have told the Herald that Indonesia ha canvassed “at the highest level” the names of three civilians and a senior military officer as candidates for the post in exchanges that signal the relationship is recovering from the aborted appointment of Lieutenant-General Hermanto Mantiri in July.

Jakarta delayed the appointment of a new ambassador after Australia suggested that General Mantiri would be subjected to continual human rights protest for his defence of the 1991 Dili massacre. But the floating of regarded civilian candidates is a sign the Indonesian Government now understands Australian sensitivity over the post.

Indonesian watchers have suggested the likely civilian candidates include the Vice Governor of the National Defence Institute, Dr Juwono Sudarsono; a member of President Suharto’s Supreme Advisory council, Dr Bendictus Mboi; a former Education Minister, Dr Faud Hassan; and legal Dr Hasyim Djajal.

Government sources said the civilian names informally suggested Jakarta indicate that a “highly satisfactory” appointment will be made, they refused to identify the candidates.

Some analysts believe Jakarta suggested a senior military office possibly an admiral, among the candidates in a bid to placate its influence military, which wants to fill the post. There has been speculation that Indonesian military believes a senior navy officer is much less likely t linked to Indonesia’s controversial occupation of East Timor.

But Australia does not want a military candidate because this would likely to antagonise human rights groups and the East Timorese lobby.

Ties with Jakarta deteriorated sharply after General Mantiri’s appointment was cancelled. Efforts to repair the relationship were frustrated when more than 1,300 East Timorese applied for refugee status in Australia claiming they had been persecuted by Indonesian security forces.

However, it is understood that a successful meeting between the Minister, Mr Keating, and Mr Suharto at Bali in September was the catalytic dramatic improvement in a relationship that Mr Keating has rated as Australia’s top foreign policy priority.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, and his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Ali Alatas, have also had successful discussions since the cancellation of General Mantiri’s appointment, including meetings in New for the United Nations General Assembly sessions.

It is understood that both sides are anxious to avoid any controversy over a future appointment, and both Indonesian and Australian political want to agree on a suitable appointee before the formal accreditation process begins.

Diplomatic sources said there would be further discussions on the appointment at the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) forum summit Osaka next month.

A Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade spokesman said yesterday Indonesia had not officially submitted any names for Australia to consider.

**WIRYONO SASTROHANDOYO, RI AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRALIA**

From: Gerry VanKlinken, Dec. 7, 1995

‘The Australian’ today (7 Dec. 1995) reports the appointment of a new Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, filling a vacancy left by the departure of Sabam Siagian five months ago. He is career diplomat Wiryono Sastrohandoyo, 61, currently Indonesian Ambassador to France. He served in the French appointment less than two years.

Before that he was Director-General of Political Affairs in the Foreign Ministry in Jakarta, the ministry’s most senior bureaucrat. Gareth Evans warmly welcomed the appointment as a sign of the importance Indonesia attaches to the Australian relationship. Commentary by Patrick Walters points out the appointment is a win for Ali Alatas over the military after the Mantiri debacle.

Wiryono’s specialization has been the defence of Indonesian government policy on human rights, especially in East Timor. He was frequently in the news in 1993 as leader of Indonesian government delegations at international human rights gatherings in Jakarta in January, Bangkok in April, then Vienna in June. He also appeared at various UN commissions to defend Indonesian policy in East Timor and Aceh in that year. In September he was active against US attempts to link human rights and arms sales. His stance has not been surprising - he consistently asserts the uniquely Asian, commumnalistic concept of human rights so different to Western individualism.
Of much interest, and not mentioned in the two reports in The Australian, is his deep involvement in Indonesian efforts to mediate in the Moro dispute between the Philippine Government and the MNLF in the Southern Philippines. Even after being appointed to the Paris Embassy he continued to chair peace talks in Jakarta, the latest series being held late last November. The basis of these talks have been the 1976 Tripoli Agreement that granted Moro the status of autonomous province. The talks, which he has chaired for two years, have resulted in a cease-fire. They are the best example of a pragmatic Indonesian approach to peacemaking in the region. Wiryono has also been involved with the Cambodian peace initiative, and knows Gareth Evans well on that basis. A good ‘getting-to-know-you’ question may be: ‘What would be required to commence similar talks on East Timor?’

**IT IS NOT A MATTER OF MILITARY OR CIVILIAN, BUT A CHOICE BETWEEN FASCISTS OR DEMOCRATS**

*By George J. Aditjondro, Nov. 12.*

**INTRODUCTION**

The “true colours” of the candidate for the new Indonesian envoy to Australia, Wiryono Sastrohandoyo, has already come out, even before he has even set foot on the Australian soil. The killing of 270 young East Timorese and one New Zealand citizen in Dili on November 12, 1991, “was not a massacre,” according to Wiryono Sastrohandoyo. “It was an incident.” And the incident was “provoked” by the young East Timorese, by stabbing an Indonesian army officer (West Australian and The Australian, December 13, 1995).

The response of the East Timorese community and their supporters in Australia still needs to be seen. Personally, without knowing who the alternative for Mantiri would be, I have already discussed this matter with the Indonesian-reading netters, when I stated in a brief article posted by APAKABAR on November 10, 1995, that the bottom line is not whether the new ambassador is a civilian or a military, but whether the person is a democrat, and not a fascist. For the benefit of the English-reading netters, I have translated and abbreviated that article.

**THERE seems to be an assumption, that the appointment of a civilian ambassador instead of a military person (see David League, “Jakarta to send civilian envoy,” Sydney Morning Herald, 9 November 1995), is a progressive step in reconciling the relations between Indonesia and Australia. That assumption assumes that the peoples of the two nations are all stupid.**

The ‘thorn in the flesh’ in the relations between the two countries is not the ambassador per se. The ‘thorn in the flesh,’ or the notorious ‘pebble in Ali Alatas’s shoe,’ is the invasion and occupation of East Timor by our nation and our people.

Hence, whoever will be appointed by Suharto to be the next candidate for Indonesia’s ambassador to Australia, has to realize that the situation in Indonesia is “too transparent” for the human rights activists in this continent. They can not anymore be intimidated by Suharto’s lackeys, with the accusation of having exterminated Australia’s Aboriginal inhabitants. Not only because the legal status of the indigenous people of this country is already equal to the status of the migrant population (both the European as well as the Asian migrants), or because the Aboriginal flag is allowed to be flown side by side with the British-inspired national flag, but because the activists who supports the human rights of the Indonesian and East Timorese people are also involved in the Aboriginal land-rights movement here in Australia.

Not only that. In some cities in Australia, some Aboriginal activists have also began to put their attention to the East Timor issue. Among the 14 human rights activists who were kicked out from Dili for wanting to commemorate the Santa Cruz massacre, one of them was a famous Australian Aboriginal poet, Lionel Fogarty.

In contrast to the freedom of expression which Australian Aboriginals now experience, could we imagine what would happen to an indigenous person in Jayapura, if he or she would try to raise the Morning Star (Sampani) flag, the symbol of West Papuan nationalism? Or if anybody tries to raise the Democratic Republic of East Timor flag in Dili? Or the Free Aceh flag in Banda-Aceh? Such kind of non-violent expressions of “separatism” or non-Indonesian nationalism, for that matter – would be muffled with bullets, as what has happened to Elias Warsey, a corporal in the Indonesian Army who had his sympathy with the Free Papua Movement (OPM), and tried to lower the Indonesian Red-and-White flag and raise the Morning Star in front of the parliament house in Jayapura on February 13, 1984. Or, what has happened to the brave young people who raised the Fretilin and UDT flags in Dili on November 12, 1991, whose murders were unconditionally supported by Mantiri and the current Indonesian vice-president, Tri Sutrisno.

**WHETHER the future ambassador of Indonesia to Canberra is a military person, a retired military person, or a 24-carat civilian, is not the main issue. What is important is that he or she should be a democrat, not a supporter of the fascist New Order regime, which has not only shown its mercilessness to another people – the Maubere people of East Timor, but has also murdered its own people on mass scale in 1965-1966, and afterwards in West Kalimantan, West Papua, Aceh, Lampung, Tanjung Priok, Haur Koneng (West Java), Madura, and who knows where else.**

All those political killings have eventually created a paradise for foreign and domestic investors, because the land-owners and holders of usufructory rights, peasants, workers, consumers, and journalists have become too much afraid to dissent. From this climate of unconstrained capital investment, where countervailing social movements were absent, an oligarchy has emerged, namely the rule of a handful rich capitalist-military-bureaucratic families, which in short hand can be called a system of “palace capitalism.” This regime has become popular by the name of the Ha-Ha-Ha regime, short for the (Su)Harto, Habibie, and Harmoko families.

So, Suharto can simply go ahead to appoint any civilian person as his candidate for Indonesia’s ambassador to Australia. Anyhow, that appointment would not deter a closer rapport with more people-to-people links between the two countries, just like when Australian waterfront workers black-banned Dutch ships during the Indonesian independence struggle against the Dutch colonial forces. Or, when later day waterfront workers and air transport workers in Australia boycotted Bogasari wheat ships and Garuda flights to Indonesia, after the murder of five Australian-based journalists in Balibo and the murder of 271 young people in the Santas Cruz cemetery.

**POSTSCRIPT:** people have maybe forgotten, that the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia had also been aided with the ‘high-level diplomacy’ skills of a civilian ambassador, namely Ben Mang Reng Say, the last Indonesian ambassador to Lisbon, plus another former civilian ambassador, Frans Seda, who had been Indonesia’s ambassador to the EU headquarters in Brussels. These two civilian diplomats intensively lobbied the transition government in Lisbon, to let East Timor fall in the hands of the Indonesian government. They introduced the late General Ali Murtopo, the architect of East Timor’s (and prior to that: West Papua’s) incorporation into Indonesia, through a meeting of Ali Murtopo with the Lisbon VIPs in Rome.
Perth, on the 4th anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre, which death toll rivalled the massacre of Indonesian citizens in Tanjung Priok and Lampung.

AUSTRALIAN PROTESTERS BURN INDOONESIAN FLAGS

CANBERRA, Dec 7 (Reuters) - Protesters around Australia burned Indonesian flags on Thursday in demonstrations and rallies marking the 20th anniversary of Jakarta’s invasion of East Timor.

A small but rowdy band of protesters in the northern city of Darwin, where thousands of East Timorese now live, attacked an effigy of President Suharto hanging on a noose.

The protesters also burned about 20 home-made copies of an Indonesian military flag but did not burn the country’s flag, as they had done in earlier demonstrations.

“We are not against the country, we are against the way it is run,” Australians for a Free East Timor president Rob Wesley-Smith said.

However, in the southern city of Melbourne, about 200 protesters outside the Indonesian consulate, trampled and spat on three Indonesian flags before setting them alight.

“F20 years this flag has been the symbol of repression, killing, torture and rape in East Timor,” said protest spokesman Abel Gutterres.

The Melbourne protesters also burned portraits of President Suharto and Vice President Try Sutrisno.

Some protesters also attacked the Australian government, accusing it of failing to pressure Indonesia over its rule in the former Portuguese colony.

In Sydney, a small group, which included a state parliamentarian, burned an Australian flag outside state parliament.

In Canberra, a candle-light vigil was held outside the Indonesian embassy overnight before a morning protest.

An afternoon protest was staged outside parliament, at which demonstrators accused Canberra of supporting Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

The United Nations and international human rights groups have accused Indonesia of widespread human rights violations in East Timor, where several thousand troops are stationed.

Indonesia denies the allegations but admits some individual soldiers have committed abuses.

After Portugal quit the territory on the eastern half of Timor island, Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed East Timor the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

INDONESIA TO PROTEST STRONGLY OVER FLAG BURNINGS

JAKARTA, Dec 7 (Reuters) - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Thursday Jakarta would send a strong protest to Canberra after Indonesian flags as well as images of President Suharto and Vice President Try Sutrisno were burnt in Australia.

“I haven’t read the reports, but if it is true, we certainly will not accept that and we will lodge a protest after we know the facts,” Alatas told reporters.

“We regret that, if it is true, this has happened. These things we cannot accept at all. It is clear we are going to protest strongly,” Alatas said.

Protesters around Australia burned Indonesian flags on Thursday in demonstrations and rallies marking the 20th anniversary of Jakarta’s invasion of East Timor.

A small but rowdy band of protesters in the northern city of Darwin, where thousands of East Timorese now live, attacked an effigy of Suharto hanging on a noose.

In the southern city of Melbourne, about 200 protesters outside the Indonesian consulate, trampled and spat on three Indonesian flags before setting them alight.

The Melbourne protesters also burned portraits of Suharto and Sutrisno.

“This thing will not help the efforts to improve relations between the two countries if it is happened without being handled by security authorities there,” Alatas said.

The United Nations and international human rights groups have accused Indonesia of widespread human rights violations in East Timor, where several thousand troops are stationed.

Indonesia denies the allegations but admits some individual soldiers have committed abuses.

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DARWIN COURT APPEARANCES ON FLAG-BURNINGS

Radio Australia, Jan 18.

Radio Australia’s 1200 GMT newscast says “several persons” have been ordered to appear in court in Darwin in connection with the alleged burning of several Indonesian military flags in front of the consulate during last months demo to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor.

The report attributed the charges to the NT government’s desire to maintain the territory’s economic relationship with Indonesia, and also said the government had promised the consulate it would file charges if the consulate could provide proof (such as a recording) that the demonstrators had uttered “harsh words” against the Indonesian government.

FIVE CHARGED FOR BURNING INDOONESIAN FLAGS

From Hugh Ekeberg, Jan. 23.

The report went on to say that the Northern Territory government was sensitive about actions which could offend Indonesia because of economic interests.

The charges come after the government closed the Darwin Music Development Centre, (a community art centre) which was administered by Vaughan Williams, one of the activists charged.

Mister Williams said that the centre was used on a regular basis for East Timor consciousness raising. The centre was also used to accommodate the Indonesian Pro-Democracy delegates to the IRCR conference held in Darwin mid last year.

At the time the delegates requested alternative accommodation because consular staff were seen lingering outside the centre.

Mr. Williams said he had spoken to government opposition members who agreed that the Chief Minister, Shane Stone was increasingly coming under the sway of Jakarta.

Mr. Rob Wesley Smith of Australians For a Free East Timor said that comments by Wisnu Mahendra confirmed what had been going on for years, that the Territory government was servile to the interests of Jakarta.

Vaughan Williams said that the closure of the centre and the flag burning charges would be fought vigorously.

NEW CONSUL IN DARWIN

The New Indonesian consul to Darwin is Colonel Widodo. His last posting was to Malaysia as Military Attaché.

LAUNCH OF BOOK ON AUSTRALIA’S FAILINGS OVER EAST TIMOR

Australian Associated Press

SYDNEY, Dec 11 AAP - Australia was in danger of sinking into the East Timor “swamp” because of a refusal to correct bad decisions, a university legal expert said today.

Speaking at the launch of his book The East Timor Case and the International Court of Justice, Keith Suter said Australia was one of the few countries to give full recognition to Indonesia’s takeover of East Timor.
Australia had tried to regularise the East Timor Gap “border” between this country and Indonesia.

This would result in future confusion as East Timor fought for recognition, Dr Suter said.

Dr Suter also called Indonesian President Suharto and his colleagues war criminals following the Indonesian invasion of that country 20 years ago.

“President Suharto and his colleagues are war criminals ... it is a crime against peace to invade another country, that’s what Indonesia did back in 1975.

“We’re now paying attention to war crimes in Bosnia and in Kuwait, but let us remember the major war crime that was committed in our own region back in 1975 ... which will continue to haunt Australian politics ...”

“The Indonesian Foreign Minister has called the continuing problems with East Timor a ‘pebble in Indonesia’s shoe,’” Dr Suter said.

“For Australia and appropriate analogy is that East Timor is a swamp.

“The more that Australia struggles in the swamp, the more it sinks into it.”

His comments pertained to the East Timor Gap, the basic maritime boundary between Australia and Indonesia, set out in two Australia-Indonesia agreements.

“The book examines the recent international court case under which Portugal argued that Australia’s negotiation of the 1989 Timor Gap Treaty was invalid,” Dr Suter said.

“Australia’s win in the International Court of Justice (June 30) was a hollow victory ...

“With the oil resources of the Timor Gap, East Timor could easily have been the Kuwait of Asia.

“In negotiating the treaty with Indonesia we have robbed the people of East Timor of the natural resources which are rightfully theirs.

“The swamp will get worse as the oil and gas wealth flow into Australia and Indonesia.

“The people who actually own the continental shelf will not get much of it.

“This inequality will only increase the international spotlight on the Indonesian-Australian land grab.

“At the very least, Australia should insist that some of Indonesia’s wealth flows into East Timor and that some of Australia’s wealth should be set aside in trust funds to assist the East Timorese who have fled to Australia.”

Dr Suter is the president of the Sydney University Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

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**AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA: EAST TIMOR ISSUE WON’T RUIN RELATIONS**

*By Suganthi Singarayar*

SYDNEY, Dec 14 (IPS) - An Australian inquiry into the deaths of six journalists in East Timor 20 years ago threatens to open up a new can of worms regarding Indonesia’s human rights record, but history suggests Canberra will not rock the boat too hard.

At the end of last month, the Australian government announced that it would investigate claims by East Timorese resident in Australia, that they and others now living outside of Indonesia, have evidence showing that the journalists were gunned down by Indonesian soldiers.

Five met their deaths in November 1975 - just before East Timor gained its independence from Portugal; while the other died on Dec 7 when Indonesia invaded East Timor, just one week after it had gained its independence.

For Jakarta, the issue is a particularly sensitive one since it could add another blotch to Indonesia’s already tarnished image beginning with its bloody invasion of East Timor and its subsequent repressive measures to quell the Timorese independence movement after annexation.

But analysts note that more than once in recent years, Australia-Indonesian relations have been threatened by issues related to East Timor, and always the Canberra government has managed to steer a course that ensured covered bilateral trade and diplomatic relations are not unduly strained.

Significantly, while the United Nations has not recognised Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor, Australia has done so.

“East Timor has remained the most significant irritant in bilateral relations (between Australia and Indonesia). That is has not had an even bigger impact is due to the far more active bilateral and regional diplomacy pursued by Canberra in recent years,” said Patrick Walters, the Jakarta correspondent for ‘The Australian’ newspaper.

Just last October, Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating made no bones about Canberra’s damage control policy vis-à-vis bilateral relations when he said that Australia would not risk hurting such ties over “phoney claims” being made by asylum-seeking East Timorese refugees.

The issue then surrounded appeals by Timorese refugees for asylum in Australia amid fears of persecution should they be deported.

The Australian government again found itself in an awkward position last month when a coalition of Christian groups offered sanctuary to more than 1,000 East Timorese refugees to prevent their deportation.

With Indonesia warning that if Australia granted asylum to the East Timorese, it would threaten their diplomatic and trade relations, Canberra officials tried to play down the issue by saying it still had to go through all the bureaucratic channels before any decision would be taken.

This drew criticism from aid groups with Agio Pereira, executive director of the East Timor Relief Association, describing the Australian government as “opportunistic” and the refugees as “the meat in the sandwich between Australia and Indonesia.”

Analysts expect Canberra to be equally cautious in its approach to this issue. In the first place the inquiry will be conducted under the kind of strict guidelines that should ensure that neither government gets too bruised.

As such, calls by a non-governmental aid organisation and even by a government backbencher to widen the scope of the investigation are not being entertained by the government.

According to Bob Muntz, programme coordinator with the Australian aid organisation Community Aid Abroad, two East Timorese living in Melbourne are willing to testify before the inquiry if it is broadened to include a more recent killing – one that took place shortly after the 1991 Dili massacre.

Muntz said that he and then Sydney University student Kamal Bamadhaj were observers at a rally at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the East Timor capital when Indonesian troops opened fire.

“I had to flee for my life and at the time of his (Kamal’s) death I would have been hiding in a house area about a kilometre away,” said Muntz, who was assignment for Community Aid Abroad in East Timor.

Muntz later learned that Bamadhaj was found bleeding to death on a road about a kilometre away from the cemetery by International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) officials who took him to a hospital where he died.

Now, says Muntz, two East Timorese who arrived in Australia earlier this year, claim to have seen an Indonesian patrol unit follow Bamadhaj when he left the rally. Shortly after there were shots fired at the vehicle sped away. The refugees claim to be able to identify the soldiers who killed Bamadhaj.

As far as Muntz is concerned, such eyewitness testimony warrants that the Bamadhaj case be included in the inquiry due to start next February.

“It is not in the province of the government to prosecute citizens of another country for criminal acts committed in another
country, but I hope that they (the investigating panel) would pass on their evidence to the Indonesian government and request them to initiate criminal proceedings..."

But when IPS contacted the Australian foreign ministry about the issue, a spokeswoman said that there was no chance that the inquiry – to be conducted by Tom Sherman, chairman of the National Crime Authority – would be broadened.

Sherman will focus only on evidence surrounding the deaths of the six journalists who were killed in late 1975. He is expected to present his report by the end of May, next year.

It would be impossible for Australian government investigators to look into every death in East Timor, the foreign ministry spokeswoman said.

Not only Muntz has called for a widening of the scope of the inquiry. Government backbencher Chris Haviland, wants the inquiry to be given the power to open top secret files which he claims will reveal that successive Australian governments have tried to cover up the truth surrounding the killing of the journalists.

“I am very concerned to hear that the investigation will have to refer to or access to these files,” he said.

A Haviland spokesman told IPS that these files, kept by the Defence Signals Directorate, would show that the Australian authorities have known all along about how the journalists met their deaths, but have never done anything about it.

But again, the foreign ministry spokeswoman through cold water on the idea of widening the scope of the inquiry, which she said was not designed to pour over intelligence files which have been reviewed by successive governments.

Observers say they do not expect the Australian government to do anything to hurt Canberra-Jakarta relations largely because of their important trade relations. Two-way trade between Australia and Indonesia averages about two billion dollars annually.

The two countries have cemented bilateral ties in the field of defence, trade and investment and even in education that cannot be easily unravelled through disputes over East Timor, notes Walters, the Jakarta correspondent.

“The Australian Defence Force (ADF) has become the most important foreign provider of military training to Indonesia, having displaced the United States which canceled Indonesian participation in the International Military Education and Training Programme following the Dili massacre,” noted David Jenkins, the ‘Sydney Morning Herald’ Asia editor.

**NATIONAL PICKETS AT ALL INDONESIAN CONSULATES IN AUSTRALIA**

**FROM AKSI, URGENT UPDATE. 11 December, 1995**

AKSI will be staging a demonstration at the front of the Indonesian Consulate in Sydney, tomorrow at 1pm demanding that international human rights agencies take all appropriate actions to protect the East Timorese and Indonesian activists from further mistreatment and torture. AKSI deplores the actions by the Russian and the Dutch embassies in forcing the activists to leave particularly in the case of the Dutch Embassy where Indonesian Military were allowed to enter and arrest them. AKSI is demanding that the Embassies take responsibility for the safety of the protesters and denounces the deceitful actions by the Indonesian government.

Torture fears for East Timor and Indonesian Dutch and Russian Embassy protesters – Disgraceful Dutch Embassy action

The safety of 29 Indonesian and 26 East Timorese who occupied the Dutch and Russian Embassies on Thursday 7 December is reported to be unclear after an escaped detainee released a detailed account of their removal from the grounds of the Dutch embassy.

On Saturday morning the protesters were transferred to the second floor of the embassy, after government supported thugs, reappeared outside the gates armed with knives, metal rods etc. Embassy staff were alarmed by the clear sympathy shown to the thugs by Indonesian police and military guarding the embassy.

At around one O’clock protesters were told by Political Counsellor Mr Hoek that the Ambassador and the Dutch Foreign Minister would not tolerate the demonstrators remaining in the embassy and said they would be evicted in order to safeguard the security of the embassy staff. Protesters began a hunger strike demanding that the embassy guarantee their safety. They were met by Human Rights lawyer, Mr Princen, the Dutch Ambassador, the Political Counsellor, and a Indonesian Legal Aid lawyer, Mr Rambun who requested the protesters leave, saying they would guarantee their safety. However, given the fate of those at the Russian Embassy who had believed ‘security guarantees’ earlier, they refused to accept. After a second “request,” the embassy opened the gates allowing Indonesian riot police and military intelligence operatives to enter who then forced the protesters into waiting buses.

Wilson, the leader of the PRD group of Indonesian supporters of East Timorese rights, escaped from the Indonesian authorities after he and 55 others were detained at Police Headquarters in South Jakarta. Wilson stated, group members were photographed, finger printed, and statements taken. Some among them, including leaders Wilson and Puto, were tortured with burning cigarette during interrogation. The activists were charged as suspects under section 167 of the Indonesian penal code which carries a maximum 4 year jail penalty after being threatened with a subversion charge which carries a life sentence.

They were then told that they were to be taken to the Pulo Gadung bus station and returned home but were distressed after Mr Pieters of the Dutch Embassy refused to accompany them. At this point group leader Wilson managed to escape from the bus and although chased by intelligence personnel, manage to escape. Nothing further has been heard from the remaining group members, and its is feared they have been taken to Barkostranas or BIA military intelligence headquarters for further questioning. Such questioning is notorious for the extensive use of torture.

**20 YEARS OF EAST TIMOR’S OCCUPATION**

*By Kerryn Williams, Green Left, Dec. 13*

There were rallies in all major cities on December 7 or 8 to mark the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor.

East Timorese activists began an all-day protest in Canberra on December 7 at 4am with a silent, candlelight vigil outside the Indonesian embassy. The silence was broken at 4.45am with a song to mark the time at which Indonesian troops launched their invasion.

At midday a 100-strong rally took place at Parliament House, from which the protesters marched back to the Indonesian embassy.

Zacarias da Costa, from the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), pointed out that the United Nations General Assembly regularly condemns the Indonesian occupation, and does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

Harold Moucho, coordinator of Fretilin NSW, emphasised the moral debt owed to East Timor by Australia, after more than 40,000 East Timorese were killed in World War II protecting Australian soldiers.

Ben Reid reports from Melbourne that 200 people protested at the Indonesian consulate on December 8. Three Indonesian flags were burnt and speakers included Abel Gutieres of CNRM.
A lunch-time protest outside Parliament House in Sydney on December 7 was organised by the Australian East Timor Association (AETA). An Australian flag was burnt to symbolise the appalling record of the Australian government, and Green MLA Ian Cohen presented a petition to Parliament.

Later, a city rally, organised by Resistance, attracted 100 people. An Indonesian military flag was burnt while Gareth Evans and General Suharto were “tried” and found guilty by the crowd for the genocide in East Timor.

Bill Mason reports from Brisbane that protesters rallied outside Air Garuda offices on December 7 before marching to the Queen Street Mall to join a silent vigil, sponsored by the Timorese community. About 100 people took part in the action which was also sponsored by Resistance, Akis and the Catholic Workers.

In Adelaide, around 50 people rallied on December 7 at Parliament House. The action was organised by the Campaign for an Independent East Timor and was addressed by Labor MP Peter Duncan, Chris Pine from the Liberal Party, Sandra Kank from the Australian Democrats and Andy Alcock from CIET.

In Newcastle, 35 people gathered in Civic Park on December 7 in a candlelight vigil around the theme “Australia remembers?” The action linked the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II (which we are urged to remember) with the 20th anniversary of East Timor’s invasion (which Australian politicians want us to forget).

>From Darwin, Sally Mitchell reports that 35 demonstrators picketed the Indonesian Consulate on December 7. An effigy of President Suharto was hanged and 20 Indonesian military flags were burnt. Strong police presence and two fire engines did not stop the flag burning.

Earlier in the morning a re-enactment of the shooting of Australian journalist Roger East by Indonesian troops in 1975 was staged by activist Rob Wesley Smith and young Timorese.

**PORTUGAL URGES EVANS TO TALK ON TIMOR**

By Jill Jolliffe, through AAP

LONDON, Jan 16 AAP - Portugal’s new foreign minister Jaime Gama has appealed to his Australian counterpart Gareth Evans to debate the East Timor issue despite differences between the two countries.

Speaking to AAP after talks with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in London, Gama said Australia had understandably opted for strong relations with Indonesia, which was no obstacle for Portugal.

“I do not want to tell Australia its business,” Gama said. “I say let’s talk, let’s have a fair exchange of views. We have been in dispute at the International Court of The Hague over the Timor Gap treaty, but we are two civilised nations.

“Portugal recognises the annexation of East Timor. In my opinion, and I put it moderately, it was a mistake. But Australia is a democracy and that was its judgment.”

Gama said Australia’s signing of a recent security treaty with Indonesia did not preclude discussion as he had “no pre-conceived views” but he noted recent Australian criticisms of Indonesia’s excessive troop presence in East Timor, which he took as a hopeful sign of change.

Gama underlined that Portugal had retained an embassy in Australia even after Australia closed its embassy in Lisbon several years ago.

Australia’s foreign affairs department said at the time that it was closing its Lisbon embassy for budgetary reasons. It closed two other missions simultaneously, one in Prague and the other in Mongolia, citing the same reasons.

Portuguese officials interpreted the move as an expression of pique at Lisbon’s objections to Australia’s policy over East Timor but Gama urged a reopening of the mission.

“We want to have close contact with Australia, even though we have differences on Timor,” he said.

The Portuguese minister said he intended to use channels at the next UN General Assembly session to suggest talks with Australia on bilateral issues and East Timor.

Gama met Alatas in London today for the seventh round of negotiations over the future of East Timor, under the auspices of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali.

The two sides had pledged beforehand to discuss “substantive” issues, although there were few visible signs of progress in the final communiqué.

Gama was appointed as Portugal’s new foreign minister after the Portuguese Socialist Party was elected in parliamentary elections last October. He had earlier served in the same post when the Portuguese Socialists were in power in the mid-eighties.

Under Prime Minister Antonio Guterres the Socialists have suggested they will bring a fresh approach to the Timor problem, although there is a consensus among Portuguese political parties that none will stray from a broad national goal of winning genu-
JAIME GAMA LOOKS FOR MEETING WITH EVANS


Presenter: Jaime Gama has been Portuguese Foreign Minister since last October. He told Jill Jolliffe that he is hopeful of progress on the question of East Timor and would like to meet Senator Evans as part of that process.

JG: Australia is a democratic country. Australia recognized the annexation of East Timor although in my opinion, and I express it moderately, it was a mistake. But Australia as a democratic country has its own judgment about the problem. I know that in Australia a huge majority of people is ... for human rights in East Timor. It’s not satisfied with the solution and would enjoy a different approach. But I’m not going to discuss with the govt. of Australia what is its job.

JG: Would it be fruitful for you to speak to Senator Evans for example?

JG: I would like to speak with the Australian authorities in order to have a dialogue with them on this problem. I know that recently they ... a security treaty with Indonesia. Besides that I have no preconceived stance on having talks with Australia about the problem. Australia is a democracy where ... public opinion of very independently minded people and I recognize that Australia has very effective democracy ....

JG: Australia and Portugal have been in litigation at the International Court in the Hague and your relations have not been the best. Obviously you don’t see Australia as having played a constructive role in the past. Have you taken any concrete steps since you came to govt. to put out feelers to Australia or do you intend to do something practical?

JG: As you know, our Government has different views about the problem of East Timor but we would like to talk and to listen and to have a dialogue with them and I shall give a message in that sense and if it’s possible, for instance in the next UN General Assembly, I would like to talk with my Australian colleague to have an open exchange of views about political relations between the two countries. As you know we keep an ambassador in Australia. That’s not the case for Australia in Portugal.

JJ: If you could give a message to Senator Evans, what would you say to him?

JG: Let’s have a talk on this problem. Let’s have a fair exchange of views. We have been disputing in the ICJ on the problem of Timor Gap but we are civilized nations, we go on with our embassy in Australia. We have Portuguese people in Australia, we want to keep close contact with Australia. Although we have different views on the problem of East Timor.

Presenter: Senator Evans was not available for an interview today but a spokesperson said that Senator Evans was looking forward to meeting the Portuguese Foreign Minister as soon as possible.

EVANS SAYS HE OPEN FOR PORTUGAL TALKS

[abridged]

CANBERRA, Jan 17, AAP - Foreign Minister Gareth Evans today welcomed calls for talks with his Portuguese counterpart Jaime Gama to discuss Australia’s stand on East Timor.

A spokesperson for Senator Evans said he looked forward to meeting Mr Gama as soon as possible.

The comments came after Mr Gama, in London for talks on East Timor with Indonesian officials, appealed to Senator Evans to debate the East Timor issue.

Mr Gama said Australia’s decision to recognize Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor was wrong.

“...Australia recognised the annexation of East Timor. In my opinion, and I put it moderately, it was a mistake. But Australia is a democracy and that was its judgment,” he said.

“I do not want to tell Australia its business. I say let’s talk, let’s have a fair exchange of views.”

A spokesperson for Senator Evans said:

“Senator Evans looks forward to meeting the foreign minister as soon as he can.”

AUSTRALIA, SINGAPORE STEP UP COOPERATION

by Matthew Lewis [abridged]

SINGAPORE, Jan 17 (Reuters) - After burying the hatchet with Malaysia, Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating announced stronger political and economic ties between Australia and Singapore on Wednesday.

During a brief visit to Singapore, Keating and Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong issued a joint declaration calling for closer cooperation in political, security, economic and cultural matters.

In response to a question, Keating said Australia did not have to play down its commitment to human rights to gain greater acceptance in the region. “I think Australia’s democracy, its strength, its tolerance, are assets for its role in the region, and they don’t have to be compromised,” he said.

“The references have mostly been about Timor, (but) I don’t think anybody who’s near the subject believes that Australia is likely to have any beneficial influence for the East Timorese in a standoff with Indonesia.”

Indonesia invaded East Timor, 480 km (300 miles) from Australia, in 1975 and annexed it in the following year. Among Western nations, only Australia recognizes Indonesia’s sovereignty over the troubled former Portuguese colony. The United Nations still considers Portugal the administering power.

Keating said he did not want Australian-Indonesian relations to become hostage to one issue.

Goh said Singapore welcomed Australia’s security arrangement with Indonesia signed on December 18.

“It’s a good thing. We believe that security has been enhanced in the region with the signing of this agreement. We believe in a web of relations between countries.”

SHANE STONE HITS OUR INDON ATTITUDES

Northern Territory News, 25th Jan 96, By Geraldine Green

Australians ignorant and negative views of their northern neighbor formed the biggest challenge facing relations with Indonesia, Chief Minister Shane Stone said yesterday.

Mr Stone said: “We have seemed to have had an element within the Australian community that is anti-Indonesian and always peddle a particular line against this nation notwithstanding the remarkable achievements the Indonesians have achieved under President Suharto and his new order government.

Right:

“I am not saying that from my perspective all is right with Indonesia but there is a lot right with Indonesia.”

The Chief Minister was speaking outside the Beaufort Hotel before delivering a speech on Australian/Indonesian relations at a Supreme Court and Federal Court Judges conference.

Mr Stone, in his speech, stressed the importance of close ties between the two nations.
He said that Indonesia was important to Australia because of its growing economy and proximity. He said the two were not to be taken for granted. He told the conference: “It is in my view a complex relationship between two countries with diverse cultures and some unresolved issues, but with a number of converging interests.

“For our part as Territorians, we will continue to nurture and promote the partnership.” He said the Territory Government had worked hard on promoting a sense of “normalisation” in East Timor, a troubling situation that has at times strained ties between Australia and Indonesia.

(Note: No one has yet discovered what Mr Stone meant by “promoting a sense of normalisation in East Timor”).

**DARWIN: CHIEF MINISTER DEFENDS SUHARTO**

*Letters to the Editor, Northern Territory News, Darwin NT. 25th Jan 96*

Dear Sir,

News reports on Sunday morning quoting radio Australia, reported that Wisnu Mahendra of Darwin’s Indonesian consulate, boasted that charges were brought against protesters who burned Indonesian army flags because he pressured the Chief Minister.

If the reports are accurate then I believe we now know the reason why the Darwin Music Development Centre was closed down.

The DMDC was responsible for providing a venue for East Timorese consciousness raising and it also provided accommodation for Indonesian Pro-Democracy delegates who attended last year’s conference on Indonesia and Regional Conflict Resolution.

At the time, the Indonesian delegates requested the conference organisers to find alternative accommodation because consular staff were seen lingering outside the centre.

While I believe wholeheartedly in ethical investment and development in Indonesia, there is a grave danger in forging close contacts with the ruling Golkar Party, the Army and INTEL (the Indonesian secret service agency), bodies which exhibit all the converging interests.

The crucial element here has been the government’s relationship with the Indonesian foreign ministers and the UN Secretary General. On January 23, he spoke to Max Lane from Green Left Weekly.

GL: You visit Australia several times each year, José. How do you assess the development of public opinion on the East Timor issue in Australia?

JRH: I think there has been a dramatic change for the better. There is hardly a day goes by that the East Timor issue is not reported upon in the media. Nobody is unaware of the issue and what is happening and I think there are very few people who are also not sympathetic. And it is clear what the reasons for these developments are. Firstly, the tremendous growth in the resistance in East Timor itself has had an enormous impact everywhere. And along with this growth is the increasing sophistication of the resistance, both inside East Timor and outside. For example, there is now much more extensive use of the electronic media and of the Internet in campaigning for East Timor.

This growth and sophistication has also helped galvanise solidarity for East Timor. And the crucial element here has been the work of the solidarity movement, the non-government organisations, the grass-roots campaigners. These are the heroes of the struggle in these developments.

GL: CNRM, FRETILIN and UDT together with some of the solidarity groups have proposed a national day of solidarity on August 18. What role do you hope that action can play in the Australian context?

JRH: I hope that every individual Australian or resident in Australia will add their name, add their voice to this very basic demand that the Australian government drop its recognition of Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor. Australia is the only western country to do so. It exposes the immoral, hypocritical and cowardly character of Australian foreign policy, a policy that recognises an occupation that is both illegal and brutal, an occupation of a small country by a big country. It truly points to the complete lack of sensitivity of the Australian government and its hypocrisy. And the situation in East Timor and in West Papua also points to the complete ineffectiveness of this policy as far as delivering any improvements go.

This same labour government once recognised the Soviet Union’s sovereignty over the Baltic states. This was an embarrassing diplomatic blunder as a few years later those countries gained their independence. I often wonder hasn’t this government learnt anything at all?

GL: How are campaigns developing in other parts of the world?

JRH: It is amazing how internationalised the support for East Timor has become in recent years. There has been coverage on East Timor all during last week in Canada during the Canadian Prime Minister’s visit to Indonesia. Over 1,000 people rallied on last December 7 in Canberra. East Timor is the number one issue in Ireland and is at the forefront of the agenda of the NGO movement in the UK. There has been a general change in perception on the issue throughout Europe. There is a big movement in New Zealand. In the South countries too, there has been advances. In Fiji there is growing support. A East Timor solidarity movement has started up in South Africa. There was a special session of the Brazilian congress last year on the East Timor issue. It became an issue in Chile last year when the government sacked the head of Chilean government television for broadcasting a one hour show on the issue.

GL: How do you assess the significance of the joint Indonesian East Timorese embassy occupations in Jakarta on December 7?

JRH: Very heartening. It is extremely heartening to see more and more Indonesians involved in going out onto the streets in support of the East Timorese, as well as the range of other actions that Indonesian NGOs have been taking. You know, it was in 1977 that I sat down in a little flat in Paris with two dissidents, exiled members of the Indonesian Communist Party, to draft the first open letter to the Indonesian young generation appealing for their support. Although then we didn’t quite know who to send it to. In 1981 I also wrote to the human rights lawyer Buyung Nasution making a similar appeal and challenging the Indonesian democrats to take up their moral responsibility on the issue. I must say too that the most consistent Indonesian supporter of independence for East Timor has been George Aditjondro who, as early as 1974, was in favour of independence of East Timor. He has proven to be the most consistent.
GL: Is this increasing public support have an impact in the diplomatic arena?

JRH: Most definitely. Indonesia now has to face criticism not just from Western governments and solidarity movements but also from the South. It is impacting on ASEAN European relations. There will be an ASEAN European summit meeting on March 1-2 in Bangkok. Already there has been a related incident with the Thai government refusing me entry to Thailand to teach in a diplomatic training course. Apparently the Thai Foreign ministry has stated that even allowing me into Thailand a month before that meeting might sufficiently annoy Indonesia so that Suharto might boycott the summit meeting. This is another symptom of Jakarta's desperation. And now the Suharto government is losing ground not only in the West and the South countries but also in its own country. With the end of the previous political docility in Indonesia, including on the East Timor issue, Jakarta has to deal with all its diplomatic problems knowing of the increasing discontent on the issue at home as well.

GL: What progress was made at the recent Portuguese-Indonesian-UN meetings in London?

JRH: Almost zero. And Indonesia is to blame for this. Once again Indonesia has shown that it only knows the language of pressure, of direct action. Indonesia will not shift its policy on East Timor unless the costs of the occupation of East Timor increase even further. There must be constant embarrassment. There must be more pressure.

GL: What will happen next on the diplomatic front?

JRH: There was an agreement in London that there be another round of all inclusive talks amongst the East Timorese like the one held in Austria. The UN Secretary General and the Portuguese foreign minister pushed very hard on this and Ali Alatas was forced to agree. But we are not so sure it will go ahead as the last one did not work out well for Indonesia at all. There will be another round of talks with Portugal and Indonesia in July. Hopefully the UN Secretary-General will be presenting a package of recommendations addressing the root cause of the problem, namely, the Indonesia occupation itself. But as I said, any shift by Indonesia on this will require more pressure, more direct action, more upping of the costs for Indonesia while it continues the occupation. Let us escalate the struggle. I appeal again for everybody in Australia to support the August national day of action campaign demanding the derecognition of the Indonesian annexation.

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**CALL FOR EAST TIMOR DAY OF SOLIDARITY**

The three major East Timor Resistance organisations, National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), FRETILIN and Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) along with some solidarity groups and Church supporters of East Timor have issued a call for a national day of solidarity with East Timor this August, 1996. The main demands of the day of solidarity are to be: FREE EAST TIMOR! NO AUSTRALIAN RECOGNITION FOR INDONESIAN ANNEXATION!

The second demand refers to the fact that the Australian government is the only Western government to give de jure (i.e. full legal) recognition to the 1975 Indonesian annexation. This policy of giving de jure recognition has been a bi-partisan policy by both Liberal and Labour governments. The current Labour government announced its recognition on 18 August, 1983 just a few months after the Hawke government won the 1983 elections.

All supporters are urged to contact their local CNRM, FRETILIN, UDT, ASI-ET (AKSI), local East Timor friends committee or Church group to become participants or sponsors of the campaign. The call for a national day of solidarity is set out below.

A special appeal for support by José Ramos Horta, Special Representative for CNRM, is contained in an interview transcribed below.

**Call for national day of solidarity with East Timor**

18 August, 1996

While the East Timorese people continue their resistance to the Suharto dictatorship's occupation of their homeland, the Australian government continues to pursue a policy based on the full, formal de jure recognition of Jakarta's annexation of East Timor as its 27th province. The Australian government states that it continues to express its concern for human rights violations in East Timor to the Indonesian government, yet continues to recognise the very state of affairs that gives arise to human rights abuses. The annexation of East Timor by Jakarta was carried out against the will of the East Timorese people, through the use of force, resulting in over 200,000 lives lost. Almost every East Timorese family has lost a family member. It is no wonder then that the East Timorese people continue to resist. The resistance is suppressed by force. Human rights violations by the Indonesian forces will only end when the occupation ends.

The Australian government’s policy of recognition of the annexation is a major pillar justifying this continuing state of affairs. The Australian government is the only government in the world to go so far as to grant full, legal recognition of the annexation, in defiance of the United Nations resolutions and International Court of Justice decisions which recognise East Timor as a non self-governing territory.

In order to send a clear message to the Australian government that a growing number of people in Australia, East Timorese and Australians in particular, oppose this policy, the organisations whose representatives have signed this call, propose a national day of solidarity with East Timor on the anniversary of the announcement by the Prime Minister Hawke on 18 August, 1983 reaffirming that the new Labour government gave de jure recognition of Indonesia’s annexation. FREE EAST TIMOR! NO AUSTRALIAN RECOGNITION OF ANNEXATION! should be on the banners that we all march under on 18 August.

In order to organise the most effective campaign leading up to and including mobilisations on 18 August, we propose that the national day of solidarity be organised in the following manner:

* that the national day of solidarity be organised under no single group or organisation banner and that all groups and individuals who agree with the idea of the mobilisation and the basic banners be encouraged to fully participate in building the day and to be the public sponsors of the day of solidarity

* that local branches, representatives and partner groups of the organisations signing below move quickly to jointly convene open organising committees in their respective cities and towns to prepare for the mobilisation in their cities and towns with responsibility for organising activities on the day and general publicity for the event

* that public sponsors from all walks of life be sought to help add authority and profile to the national day of solidarity

* that all the convening groups and all other participating groups consistently promote the national day of solidarity and its basic slogans through their own programmes of activities, carried out in their own methods and styles and amongst their own constituencies

We hold the strong hope that all groups can quickly discuss this proposal, consult amongst each other and move to establish open organising committees. We strongly urge everybody to join this effort to educate people about the situation in East Timor, to convince them of the need to act and to mo-
bilise as many people as possible in support of a free East Timor and against the Australian government’s pro-annexation policy on Saturday August 18, 1996.

João Carrascalão, Coordinator, Coordinating Committee of the Diplomatic Front; President, UDT - Timorese Democratic Union
José Ramos Horta, Special Representative, National Council for Maubere Resistance
Estanislau da Silva, Central Council member, FRETILIN
Gil Scrine, Convenor, Australia East Timor Association (NSW)
Max Lane, National Coordinator, Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor
Sister Kath O’Connor, Convenor, Christians in Solidarity with East Timor
Wendy Robertson, East Timor campaign coordinator, Resistance

PUBLIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE IN SYDNEY, JUNE 1996

EAST TIMOR: ITS FUTURE IN THE ASIA PACIFIC


A conference convened by:
School of Asian Studies, University of Sydney
Institute for International Studies, University of Technology, Sydney
Human Rights Centre, University of New South Wales
Oporto University, Portugal

Important perspectives from:
* East Timorese political and social figures
* East Timorese youth and refugees
* several Indonesians outspoken on the East Timor issue
* intellectuals and community figures from the Asia Pacific region
* European and US parliamentarians
* Australian community and government representatives
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TOPICS INCLUDE:
* modern history of East Timor
* East Timorese political organisations
* East Timor - Indonesian relations
* the East Timor issue in Indonesia
* political change in Indonesia and East Timor
* East Timorese perspectives for the future

* Asia Pacific perspectives on East Timor
* East Timor and international law
* East Timor in the UN
* Australia foreign policy and East Timor
* East Timor and the Australian community
* the Indonesia-Australia-East Timor triangle
* diplomatic initiatives for the future
* conflict resolution and East Timor
* Portugal and East Timor
* US foreign policy, Indonesia and East Timor
* East Timor as an international human rights issue

SPECIALIST SPEAKERS INCLUDE:
* Prof. John Taylor, South Bank University, UK, Author: “Indonesia’s Forgotten War”
* Prof. Peter Carey, Oxford University, UK, Author: “East Timor at the crossroads.”
* Dr Michael Salla, Australia
* Prof. Barbedo Magalhães, Portugal
* Prof. Garth Nettheim, Australia
* Dr Michael van Langenberg, Australia
* Jim Dunn, Australia
* Max Lane, Australia
* and many others

EAST TIMORESE SPEAKERS:
José Ramos Horta, CNRM
Mari Alkatiri, FRETILIN
Roque Rodrigues, FRETILIN
Zacarias de Costa, UDT
José Amaral, CNRM
and many others

Conference convenors:
Dr Michael Van Langenberg, Head, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Sydney.
Professor David Goodman, Director, Institute for International Studies, University of Technology, Sydney
Professor A. Barbedo Magalhães, University of Oporto, Portugal.
Max Lane, Conference co-ordinator:
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AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA SECURITY PACT SIGNED

KEATING HAILS AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA DEFENCE TREATY

by Terry Friel, [abridged]

CANBERRA, Dec 14 (Reuters) – Australia announced a new defence treaty with Indonesia on Thursday in what Prime Minister Paul Keating called an important step for regional peace.

But the deal prompted warnings that Australian soldiers could be called on to help Indonesia put down an internal revolt, and concern among some groups.

“This is a major strategic development for Australia and for the region and a development of fundamental importance in our bilateral relationship with Indonesia,” Keating said.

“The agreement asserts in formal terms for the first time that Australia and Indonesia have common interests in the peace and security of the region and that we intend to co-operate in support of those interests,” he told reporters.

Keating, Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and defence chiefs will fly to Jakarta for Monday’s signing of the agreement, which followed secret long-running negotiations.

The treaty, and the recent appointment of a new Indonesian ambassador to Canberra, marks a reversal of the tensions which have marred relations this year. The pact could one day see Indonesian and Australian soldiers fighting alongside each other, 30 years after they faced off in the Borneo jungles during Jakarta’s expansionist military push, known as “Confrontation.”

The new treaty commits Jakarta and Canberra to regular ministerial consultations about security, to increasing co-operation, and to consultations in the event of a threat to either country or to regional security.

“It’s not a defence pact or alliance with automatic agreement on support in the event of an attack,” Keating said.

But opposition foreign spokesman Alexander Downer said the treaty’s reference to dealing with “adverse challenges” could be applied to internal uprisings in Indonesia, despite Keating’s assurance that the treaty would only apply to external threats.
Despite this reservation the conservative opposition gave support in principle to the treaty. “This is a sensible move which builds on Australia’s significant defence cooperation activities with Indonesia,” opposition Leader John Howard said.

But East Timorese groups in Australia expressed concern. “We hope that this treaty does not imply that Australia would hand over to Indonesia East Timorose who are in this country and who might be regarded by Indonesia as a threat,” East Timorese resistance spokesman José Ramos-Horta said.

Australia’s small military is one of the most technically advanced in the region. Indonesia’s armed forces, relatively small compared with its large population, are under-equipped and geared largely to civic works and protecting internal security.

“I am convinced that Australia and Indonesia have much to contribute in partnership. I think we have a great opportunity here to shape the security environment of the region,” Keating said.

### AUSTRALIA, INDONESIA TO SIGN AGREEMENT

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**CANBERRA, Dec. 14 (UPI) –** Keating moved quickly to assure Australians that the pact would not prevent the nation from expressing concerns over human rights in Indonesia and East Timor, a former Portuguese colony claimed by Jakarta for 20 years.

“Whenever we feel a desire, a wish to make clear where we stand on human rights – any human rights, including Timor – we make that clear. None of that’s changed by this agreement,” Keating told a news conference.

“The agreement will reinforce the security of the region as a whole by demonstrating to our friends and neighbors that Australia and Indonesia will continue to build a close and cooperative relationship,” Keating said in a statement.

“It does not affect our existing international commitments. It is premised on our respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of all countries,” he said.

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### TEXT OF AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA SECURITY AGREEMENT

**JAKARTA, Dec 18 (Reuters) –** This is the agreement signed on Monday between Australia and Indonesia on maintaining security, a copy of which was released to the media by the Australian government in Canberra. Procedural paragraphs are omitted:

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**The government of Australia and the government of the Republic of Indonesia (hereafter referred to as the “parties”):**

Desiring to strengthen the existing friendship between them;

Recognising their common interest in the peace and stability of the region;

Desiring to contribute to regional security and stability in order to ensure circumstances in which their aspirations can be best realised for the economic development and prosperity of their own countries and the region;

Reaffirming their respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of all countries;

Reaffirming their commitment to the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the charter of the United Nations and international law;

Recognising that each party has primary responsibility for its own security;

Mindful of the contribution that would be made to their own security and that of the region by co-operating in the development of effective national capabilities in the defence field and hence their national resilience and self-reliance;

Noting that nothing in this agreement affects in any way the existing international commitments of either party

Therefore agree as follows:

**Article 1**

The parties undertake to consult at ministerial level on a regular basis about matters affecting their common security and to develop such cooperation as would benefit their own security and that of the region.

**Article 2**

The parties undertake to consult each other in the case of adverse challenges to either party or to their common security interests and, if appropriate, consider measures which might be taken either individually or jointly and in accordance with the processes of each party.

**Article 3**

The parties agree to promote – in accordance with the policies and priorities of each – mutually beneficial cooperative activities in the security field in areas to be identified by the two parties.

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### VOA ON SECURITY TREATY

**Voice of America, 12/14/95. By Robin Poke, Canberra, Australia**

Intro: Australia has announced it will sign a new security treaty with Indonesia. From Canberra, Robin Poke reports the treaty to be signed Monday in Jakarta, is regarded as yet one more sign relations between the two countries continue to improve.

Text: The treaty will commit both governments to regular ministerial consultations about security, and to increasing security cooperation. It will also ensure consultations between Australia and Indonesia in the event of a threat to either country or to regional security. But, it is not a defense pact ensuring support in the event one or the other country is attacked.

Australia’s Prime Minister, Paul Keating, says the treaty sets out, in formal terms for the first time, Australia and Indonesia have a common interest in the peace and security of the region. He also says it is a development of fundamental importance to Australia’s bilateral relationship with Indonesia.

That relationship has experienced some difficulties. Indonesia at one time banned certain Australian media organizations because of alleged unfavorable reporting, while Australia expressed concern last year about the closing, by the Indonesian government, of two newspapers and a magazine. In July this year, Indonesia cancelled the appointment of retired Lieutenant-General Herman Mantiri as ambassador to Australia, following remarks General Mantiri made about the 1991 massacre by Indonesian troops of civilians in East Timor. For several years Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor and Irian Jaya have been cause for ongoing tension.

But Australia and Indonesia have been increasing defense co-operation. This year, for the first time, Indonesian troops took part in military exercises held in Australia. This followed an offer by Australia last year to increase military aid to Indonesia. Australia’s small, but well-equipped military, is one of the most technically advanced in the region, while Indonesia’s armed forces, relatively small in proportion to the country’s population, is under-equipped.

The accord to be signed Monday is seen by the Australian government as confirming a major turnaround in Australia-Indonesia relations. It is also seen as confirming Prime Minister Keating’s strategy of forging a greater role for Australia in the Asian region.

Mr. Keating will travel to Jakarta with foreign minister Gareth Evans for Monday’s signing ceremony.

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### INDONESIA-AUSTRALIA TIES STRENGTHEN WITH TIME

**JAKARTA, Dec 18 (Reuters) –** Australia and Indonesia signed on Monday an historic security agreement. Following is a chronology of recent relations between neighbouring countries:

1986
April - After publication in the Sydney Morning Herald of an article on President Suharto’s family, Australian journalists are banned from covering the visit of U.S. President Ronald Reagan and visa-free benefits for Australian tourists are revoked temporarily.

- Indonesia cancels visit of Research and Technology Minister Jusuf Habibie to Australia, suspends military cooperation, November - Last Australian journalist, with the Australian Financial Review newspaper, leaves Indonesia after work visa not renewed.

1988

March - Australian Associated Press news agency allowed to reestablish bureau in Jakarta.

September - Australian Defence Minister Kim Beazley says on a visit to Jakarta that bilateral defence cooperation is at an end and sees no need for its restoration.

October - Newly-appointed Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans makes first visit to Indonesia and meets counterpart, Ali Alatas. Their personal friendship is said to usher in a new era in the bilateral relationship.

1989

May - Canberra sets up the Australia-Indonesia Institute to promote better cultural, sporting and media ties.

July - Indonesia’s General Try Sutrisno becomes first chief of Indonesia’s powerful military to visit Australia in 17 years.

December - Bilateral relations said to “take on ballast” as both sides sign Timor Gap oil exploration treaty to exploit oil jointly in an area between East Timor and Australia.

1992

April - Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating visits Indonesia in first overseas trip as leader.

November - Inaugural meeting of high-level Australian Indonesian Ministerial Forum in Jakarta.

1994

March - Keating says: “No country is more important to Australia than Indonesia. If we fail to get this relationship right, and nurture and develop it, the whole web of foreign relationships is incomplete.”

June - Big trade and cultural promotion, Australia Today Indonesia, in Jakarta.

September - Indonesian Vice President Try Sutrisno makes official visit to Australia.

November - Australian government defence White Paper, “Defending Australia,” outlines Canberra’s defence strategy. It says: “Our defence relationship with Indonesia is our most important in the region and a key element in Australia’s approach to regional defence engagement.”

1995

May - Indonesian Research and Technology Minister Jusuf Habibie makes 10-day visit to Australia.

June - Indonesia appoints retired Lieutenant-General Herman Mantiri as ambassador to Australia. This causes uproar in Australian media and parliament. Mantiri had refused to retract comments he made in 1992 about massacre of funeral marchers by soldiers in East Timor seven months earlier.

June - International Court of Justice in The Hague rejects Portugal’s attempt to have the Timor Gap treaty between Australia and Indonesia declared invalid.

July 5 - Indonesia withdraws Mantiri’s nomination.

November 29 - Australia announces inquiry into killings of six Australian-based journalists during Indonesia’s 1975 invasion of East Timor after the former Portuguese colonialists left.

December 8 - Indonesia chooses career diplomat Wiryono Sastrohardoyo, in Paris, as next ambassador to Australia.

December 18 - Indonesia and Australia sign Agreement on Maintaining Security to formalise security cooperation in various fields. The agreement is hailed in both countries as an historic moment in bilateral relations.

AUSTRALIA SIGNS SECURITY DEAL WITH INDONESIA


Dec 14. One of Australia’s most significant agreements – that’s how PM Paul Keating describes a surprise security pact between Australia and the country that was once seen as the most significant threat to Aussie security in the region. Mr Keating said Indon has no other agreement as significant as the one that will be signed with Australia. Negotiations for the deal were kept so secret even the US reportedly didn’t know about it until last night.

The Pact means the 2 countries will agree to regularly consult at ministerial level over security matters. It was reportedly initiated by Australia and is said to be the culmination of the personal rapport that has developed between the 2 leaders.

But others have warned of “serious implications” of the treaty. The treaty obliges each country to assist the other in cases of national threat. Critics say a challenge to Indon security might require Aussie troops may have to be deployed on Indon territory.

“It’s a peculiar and almost an obscene announcement,” said a member of a pro-E Timor group, especially given the recent E Timor “anniversary.”

 Ministers will fly to Jakarta for the official signing on Monday.

Dec 14 Canberra. E Timor lobby groups say the Australian/Indon security pact is further proof the Australian govt. has no concern about the rights of E Timor. Today’s announcement came as a shock with “enormous implications” said a rep. He said the agreement was to be signed between 2 countries with almost totally opposed views of human rights.

The pact “takes us further away from the path of integrity,” said a human rights lawyer.

Although the pact has been given qualified support by the Fed coalition the Australian Democrats say the move is “completely insensitive” and says the Indon defence forces are the real [security] problem.

Elsewhere the ADF say the agreement is a real boost to nat’l security.

The Fed opp’n gives it qualified support with For Affairs rep Alex Downer saying the wording of the pact must spell out that Australia wouldn’t need to get militarily involved over purely internal matters in Indon.

Dec 15 Canberra. For Affairs Min Gareth Evans has played down fears Australia could be caught up in E Timor. Indon For Min Ali Alatas has also confirmed Australia will be involved in external issues only.

[The Treaty] has nothing to with the internal problems of each side said Alatas.

The agreement has won support from the Fed opp’n but it has troubles with the wording of the treaty that says “adverse challenges” rather than “external challenges.”

Keating heckled by E Timor demonstrators – Bendigo

Dec 12 Bendigo. Human rights demonstrators heckled PM Paul Keating during his visit to the historic gold centre of Bendigo today. A handful of protesters from the Australia-E Timor Assoc. tried to shout Mr Keating down as he addressed an ALP fundraiser in Bendigo’s Rosiland Park. Mr Keating accused the demonstrators of having no respect for the Bendigo comm’y. Mr Keating was again handing out money with the biggest sum today, $213K, going to the Bendigo Tourism Board to move its Kangaroo Flat Visitors Centre to the city’s restored historic Post Office.
STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

The Australia-Indonesia "Security" Agreement

December 17th, 1995

The recently announced Australia-Indonesia Agreement on Maintaining Security is a dangerous and reactionary alliance. It is primarily a military pact which provides the procedures and commitments for cooperation between the two governments and their military forces to intervene militarily and in other ways within each country and in the region. This is being justified in the name of "security."

The Australian Government’s relationship with the military regime in Indonesia has become more blatant in the last decade. This Agreement formalises the ties between the region’s two “policemen,” who intend to keep South East Asia “safe” for transnational corporation exploitation.

The Agreement was negotiated over a period of 18 months in complete secrecy. The people of both countries have been presented with a fait accompli without any opportunity for public discussion. The formal signing of the Agreement was rushed to completion only four days after the public announcement of its existence. Its contents were not even made known to members of the Australian parliament before signing. The Australian and Indonesian governments feared prior public discussion.

The Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating, openly supported the Soeharto military dictatorship when announcing the treaty. He said that “the emergence of President Soeharto’s new order Government in the 1960s was the event of most positive strategic significance to Australia in the post-war years.”

The Soeharto regime is a military dictatorship which came to power over the slaughtered bodies of hundreds of thousands of Indonesians in 1965, overthrowing President Sukarno the leader of Indonesia’s independence struggle following WW II and wiping out the large Indonesian Communist Party and many other independence fighters. The Soeharto government continues to suppress Indonesian trade unions and ban even the mildest criticism of the regime.

Paul Keating claims that, “The consequences for Australia of having a hostile or even unfriendly Government in Indonesia over that period would have been incalculable...” This statement is based on an untruth. The government of President Sukarno maintained a friendly attitude to Australia whose people and government of that time rendered decisive assistance to the Indonesian people in their struggle to free themselves from Dutch colonialism.

In 1975 the Soeharto regime launched the invasion of East Timor and occupied it. Completely disregarding this action and the continuing atrocities of the occupation forces, the Australian Prime Minister hypocritically declares that the Australian-Indonesian Agreement “is premised on our respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of all countries.” Ignoring this declaration and Indonesia’s aggression in Timor, Mr Keating stated bluntly that “East Timor is a province of Indonesia.”

The agreement is a further betrayal of the East Timorese people who saved many Australian lives in Timor in the war against Japanese military aggression in WW II and who are continuing, after 20 years of occupation, a courageous struggle against Indonesian brutality and exploitation. Both Indonesia and Australia have joined together to pirate East Timor’s off-shore oil resources.

While talking security and peace, the Australian government has had nothing to say about the exploitation and killings of the people of West Papua where the Indonesian government, in alliance with giant mining and timber companies, is exploiting the rich natural resources of New Guinea and destroying the environment. By massive migrations of Indonesians to West Papua the indigenous people are being deprived of their land. Their villages are being destroyed. Any resistance is met with the brute force of the Indonesian military.

The general wording of the Agreement permits of the widest interpretation of the “common security interests” referred to in it. The fact that the treaty is to be signed in the presence of the top military representatives of both countries confirms its military significance.

While denying that Australian troops could be used within Indonesia, the Australian Prime Minister in a TV broadcast said that “security is not simply about external threats.”

It is necessary to recall that Australian governments have involved Australia’s military forces in aggressive wars and conflicts in Korea, Malaysia and Vietnam since WW II. Australian forces and resources are presently involved clandestinely in the war on the island of Bougainville where the CRA copper mine at Panguna has ceased operations because of the opposition of Bougainvillean people.

While admitting that neither Australia nor Indonesia faces any external threat of attack the Australian Prime Minister has referred to China as a possible source of “destabilisation” while Indonesia’s Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, has indicated that a source of “volatility” could arise on the Korean Peninsula, between China and Taiwan and in the conflicting interests in the Spratly Islands.

The Agreement commits the two governments to “consult at Ministerial level on a regular basis about matters affecting their common security and to develop such cooperation as would benefit their own security and that of the region.”

In announcing the Agreement the Australian Prime Minister said that “The agreement will reinforce the security of the region as a whole by demonstrating...that Australia and Indonesia will continue to build a close and cooperative relationship...” In another remark he said: “I think we have a great opportunity to shape the security environment of the region.”

However, none of the other countries in the region (which by inference includes the whole of Asia) were consulted or even informed of the Agreement until its conclusion. They have not been asked whether they agree to having Indonesia and Australia “shape the security environment of the region.”

For some time Indonesian military officers have been training in Australia and in 1995 Indonesian regular troops, for the first time, participated alongside Australian and American troops in the “Kangaroo” military exercises in Australia’s north.

The Australian Prime Minister’s concept of “security” relates to the preservation of existing social structures including the military dictatorship of Indonesia. He praises President Soeharto for “opening the economy up by one successive deregulatory package after another,” while “growing its private sector.”

Real security in the region can only be achieved by disarmament and the adoption of the principles of peaceful co-existence in the relations between nations. A treaty of non-aggression between Australia and Indonesia would have been a contribution to peaceful, friendly relations. Such a pact would have contributed to the real security of the region. Instead, the present Agreement is based primarily on military cooperation and the assumption that Australian and Indonesia have the right to “shape the region.”

Another facet of security is the creation of a democratic and progressive civil society in all countries whose first priority is the well-being of its people and mutual benefit in relations between states.

While Australia should maintain friendly relations with all countries the overt praise for Indonesia’s military dictatorship by the...
Prime Minister and the conclusion of a pact of assistance and cooperation with such a bloodied regime is not acceptable.

The treaty will be brought into effect as a result of the tactics of secrecy used by both governments to exclude prior discussion by the people. It can, however, be rendered inoperable in the future if the Australian people refuse to become involved in the military entanglements, interventions and suppression of others which could result from its implementation.

**FOET(WA) CONDEMNS SECURITY TREATY**

*Media Release 17 Dec. 95*

Friends of East Timor (WA) has just concluded a meeting which condemns the security treaty to be signed in Jakarta tomorrow.

This condemnation is for the following reasons:

1. Blatant disregard for Australian democratic processes
2. Shameless immorality of back-door deals with a vicious military dictatorship
3. Blatant disregard for Indonesian and East Timorese pleas for democracy and freedom
4. To be pro-Indonesian military is to be Anti-Indonesian people

This security treaty calls into question issues relating to Australia’s democratic process. For 18 months Keating and Suharto secretly hatched this agreement allowing for no debate, discussion, or consultation in the Australian parliament or elsewhere. Even the timing of the announcement, days before Christmas, has been designed to minimise criticism and concern. An added concern related to this treaty is the development of further restrictions on the media under the D-Notice system. Under the government’s current proposals, outlets which publish information that the government deems to be ‘sensitive’ will incur fines of up to one million dollars, or $12,000 for the individual journalist. This will further stifle questions regarding the Indonesian military in East Timor and elsewhere.

This treaty between Canberra and Jakarta typifies the sneaky, insidious relationship being forged behind the backs of the Australian and Indonesian people.

At a time when Australians, Indonesians, and East Timorese are united in finding a just solution to the war in East Timor, Keating ignores pleas for democracy and freedom in the region.

An Indonesian participant in the recent occupation of the Dutch Embassy said in an interview, while in hiding in Jakarta, “We [Indonesians and East Timorese] hugged, we were crying, so we all really felt that we were joined in the same struggle, that we were solidly united.”

Keating repeatedly claims to be pro-Indonesian, yet he has aligned his government with a vicious military dictatorship which is routinely condemned by the United Nations and independent human rights organisations.

This security treaty is not pro-Indonesian, it will do nothing for the overwhelming majority of Indonesians who are gagged and controlled by the powerful Indonesian armed forces.

For comment or more information, please contact: John Gandini Telephone: 61 09 361 4678

**NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO INTERVIEW ON INDO-OZ SECURITY PACT**


Interview regarding the signing of a security pact between Indonesia and Australia, with Jeffrey A. Winters, Associate Professor of Political Economy, Northwestern University.

McDonnell: I was pretty surprised to pick up the paper the other day and read about the pact that Australia and Indonesia had signed. It’s called the Agreement on Maintaining Security, and the agreement was worked out amid secrecy, both sides promising noninterference in each other’s domestic affairs but pledged to defend each other in case of external challenge. And most people think that external challenge means China, and probably a lot of Australians were surprised themselves, since it was worked out in secrecy over a long period. We’re going to talk about this and some other issues with Jeffrey Winters, Associate Professor of Political Economy at Northwestern University. Let’s start with this: why was this pact needed? Do you think that these parties are really feeling a gigantic threat from China and how did it come about?

WINTERS: Well, it’s a very unusual pact, and until we get a lot more information on it and what was behind the negotiations, it’s going to be hard to characterize because one of the first things to know about it is that it is not a treaty or a pact in the normal sense that that’s understood. That is, this pact does not obligate either country, Indonesia or Australia, to come to each other’s defense in the event that there is an attack. It is, instead, just a statement of security cooperation. As Prime Minister Keating put it: a declaration of trust and close cooperation between the countries — although both sides pointed out that this pact has full treaty status. So, it’s a bit of an odd bird. Actually, when you said that it was designed to confront external challenges, that was an important source of criticism of the pact. The pact says that it is designed to face “adverse challenges,” and many people said it should have said “external challenges” because one of the concerns — especially among the opposition in Australia — is that this pact could somehow draw the Australians into all sorts of challenges the Indonesians might face, including quasi-internal challenges.

Here they were referring to the independence movements in East Timor and Irian Jaya.

McDONNELL: But if the pact pledges non-interference in each other’s domestic affairs, doesn’t that imply the challenges are external?

WINTERS: Strictly speaking, East Timor and Irian Jaya are not Indonesia’s internal affairs, and nothing prevents Indonesia from inviting or even requesting or expecting Australia’s engagement should the need arise. The sheer existence of the pact gives Indonesia a channel through which to request and expect some sort of assistance.

McDONNELL: Let’s talk about the relationship and the history between Indonesia and Australia. They don’t seem particularly like suitable allies for each other, even to people just kind of tangentially looking at the two countries — Australia doing a kind of strong anti-nuclear testing thing with France, a kind of feel-good country probably for most Americans, and Indonesia, a country whose military is doing East Timor and doing some pretty harsh repression. How did these people get together?

WINTERS: It is a very unusual mix. In fact, Ramos Horta, a spokesman for East Timor’s independence movement, commented that when you have a democratic country like Australia and a dictatorship like Indonesia signing a treaty, it’s like a treaty between God and the Devil. And it has really startled people because of the mixture you’re talking about. I think in order to get a sense of the relations between the two countries, it would probably be useful to go back as far as the mid-1960s, when Sukarno was still in power and the Malaysian Federation was getting set up. One of the major perceived threats to the stability of the region at the time, quite apart from Vietnam, was that Sukarno had launched a “Crush Malaysia” campaign because he saw Malaysia as a colonial hold-over and he objected to the way the Federation was being set up. The Crush Malaysia campaign made not only Australia, but also New Zealand the UK, Malaysia, and Singapore, quite nervous.
about the threats that might come from Indonesia, which at the time was the fifth largest country in the world and certainly the largest in Southeast Asia. Since that time, there’s been a real security concern from the Australian perspective coming from their immediate neighbor to the Northwest. In 1971 the Five-Power Defense Arrangement was set up among Australia, the UK, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singapore precisely to counter what was perceived as the “Indonesian threat.” Indonesia’s relationship with Australia over the last three decades or so has run hot and cold. As recently as 1992 Indonesia sent a former general as ambassador-designate to Australia, and because that general commented publicly that the 1991 Indonesian military massacre in East Timor, that Allan Nairn spoke about on your program a few weeks ago, was a completely proper action for the military to take, he caused a major uproar in Australia and the general was rejected. So as recently as 1992 the tone set between the two countries was rather tense.

MCDONNELL: What role does the US play in all of this? Is the fact that the US would like to peel back in the Asian region on its military presence, is that forcing these unlikely alliances?

WINTERS: Some analysts have speculated that the wording of the pact between Indonesia and Australia was made as innocuous as possible so that it did not appear as if the United States was playing some role behind the scenes in trying to hem in a net around China. You opened with asking about the geo-strategic impact of the pact...

[Long segment on China’s increasing intimidation in the region, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the Spratly Islands]

So, this pact, although it isn’t really a military alliance, sends a signal to China that there is a concern among countries in the southern part of the Pacific that China’s actions are threatening, and that they are taking these rather unusual steps to send a symbolic message that further aggressive action is not going to be welcomed. Now, my guess is that the United States is happy about this.

MCDONNELL: But they’re not going to come out and say that.

WINTERS: No. In fact, that would probably be the straw to break the camel’s back in Chinese-US relations, which are already strained over the jail sentences given to human rights activists recently.

MCDONNELL: How does this go down in Australia? Do you think the general public looks at the Keating administration and says, well, it’s a rough neighborhood, and we’ve got to play ball with some strange characters, and I guess this is an example of that?

WINTERS: This pact has received saturation media coverage in Australia, and there were immediately demonstrations in Canberra, Sydney and other major cities against the pact. And one of the major sources of criticism was that it was negotiated over an 18 month period in total secrecy. Most of the other countries in the region were not even made aware of it until just a few days before the signing. The argument among critics in Australia is that they may be signing a pact with a dictatorship, but they’re supposed to be a democracy, and they’re supposed to discuss major treaties and have some sort of public debate about them – certainly debate them in the parliament.

There was no debate about this whatever, and it was already a done deal by the time the Australian population found out about it. The response of Prime Minister Keating to this criticism was a rather unusual one, which was to say that they couldn’t have gotten a pact had they discussed it in public. So much for democracy in Australia. Maybe the two countries are not as far apart as at first it might appear on the democratic score.

MCDONNELL: Indonesia’s military has been pretty roundly criticized for human rights abuses, and I imagine now they’re going to have some contact with Australia’s military, and they’ll talk occasionally and share intelligence maybe.

WINTERS: Yes, well for some time now Indonesian and Australian armed forces have been conducting joint exercises in the region. In fact, Australia is the country with which Indonesia most frequently has joint military exercises. This pact really gives a new legitimacy to the Indonesian armed forces at precisely a time when Suharto’s government, and the military, are clamping down on and stifling the fledgling democratic movements within their country. So this is a real boon. The biggest impact of this treaty is that it is a major victory for Suharto, and it shows that the old dictator still has some tricks up his sleeve. At the same time it’s a major setback for the human rights movement in Indonesia, as well as the independence movements in East Timor and Irian Jaya. Relations have now moved beyond joint military exercises. The core of this agreement is ministerial-level consultations – extensive consultations – between the two governments, especially pertaining to security. That means much more information sharing, intelligence sharing, and this has direct implications for democratic movements and those struggling for independence. Why? Because many of these organizations have overseas groups and safehouses in Australia. And so to the extent that the Australians are now going to be providing regular consultation, and providing the intelligence they have directly to the Indonesian military – this dramatically undermines the position of these pro-democracy movements in Indonesia. It’s a huge setback for them.

MCDONNELL: As far as human rights in general is concerned in the region, I’ve been perusing the recent Freedom House report. They have their annual list of places ranked according to levels of freedom. Only 4 percent of the countries in Asia make it into the “free” category. And recently in the UN vote on Nigerian human rights abuses, the Asian bloc made it clear that they would not support a harsh reprimand of Nigeria, which is in keeping with their argument that human rights are internal matters. And then Burma was admitted into ASEAN, almost right on the heels of not allowing Aung San Sui Kyi’s party to participate in the constitutional changes there. It’s almost enough to give you a sour feeling in your stomach.

WINTERS: When you have that as the backdrop, it really points up the odious nature of this pact between Australia and Indonesia. In this case Australia is putting its security concerns as well as its economic interests – that is, being able to continue to exploit the oil and gas riches in the Timor gap – above all else. And by the way, Australia is the only Western country to recognize Indonesia’s claim to East Timor as its 27th province. The UN does not recognize Indonesia’s claim, nor does the United States officially recognize it – although tacitly we obviously do. What we have here is the Asian authoritarian regimes, as a bloc, agreeing that they will not criticize other thugs around the world, and I guess we shouldn’t be too surprised about that. But the American people ought to be asking how far does this go? Are we going to continue to put our economic interests before everything else? I think the United States has been pretty much intimidated by the argument coming out of Asia that international efforts to promote human rights are neo-imperialistic, or the latest face of intervention by Western countries into the lives of everyone else. But what does it mean to say that culturally Asians do not support human rights? And who speaks on behalf of Asians? Let’s face it, Li Peng of China, Suharto of Indonesia, Mahathir of Malaysia, and Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore – none of these people is willing to allow a free press in their country, none is willing to allow free expression. And these authoritarian leaders themselves say they speak on behalf of all
of their people. Well, I’ve travelled through-out the region and what I find is that this is much more a domestic power struggle than it is an international cultural struggle. The thing that scares these leaders most is not the foreign dimension of the human rights struggle but the domestic dimension.

SECURITY PACT SIGNED

Aussie News from Latrobe, Dec. 22

Dec 15 Jakarta. Quotable quote: “Don’t expect suddenly we will agree on everything” – Ali Alatas.

Dec 16 Canberra. PM Paul Keating will travel to Jakarta to witness the signing of the Australian/Indon security agreement. However Indon says the issue of human rights in E Timor will continue to divide the 2 countries. Indon For Min Ali Atalas said the agreement ends concerns that Indon and Australia are a threat to each other, but he said they’ll continue to disagree on the issue of E Timor.

Dec 17 Canberra. PM Paul Keating has left for the signing of the Australia/Indon security pact in Jakarta. He is being accompanied by For Min Gareth Evans and Defence Min Robert Ray. Shortly before boarding, Mr Keating told reporters the signing is going to be a moment in history which will shape Australia’s future. He said it will make Indon and Australia’s future more secure and as a result it will also make the region more secure.

Dec 18 Canberra. The Fed government has attacked the government for keeping secret the negotiations with Indon over the joint security pact. The opp’n also disputes PM Paul Keating’s claim the Treaty will help the E Timorese. Mr Keating and For Min Gareth Evans have dismissed the criticisms, saying negotiations had to occur in private and the government had followed due process.

Dec 18 Jakarta [Ch 10]. It’s the 1st time 4 government Mins have travelled O/S together, signifying the importance the Fed government is placing on the signing of the security Pact. Although it was negotiated in secret between Mr Suharto and Mr Keating over the past 18 m, Mr Keating is now trying to attract as much attention as possible to the event.

Meanwhile, the Fed coalition has attacked the government over its failure to consult the public or the coalition. It was a “strange thing for the government to have done,” said opp’n For Affairs rep Alex Downer.

In Mel Australian Democrats are holding a demo outside Garuda Airlines over the pact.

Dec 18 Melbourne. Australian Democrats are rallying in protest at the security treaty with Indon. Their major concern is with Indon’s record on human rights. Why do we need an alliance with one of worst military dictatorships in the world, asked a rep. He said Indon has slaughtered 2 mn of its own people in the 60s and 70s and 1000s more in E Timor. He said “it’s more about Keating’s ego that what Aussies want.” He called on “all decent Australians” to boycott all things Indonesian – both products and tourist destinations. He said the Australian Democrats were angry that for such a reportedly “important treaty” there was not a single debate in either House of Fed Parl.

Dec 18 Canberra. Quotable quote: “Why people would demonstrate against security, is beyond me” – For Min Gareth Evans.

Dec 19 Canberra. The Fed opp’n says the government is split over the security agreement with Indon. They say there has been a falling-out between For Min Gareth Evans and PM Paul Keating over the wording of the document. Sen. Evans has admitted he told me he had reservations and had been excluded from negotiations, said opp’n For Affairs rep Alex Downer.

Elsewhere in a Newspoll taken last weekend, and following both the announcement of the security treaty and Mr Howard’s 4th “Headland” speech on Aussie identity, Mr Keating has increased his lead over Mr Howard, but the Fed coalition remains the favoured govt.

Pref PM: Mr Keating 42% (+5) Mr Howard 34 (-4)

Pref government: ALP 41 (+1) coalition 47 (+1)

Dec 19 Canberra. PM Paul Keating has returned to Australia after the signing of the historic security agreement with Indonesia in Jakarta yesterday. Mr Keating, who declined to talk to the waiting media, arrived in CBR at 6.30 am this morning. The security agreement commits Australia and Indon to consult one another at ministerial level about security matters and respond to “adverse challenges.”

Dec 20 London. For Min Gareth Evans says Australia’s new Treaty with Indon will strengthen rather than inhibit its capacity to be effective over human rights issues in E Timor. Critics say the Treaty will stifle the democracy movement in Indon. Sen. Evans said the more Australia strengthens its links with Indon the more credible it will be on human rights. He said that after the Treaty was signed he’d had a discussion about human rights with Indon For Min Ali Atalas [probably along the lines of “don’t start telling us about human rights now”].
Keating’s fascination with Indonesia’s New Order, which is not shared by many in his own party, let alone the community at large. Concern at human rights abuses in East Timor and elsewhere goes well beyond what Mr Keating inaccurately and distastefully referred to as “the Timor lobby,” possibly including a majority of Australians.

Fourthly, to be an effective instrument a security treaty calls for more than a shared opposition to aggression. It presumes common standards in relation to the parties’ political systems; if you like, a shared desire to protect common democratic values. We simply do not share such values with the Suharto regime. Despite a slight opening-up, democracy has yet to come to Indonesia. The Orde Baru, as it is called, remains a military-dominated, authoritarian form of government which restricts freedoms in a way abhorrent to Australians, and it has been responsible for horrendous human rights abuses. Ironically, while Mr Keating was announcing his cozy agreement with President Suharto, Indonesia was yet again being taken to task for human rights abuses, this time by no less than the UN Human Rights Commissioner who has just visited East Timor.

Finally, we are assured that the treaty does not bind us to do anything except consult, in the event of some crisis. This begs the question: if the treaty carries no real obligations, then why have it? But even if its cautious wording will make it difficult to invoke, it could still expose us to risks - for example, if a conflict were to break out with the Philippines because of the Moro rebellion in the border areas, or in the event of an altercation with China over disputed islands in the South China Sea. For our part, it is inconceivable that we would need Indonesia’s help since, the only country ever likely to attack us, and that possibility is admitted remotely, is of course Indonesia! It is not the substance of the treaty that is troubling, but what it symbolises and the woolly thinking behind it. There is a general desire in this country for a more democratic format in Indonesia, for we need that change to take our relationship forward from its present narrow focus on government, business and military channels. To bring about that change we need to encourage the non-military side of Indonesian politics. This treaty, if only in a symbolic way, dignifies the dark side, the all-pervasive role of its defence forces. As a one-time serviceman and defence analyst, I have to challenge the view that a closer link between our military establishments will help transform ABRI from its reputation as an oppressive and sometimes brutal military force into one that respects human rights. The experience so far suggests that the officers on our side tend to become impressed with the ability of their Indonesian opposite numbers to get things done, and of course with the power they exercise in the community.

We cannot forget that the Indonesian military (ABRI) has for the past three decades or more been used primarily as a force for repressing those freedoms that are at the core of our democracy, while our armed forces are largely depoliticised. Mr Keating and Senator Evans are constantly reminding us that the Timor affair is only one small issue in a large and expanding relationship. But the issue is not about Timor’s small size; it is about what Indonesia stands for, about its values and not least about the extent to which the Suharto regime respects international human rights, which is the litmus test of a humane and democratic society.

DOES AUSTRALIA HAVE NO SHAME?


ON Saturday, December 16, I met Gareth Evans outside Dandenong Plaza. He was attempting to raise his profile in the electorate of Holt, no doubt because of the intensity of the campaign run by human rights activist Jim Aubrey, the Australian Democratic candidate for the electorate.

As a Timorese person I represent a people who continue to suffer untold persecution. I asked Gareth Evans how it is possible the Australian Government can sign a security alliance with one of the worst military dictatorships in the world.

Senator Evans told me that we had to see “the big picture” and that Paul Keating would help to solve the problems of my country. Would this help be the same as that of Gough Whitlam, Malcolm Fraser, and Bob Hawke?

I am amazed that at a time when there is no Cold War, at a time when the Australian people have rejected the lunacy of nuclear weapons and when it has recently been proved by opinion polls that the Australian people do not share their Government’s obsession with Indonesia and are truly sympathetic to my people and with absolutely no debate in either House of Parliament, the Australian Government commits this nation to a defence alliance of incredible magnitude.

President Suharto should feel very uneasy about an alliance with Australia. After all, Australia and East Timor were once allies.

We Timorese sheltered, saved, and fought with Australian soldiers during World War II. We did not receive the Order of Australia but were given all sorts of assurances as a favoured ally.

With our fatalities from this conflict rising to 50,000, we believed in these assurances but recently, when you remembered your heroism and sacrifice in this war, our sacrifice was forgotten. In truth, your Government has never remembered our sacrifice.

If the victims of President Suharto and his regime were Australian children then perhaps this country would shake off its apathy and cowardice.

Perhaps you would not be conned by the diplomats. Perhaps you would see our tragedy and would then realise that without human rights we have nothing. Without freedom we are nothing.

Is there no limit to this Government’s shame?

PEDRO BATISTA, Victorian president, UDT.

HANDS ACROSS THE TIMOR SEA


Bangkok: Even in peacetime, defence strategists have to plan for the...likely war, however fanciful it may seem. Not so long ago, Australia’s generals fretted most about an invasion by their...neighbor to the north - Indonesia. So the signature...December 18th of a security agreement with the Indonesians was understandably greeted with words like “historic,” “watershed” and “bombshell.”

This last metaphor is a tribute not just to the agreement’s military significance, but...to the secrecy of 18 months of negotiations. An announcement...December 14th left even officials of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which Indonesia is a member, shell-shocked.

In Bangkok for an ASEAN summit meeting, some felt...Indonesia’s President Suharto should not have orchestrated such resounding noises off.

Mr. Suharto’s officials insist the agreement is not a pact, treaty or alliance. It is called...an “agreement on maintaining security,” and merely commits the two countries “to consult each other in the case of adverse challenges.” However, few defense pacts, treaties or alliances do more than that. Indonesia’s belittling of the accord seems designed to spare ASEAN’s blushes, and to preserve Indonesia’s cherished self-image as a leading “non-aligned” country.

Australia is one of the few countries to recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, but by no means an obvious partner for which to forsake non-alignment. Relations are frequently soured by rows over human rights, and by Australian press reporting of Indonesian politics and business (and the murky links between the two). East
Timor, the territory annexed by Indonesia in 1975, ...remains a problem; indeed protests by some Australians delayed the appointment of a new Indonesian ambassador to Canberra this year.

Despite such rows, Xanana Gusmão, the jailed East Timorese resistance leader, recently called the Australian government “without principles.” Mr. Suharto seems to agree - or at least to believe - human-rights concerns will not hamper security cooperation with Australia as they have with the United States, which in 1992 curtailed a military-training program for Indonesia. Since then, Australia has been able to capitalize on Indonesia’s worries about over-reliance on American military know-how, by advertising its own technological capabilities. Visiting Australia...this year, B.J. Habibie, the Indonesian technology minister, was impressed by the high-tech whizzbangery available.

For Australia, the agreement is part of a consistent drive to enmesh itself in Asia. It has...taken part in every multilateral talking-shop going, from the ASEAN Regional Forum to the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum. But that does not preclude its participation in more formal security arrangements. ...Australia has America as an ally. It...has an agreement with Papua New Guinea, and is part of the Five-Power Defence Arrangements with Britain, New Zealand, Singapore and Malaysia. Paul Keating, the Australian prime minister, is due in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur in January, where a reaffirmation of the five-power ties is expected.

As it happens, the five-power club was formed to guarantee Malaysian and Singaporean security after the period of “confrontation” with Indonesia in the 1960s. That helps explain the reaction in Australia to the new agreement. The Indonesian threat is a living memory. It is only 30 years since Australian soldiers fought Indonesians in Kalimantan (Indonesia’s slice of Borneo, an island it shares with Malaysia and Brunei). As recently as 1987, an Australian defense white paper...indicated Indonesia as the most serious security menace facing the country. ...these days Australia’s military superiority over Indonesia can no longer be assumed.

Under Mr. Suharto, Indonesia has...been stable and inward-looking. The presidential succession, however, is not settled. Alan Dupont, of Australia’s Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, suggests Australia wants “to lock Indonesia in” now, to minimize the risk of a volatile future. ... But if Australian war-games are no longer to be conducted against imaginary Indonesians, against whom will they be played? Perhaps against imaginary Chinese. Both sides insist this is not an “anti-China” agreement. But Mr. Keating pointed out last year..."the defining element" in Indonesian (and Vietnamese) security policy, is “their suspicion towards China.” He said it was not a “primary object” of Australian policy to set up a “non-China block.”

but...Australia did not want “to be in the Chinese orbit.” Similarly, in listing possible “adverse challenges,” Ali Alatas, the Indonesian foreign minister, mentioned China’s dispute with Taiwan, and “an uncontrolled escalation in the South China Sea,” where China contests sovereignty with a number of countries.

ASEAN set up its regional forum partly to manage such risks. But...because the forum includes China, which prefers a bilateral, divide-and-rule approach, it may never progress from talking-shop to security arrangement. For both Australia and Indonesia, multilateral chat has less to offer than bilateral commitments.

INDONESIA-AUSTRALIA: SECURITY ON ALL FRONTS - SAVE HUMAN RIGHTS

Analysis - By Yuli Ismartono and Kalinga Seneviratne

JAKARTA, Dec 28 (IPS) - Genuine security concerns are certainly behind the just agreed defence pact between Australia and Indonesia, but there are other obvious reasons for the bilateral agreement - political, economic and image-building.

From Canberra’s point of view, it represents a concrete step into the world’s most dynamic region of economic growth, with Prime Minister Paul Keating making the most political capital of the landmark agreement ahead of 1996 general elections.

“Keating has produced an agreement that defines as well as anything just what he is about...” observed Australian political analyst Michael Gordon. “It...projects him in his most positive suit - not as...an arrogant brawler, but as a statesman.”

For Jakarta, the agreement will be used as leverage in trying to temper Australian condemnation - at least at the official level - of Indonesia’s human rights record, particularly with regard to East Timor.

José Ramos Horta, the Timorese National Resistance Council (NRC) coordinator abroad, was quick to highlight this point. “This treaty does not say anything. It’s more a political statement which gives credibility and legitimacy to Indonesia.”

Indeed, the Australian public, kept abreast of developments in East Timor by an exiled and very vocal Timorese resistance movement, has through solidarity demonstrations and letters to the Press, put pressure on the Labour government to denounce President Suharto’s Jakarta regime.

During this month’s marking of anniversary of the 1975 Indonesian invasion of East Timor, protesters in Australia burnt an effigy of President Suharto and the Indonesian flag.

Against such opposition in addition to the historical suspicions harboured by Australians as a consequence of past military confrontation, the Canberra government kept the public and the parliament in the dark during the negotiations for the landmark defence pact signed last week in the Indonesian capital.

The secrecy of the negotiations is in itself is a cause for criticism in Australia.

“The prime minister’s personal supervision of these top secret negotiations and his abrupt announcement of the conclusion, had all the hallmarks of the leadership style favoured by modern Asian political bosses... said the ‘Sun-Herald’ political columnist Peter Robinson.

“Somewhere along the way, a bit of Australia seemed to have been lost,” he added.

Other analysts have pointed out that the veil of secrecy reflected the government’s concern that the negotiations may have delayed or at least stalled had they come to light before agreement was reached.

“Secrecy is becoming a built-in component in Australian-Indonesia relations,” commented ‘Sydney Morning Herald’ Asia editor David Jenkins.

The pact, the first defence accord ever signed by Indonesia, commits the two countries to consult each other if either one or both of them is threatened and to consider joint responses, as well as to promote security cooperation in the region.

“By this agreement, Australia will understand that Indonesia is not a threat,” said Dewi Fortuna Anwar of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences in Jakarta.

It comes at a time when the region is keeping a wary eye on China’s military might as a whole and in South-east Asia in particular on Beijing’s territorial claims in disputed South China Sea waters - home to a huge Indonesian natural gas project.

Some years ago, such a joint ‘maintenance of security’ would have been difficult to foresee, given the decades old acrimony between the military as well as the peoples of the two countries dating back to when Australia supported Malaysia against Indonesia aggression in the 1960s.

According to a 1994 Australian Defence White Paper, during those turbulent times when the communists attempted to assert power in Indonesia, Canberra was concerned over the direction the Jakarta government seemed to be taking.
They feared instability inside the country could have negative repercussions in the region, including Australia.

This perception worsened when Indonesia sent troops in 1975 to take over power in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, where two Australian and three other foreign journalists were shot dead while covering the turmoil after Portugal withdrew.

Australian public opinion turned more anti-Indonesian with the exodus of Timorese refugees to Australia, where they set up headquarters and developed a strong political lobby from which to oppose the Indonesian occupation of their homeland.

In 1993, a national survey showed that 57 per cent of Australian voters believed Indonesia would pose a security threat to Australia.

But regardless of ingrained public suspicion, for the Australian government and its businessmen, Indonesia — with a population of about 185 million an average economic growth of more than six per cent — is a necessary ally.

Two way trade between the two countries reached 3.5 billion Australian dollars (2.5 billion dollars) in 1995 and development assistance to Indonesia amounted to 141 million dollars in 1994.

And Australia is looking farther afield — toward the rest of South-east Asia’s booming market.

“The agreement is essentially about building a structure for the future of Australia, to reduce uncertainties over the next ten to twenty years, and with it, Indonesia is offering us the opportunity to shape the region,” Keating told reporters.

Improved relations between the governments have enabled their disputes to be settled amicably, such as when Indonesian fishermen strayed into Australian waters and in agreeing to joint oil and mineral explorations in the Timor Gap, the sea dividing northern Australia and Indonesia’s Nusa Tenggara islands.

“The Timor Gap solution is a good example for building political and economic cooperation, and at the same time, security cooperation,” wrote Indonesia’s Defence and Security Policy Paper, which appeared for the first time this year.

“We have a very good relationship between our two countries — except for one issue which is the East Timorese,” said Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in a recent radio interview.

But it is because of this very issue that critics say Canberra should not have entered into an agreement without bringing some pressure on Indonesia to improve its human rights record.

According to a 1994 report by the international London-based human rights watchdog Amnesty International, “two decades of unpunished Indonesian genocide” have cost the lives of one third of East Timor’s 650,000 inhabitants.

“We haven’t any backbone when it comes to dealing with Indonesia. It is a matter of kowtowing to them,” said Sister Kathleen O’Connor who runs a shelter for East Timorese refugees in Australia.

### REVEALING GEN. SUMITRO VIEWS ON AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA SECURITY

**ASEAN-Australia Security**

*by General (retired) Soemitro, Kompas, Saturday 23 December 1995*

With the signing of a Security treaty between Australia and Indonesia in Jakarta on 18 December 1995, relations between the two countries have entered a new era. Australia’s PM, Paul Keating, stated “This is a historical moment that will shape the future of Australia.” I am certain that Paul Keating’s sincere words reflect our feelings entirely. Paul Keating also felt that he represented the feelings of both signatories when he stated that the Security Treaty is a declaration of trust (sic). Without mutual trust how could we possibly build bridges to further strengthen the interest of our two countries?

I consider that the signing of the Security Treaty is a victory for both sides. It is a beautiful Christmas present for Australia and a sweet New Year present for Indonesia. Let me tell you why I agree with Paul Keating’s statement that the signing of this treaty will shape the future of the two countries.

**Australian mistrust**

When addressing the Singapore ASEAN Seminar in 1988, I said that every nation is duty-bound to improve its national security as a strong component of regional security which is, in turn, a component of the global security structure. I want it clearly understood that security is not identical to militarism.

I also advocated openness on concepts of security between neighbouring countries. This is important to prevent mutual mistrust and to preclude an unnecessary expansion of military power. There should be a common security arrangement with new motivations (sic). That is what I recommended at the time.

What I mean to say with this statement is that it should be possible for ASEAN nations to cooperate when one of its member-countries is faced with internal security problems. Refusing to become involved in the internal affairs of our neighbours does not free us from the commitment to help each other. In fact, let us not forget that security problems such as the traffic of narcotics, terrorism, communist subversion etc. have already become cross border activities. Indonesia and Malaysia’s experience in handling communism, for example, can be drawn upon by other ASEAN countries facing a similar threat. I also recommended that combining the navies of ASEAN countries could even be extended to include India, Japan and Australia. The sea expanse surrounding the region is too wide for each country to handle alone without putting a considerable strain on the military budget. In fact, what we wish is for ASEAN countries to channel their power and financial strength into the development of their country’s industry which, in turn, will intensify each country’s own security.

Mistrust among neighbours should not be over-emphasised. In fact CNN, broadcasting the news of the signing of the Security Treaty, did mention that in the past Australia considered Indonesia as a threat to its security. It should not be surprising to anyone then if President Soeharto openly appealed for a rapid end to the mistrust and scepticism Australia has been showing towards Indonesia.

At the ASEAN seminar seven years ago I also recommended that security cooperation among ASEAN member-countries and between ASEAN and Japan, India, Australia and New Zealand should be strongly supported. Slowly but surely we have indeed seen a strong movement in that direction. The mid-December ASEAN summit in Bangkok, for example, instituted a Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty. Why should Japan, India, Australia and New Zealand be involved?

We cannot exclude New Zealand — Australia’s closest neighbour — from the unity of the region. Japan has an interest in the life line (sic), that is the oil supply lines and logistics that criss-cross the ASEAN region. Finally, India because its shoreline on the Indian Ocean brings with it the commitment to be involved in the security enforcement (sic) of the region.

I am extremely proud that Indonesia, as one of Australia’s neighbours, has taken a pioneering step in supporting this regional infrastructure.

**The Asian region**

It cannot be denied that Australia has already shown great sincerity in endeavouring to learn Indonesian culture. In its schools students are given the choice of learning Indonesian and, furthermore, Australia has
been striving to identify itself with the Asian region.

From the geo-strategic, geo-political and cultural points of view Australia would not be able to do much without assimilating itself into the Asian region. Australia is a small pocket of western culture in the middle of the Asian region. Asia often considers Australia as an extension of western interests in Asia. From this point of view, of course, Australia can be seen as the party having the most to gain in assimilating Asian culture. However, it must also be remembered that international relations must be founded on reciprocity (sic). We cannot allow Australia to continue its endeavour to get to know us without, on our part, also showing an interest in deepening our knowledge of Australia. That is why it pleases me to see the flow of Indonesian students to Australia. Our leaders of tomorrow must be exposed to the world centers of power.

For Australia, the Security Treaty is a further step towards its acceptance as a member of the Asian region. The entry of Australia as Asia’s ‘big-brother’ will bring mutual benefits with Asian developing countries. On one hand, Australia has a wealth of resources that have not been fully developed for introduction into the Asian markets. On the other hand, Asian developing countries can draw technology and financial resources from Australia.

Indonesia’s intersecting position in the Pacific region is a too strategic asset to be dismissed lightly as it can become the uniting power for ASEAN countries and other countries in the region. Indonesia has already played an important role in the Non-Aligned Movement. Now it needs to be more active in finding breakthroughs in international politics to forge alliances with as many countries in the world motivated by the same aims. Indonesia need not cultivate the ambition to become the leader of these unifying movements; a position as a facilitator would perhaps be a more flexible role. I am also convinced that the Security Treaty can be further developed to become an umbrella [treaty] for the small South-Pacific countries needing security guarantees.

While this Peace Treaty is still warm let us take immediate action towards further closeness. In the old days we often used the saying “a nine-days wonder”. Let us hope that this saying is no longer true and that it has disappeared from the attitudes of the executives of both countries. Let there no longer be a policy vacuum which would only give rise to instances of further mistrust between our two nations.

Our greatest hope is that Australia terminates its role as a sanctuary for those dissidents that clearly undermine the security of ASEAN countries. We also hope that Australia will introduce some sort of control over its mass media which has contributed to create a situation of tension between our two countries.

Merry Christmas Australian brother!

**COMMENT FROM JUAN FEDERER:**

It is very revealing of the Indonesian expectations about the recently signed Security Agreement with Australia. Sumitro hails the agreement as a sign of the Australian Government’s acceptance of the security culture of the ASEAN region, thus now making the “Australian brothers” fit to join Asia, in Sumitro’s view.

In closing the General also expresses his hopes that “Australia terminates its role as a sanctuary for those dissidents that...undermine the security of ASEAN countries, [and]...will introduce ...control over the mass media which has contributed to create...tension between our two countries.”

We think it would be valuable if an analysis of this letter could be written, and comments be made on its implications. It would be good if this got wide publicity in the media.

Another matter which merits reflecting upon is the strong interest of PM Keating in forging such links with Indonesia. Could he be trying to establish his credentials as a loyal ‘friend’ with Suharto, aiming at some future large scale personal financial gains by offering such an asset to the Australian business sector? After all several prominent Australians (e.g. Woolcott) have done just that, earning fortunes by acting as consultants on Indonesia for Australian corporations after retirement from the government.

**TREATY FORMALISES BACKING FOR JAKARTA GENERALS**

*By James Balowski, Green Left, Jan 22.*

In what the establishment media have enthusiastically described as “securing a major strategic and diplomatic coup,” on December 18 the Australian and Indonesian governments signed the first formal security treaty between the two countries.

Titled the Indonesia Australia Agreement on Maintaining Security, the treaty commits both countries to “consult” each other if one is attacked and to “consider measures” to assist. Unlike the ANZUS treaty with the US and New Zealand, however, it does not require either party to defend the other.

In addition, it formalises regular ministerial consultations on matters affecting joint security and promotes cooperation in the security field.

News of the treaty angered East Timor groups, which organised protests in Melbourne and Sydney the following day. Concerns have also been raised over the reference in the treaty to “adverse challenges.” Some believe that this leaves open the possibility of Australia becoming involved in Indonesia’s internal security matters such as East Timor.

Foreign minister Gareth Evans has admitted to problems with the wording, but said that security must be interpreted in the context of “regional instability,” the emphasis being on terrorism and drug trafficking.

Earlier, however, Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas nominated three potential conflicts which could be of mutual concern - China and Taiwan, Korea and the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea.

In a letter to the December 23 Jakarta daily Kompas, ex-general Sumitro also mentioned security problems such as narcotics and terrorism, but added another - the threat of “communist subversion etc.” Sumitro, who led the notorious security agency Kop-kamtib, also referred to “Indonesia and Malaysia’s experience in handling communism.”

Despite any ambiguity in the wording, the treaty formalises a long and sordid history of military cooperation between Australian and Indonesia. In 1956, when the Indonesian Communist Party and the left were growing fast, right-wing military commanders staged local coups on the islands of Sumatra and Sulawesi. Both the US and Australia assisted the revolts with supplies and equipment.

Recently declassified documents indicate that the Australian government was also complicit in the 1965 counter-revolution led by then Major-General Suharto, in which as many as 1 million communists and left-wing sympathisers were slaughtered and hundreds of thousands of others jailed.

In talks with President Suharto prior to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1974, and again in 1975, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam made it quite clear that Australia favoured the integration of East Timor with Indonesia. A number of documents reveal that while publicly opposing the use of force - even when it was obvious that the Indonesian invasion had begun in earnest - the Australian government did its best to play down the public impact of the Indonesian government’s terror campaign while it privately supported the Jakarta regime.

Later, the Fraser government cooperated with the Suharto regime to the extent of closing down a two-way radio link between Darwin and the East Timorese resistance. When a new radio link was established by Australian supporters, they were arrested and the radio seized. In 1978, Australia became the only Western nation to give de jure
wellington, Nov 18 (Reuters) - New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger said Saturday he had raised concerns about human rights in East Timor with Indonesia's President Suharto but received no response.

"I raised...the concerns in New Zealand, both of the government and the people, about events in East Timor, the continued loss of life, and asked whether there were steps they could take to reduce the tension and the friction in East Timor," he told a news conference.

Bolger said Suharto made no specific response but, in answer to a question, denied the president had been dismissive.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and annexed it the following year. There have been several outbreaks of rioting this year by opponents of its rule.

Bolger and Suharto met on the sidelines of the annual East Timor HOPING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SPIN-OFF

The New Zealand Herald, 14 Nov 1995

WELLINGTON - East Timor independence campaigners hope the new focus on human rights following the execution of Nigerian activists will extend to a stronger New Zealand line against Indonesia.

About 20 members of East Timor Action staged a protest outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade yesterday to mark the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre when Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed protesters.

Three of the protest group members burned Indonesian Army, Navy and Air Force flags during the lunchtime rally on the Terrace.

A spokesman, Mr Joe Buchanan, said New Zealand Government and Foreign Af-
"The New Zealand government condones genocide with its continued silence on East Timor. It condones the abuse of human rights," Labour parliamentarian Phil Goff told 60 demonstrators outside parliament before they marched to Indonesia's embassy.

New Zealand air force planes took part in military exercises in Indonesia in August.

"We should forthwith stop all military cooperation with Indonesia because it is the military that carries out the bulk of the abuses that have seen 200,000 East Timorese killed since 1975," Goff said.

The figure of 200,000 is quoted by human rights groups as an estimate of those who died in the invasion of East Timor and the subsequent fighting and famine.

Speaking to Reuters afterwards, Goff criticised the New Zealand and Australian governments for their belief that they could not afford to offend a powerful nation like Indonesia.

"Governments come and go, fascism comes and goes, what is ongoing are the principles on which we have founded our nations, the right to self-determination and free expression, and those are the principles that countries such as New Zealand and Australia should be espousing."

Outside the Indonesian embassy, protesters attempted to burn an Indonesian military flag before police stepped in and confiscated it. No arrests were made.

The Indonesian government complained to Wellington after flag-burning incidents at similar rallies earlier this year.

Exiled East Timorese activist José Ramos-Horta, who spoke at the rally, said the Indonesian invasion of East Timor had resulted in one of the worst massacres in modern history.

"We are asking New Zealand to support our right to self-determination and to provide moral leadership. New Zealand is very respected in the world," he said.

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**Finally, a Meeting with Ramos-Horta**

*The National Business Review (New Zealand), 7 December 1995. by Keith Locke*

East Timor’s leading diplomat, José Ramos-Horta, will be received by Foreign Affairs Minister Don McKinnon in an historic meeting today.

It has been a long road to the foreign ministry. Mr Ramos-Horta first visited New Zealand in July 1975 as secretary-general of the Timorese liberation movement, Fretilin. I interviewed him and remember him as unassuming but intense. He was here to get support for East Timor’s independence from Portugal.

Nobody in the then Labour government wanted to know him. Official papers released to [MP] Phil Goff last year show that in July 1975 our ambassador in Jakarta was telling the Fretilin government that Fretilin was “Marxist-oriented.” When Fretilin took power in September 1975, National leader Sir Robert Muldoon expressed the fear that East Timor could become “another Cuba.”

Mr Ramos-Horta continued his diplomatic work, not arriving back in Dili until November 29, the day after the Fretilin government officially declared its independence from Portugal. Mr Ramos-Horta had just been appointed foreign minister.

This was not a time for rejoicing; Indonesian troops had already invaded the west of the country and an attack on the capital was imminent. Fretilin decided that Mr Horta should go abroad again to defend the country’s independence.

On December 7, while Horta was en route to the United Nations, Indonesian paratroopers landed in Dili. A horrific slaughter followed, claiming the lives of most of his colleagues and Timorese in the tens of thousands.

Mr Ramos-Horta, then only 25 years old, became the youngest person to address the UN Security Council, passionately arguing for the withdrawal of Indonesian forces. He didn’t get much support from the big powers, or from New Zealand.

The secretary of foreign affairs, Frank Corner, wrote to Sir Robert, then prime minister, saying the motion coming up in the UN was “rather too close to condemning Indonesia’s action.” Mr Corner said that “New Zealand has a strong interest in maintaining good relations with Indonesia, even if this might on occasion require some measure of compromise on matters of principle.”

Sadly, this has been the essence of policy toward East Timor ever since.

In a 1978 cabinet paper, foreign minister Brian Talboys said “the integration of East Timor with Indonesia was irreversible.” There was no point “dwelling in the past.”

The government preferred to shut out one voice from “the past,” that of Mr Ramos-Horta.

In June 1978, acting minister of foreign affairs Lance Adams-Schneider said Mr Ramos-Horta would be allowed to visit but only in a “private” capacity. Mr Ramos-Horta did not come.

The Suharto government was rather scared of Mr Ramos-Horta. In May 1984, Indonesia officially asked New Zealand to deny him a visa. Jakarta’s spies had heard he was about to visit the country. In a ministerial briefing, the foreign affairs ministry warned against excluding him as “this would draw more attention to the Fretilin cause.”

Mr Ramos-Horta didn’t arrive until April the following year. [PM] Mr Lange and his ministers refused to meet him. The prime minister wrote to the tour organisers to tell them he did not “believe that keeping alive the issue of independence will do anything to help the East Timorese people.” The Timorese people have not accepted such advice. They have never wanted to be Indonesians. For two decades, they have pursued independence under dire circumstances. Today, the struggle is being spearheaded by the youth of Dili, many of whom were not even born when Mr Ramos-Horta first visited New Zealand in 1975.

In a recent article, Mr Ramos-Horta praised the efforts of his people. “We have survived Indonesia’s brutal occupation, American, French and British complicity, and the hypocrisy of countries like Australia and New Zealand that put mercantile goods above morality and justice. None of this has crushed the Timorese will to be free, their desire to shake off their occupiers.”

Hopefully, Mr McKinnon will take this message to heart when he meets Mr Ramos-Horta today...

Note: Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are from the Foreign Affairs documents released to Phil Goff under the Official Information Act last year.

*Keith Locke is the Alliance’s foreign affairs spokesman.*

José Ramos-Horta visited New Zealand this week as a guest of Amnesty International to mark the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

**Timorese Shock at ‘Thug’ Tie**

*The New Zealand Herald, 7 December 1995. by Alan McDonald*

The East Timor independence leader, Mr José Ramos-Horta, cannot believe New Zealand has taken part in military exercises with Indonesia.

The resistance leader, who will have his first meeting tomorrow with a high-ranking New Zealand Government representative, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr McKinnon, says it is extraordinary that New Zealand held an exercise with Indonesia and trains Indonesian military personnel.

“For the sake of decency and morality, New Zealand must not hold joint exercises with thugs and dictators,” Mr Ramos-Horta said on arrival in Auckland yesterday.

“Where do you draw the line? If you hold exercises with Indonesia, when do you invite Nigeria or the Burmese? The Indonesians are thugs and criminals. They killed two New Zealanders [in East Timor].”
Mr Ramos Horta’s visit coincides with the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975. He is the co-chairman of the National Council for Maubere Resistance, the umbrella organisation for East Timorese resistance to Indonesia, but it is the first time he has been able to speak to New Zealand officials at government level.

He says it is a measure of the importance his organisation attatches to New Zealand endorsement of the East Timorese cause that for the 20th anniversary he is here rather than in the strong support bases of Portugal and Brazil, or at the United Nations in New York.

Top of the agenda when he meets Mr McKinnon will be trying to gain backing for East Timor. “New Zealand is well respected in the United Nations and if the Government would acknowledge the illegal invasion of East Timor by Indonesia and give us support it would have a tremendous impact.”

Mr Ramos-Horta says up to 30,000 Indonesian troops now occupy his country.

“In 20 years they have not defeated us. There is much greater resistance today and international support is growing. However, torture of prisoners is normal. Often prisoners are kept two or three at a time in sheds on the private property of Indonesian officers, where they are used as slaves.

“Torture is automatic, electric shocks common. Razors are used to cut people’s backs, chairs are placed on their toes and people sit on the chair. There are instances of guards sodomising prisoners or forcing prisoners to sodomise each other, and female prisoners have been raped.”

Mr Ramos-Horta holds little hope of changes resulting from a January 16 meeting in London of the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers. “This is the eighth such meeting and nothing has changed so far.”

He will also meet the Labour leader, the Rt Hon Helen Clark, an Alliance Party deputy leader, Sandra Lee, the New Zealand First MP Mr Tau Henare and Cardinal Tom Williams.

A candlelight vigil marking the anniversary of the invasion of East Timor will be held in Auckland’s Queen Elizabeth Square today from 5pm to 8pm.

**ALLIANCE SEEKS INQUIRY INTO TIMOR SHOOTING**

The New Zealand Herald (Auckland), 28 December 1995

WELLINGTON, NZPA - The Alliance yesterday called on the Government to set up an inquiry into the shooting of the New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj during the 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor.

The Alliance’s foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Keith Locke, has written to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr McKinnon, drawing his attention to new evidence.

Mr Locke told Mr McKinnon that “just this month an Australian aid worker, Bob Muntz, has given the names of two Timorese, now living in Melbourne, who witnessed the killing. Kamal Bamadhaj was an interpreter for Muntz in Dili in 1991. “The witnesses, Abel Martins and José Verdial, say Bamadhaj was walking away
from the scene of the massacre when a car stopped next to him.

“An Indonesian officer named Cornelius leaned out and shot him twice in the side.”

Mr Locke said that last month the Australian Government announced a new inquiry into the killing of five journalists (four Australians and one New Zealander) in East Timor 20 years ago.

“Surely it is even more relevant to have an inquiry into the murder of Kamal Bamadhaj in 1991,” he said.

“There are new witnesses and the name of the officer who allegedly assassinated Kamal. New Zealand should ask for the Indonesian Government’s co-operation in such an investigation.”

Mr Locke said New Zealand had an obligation to Kamal’s family to clear up this matter.

“Kamal’s mother, Helen Todd, has done all she can. Last year she won a ruling in a United States court against General (Sintong) Panjaitan, the architect of the Dili massacre.”

MOTHER WANTS GOVERNMENT HELP FOR TIMOR INQUIRY
The New Zealand Herald, 5 January, 1996

WELLINGTON - The mother of the New Zealand citizen killed in the 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor wants the Government to push for an inquiry into her son’s death.

Helen Todd said yesterday that she had written to the Prime Minister, Mr Bolger, seeking an inquiry and asking him to reopen talks with Indonesian authorities.

The letter follows reports from Australia that two Timorese refugees now living there can identify the Indonesian soldier who fatally shot Mr Kamal Bamadhaj.

Mr Bamadhaj, aged 20, a student at Sydney University, died in an East Timor hospital on November 12, 20 minutes after being admitted with bullet wounds.

An Australian aid worker, Mr Bob Muntz, said last month that Timorese refugees Abel Martins and José Verdial said Mr Bamadhaj shot as he walked alone down a street after the massacre.

Mr Muntz said they had identified the killer as an Indonesian military official called Cornelius.

Mrs Todd said she wanted the Government to reopen dialogue with Indonesia because the Indonesian authorities were the only people who could trace her son’s killer and put him on trial.

She wanted a New Zealand inquiry because that was the only way she was ever likely to discover the truth.

Mrs Todd, who successfully took a civil case against a former Indonesian general, Sintong Panjaitan, in the United States in 1994, said she had just about reached the end of what she could do as an individual.

“That is why I am calling on the New Zealand Government to support me because I’m not going to find out the truth and nobody is going to be held accountable until this is taken up as a government-to-government issue.

“I can’t go to Indonesia and ask them to find Cornelius and put him on trial.”

She said she had yet to hear back from the Prime Minister, who had personally been “quite sympathetic” and did not expect to do so for another week or so. She had not posted the letter until a couple of days after Christmas.

Mrs Todd, who has lived in Malaysia for the past 27 years, is on holiday in New Zealand.

A spokesman for the duty cabinet minister, Mr Burdon, said yesterday that Mr Burdon had not seen Mrs Todd’s letter.

GOVERNMENT CANNOT GO ON IGNORING THE CALL FOR AN INQUIRY INTO THE DEATH OF KAMAL BAMADHAJ
ETIC (East Timor Independence Committee)

It is now several weeks since East Timorese refugees living in Australia gave clear new information about the 1991 death of Kamal Bamadhaj and named the Indonesian officer, Cornelius who shot him at point blank range. There is no response from the New Zealand Government to investigate this crime despite an inundation of calls to re-open the unsolved murder of one of its citizens.

Since this information was known in New Zealand on 13 December, 1995, the East Timor Independence Committee has written to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr McKinnon twice calling for New Zealand to take action to investigate the matter. Public calls for an Inquiry have been made by Keith Locke for the Alliance, and by Phil Goff. Above all Kamal’s mother, New Zealander Helen Todd currently holidaying here has called for a New Zealand inquiry.

The latest eye witness reports from East Timor refugees currently living in Australia are unambiguous. The two men, Abel Martins and José Verdial say that they saw Kamal walking away from the scene of the massacre only to be shot at close range by an Indonesian officer - Cornelius - firing from a car.

It is essential that there be a new inquiry based in Wellington, so that the testimony of the two East Timorese refugees can be fully heard and openly investigated. Kamal was a New Zealander - it is right that this inquiry take place here.

In Australia human rights worker Bob Muntz who was with Kamal in Dili at the time of the Dili massacre is currently obtaining sworn legal affidavits from the two witnesses. The Australian Government is now undertaking an inquiry headed by the chairman of the National Crime Authority into the 1975 deaths of five Australian journalists in East Timor.

“The New Zealand Government cannot go on burying its head in the sand over this issue - holiday period or not. Our Government has a responsibility to Kamal, his family, and to the more than 270 other massacre victims to pursue the truth of this tragic episode. New Zealand must not set an ugly precedent that the lives of individuals are expendable and can be sacrificed to keep in good with powerful neighbours.”

Helen Todd, Mother of Kamal, is currently holidaying in New Zealand. She can be reached at 07-315-7625.

For further information - Maire Leadbeater Ph +64 9 849-3890 or day 828-5109.

NZ: RENEWED DEMAND FOR TIMOR MURDER INQUIRY
The New Zealand Herald, 8 January 1996

NZPA – Civil libertarians and East Timor independence campaigners have joined the call for a Government inquiry into the killing of a New Zealand student in the Dili massacre.

The Auckland Council for Civil Liberties and East Timor Independence Committee yesterday described the Government’s action to date as “pussying out.”

A council spokesman, Mr Barry Wilson, said action against Indonesia by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr McKinnon, had so far been limp.

Mr Wilson said an inquiry headed by a judge into the 1991 killing of Mr Kamal Bamadhaj was needed.

Although the findings of an inquiry would have no bearing on the Indonesian Government, it would demonstrate a commitment by the New Zealand administration to establish exactly what happened.

“This issue will not go away. The Government must show that it is genuine about wanting to get to the bottom of this issue.”

Mrs Helen Todd, the mother of Mr Bamadhaj, wants an inquiry after claims by two East Timorese refugees that they saw an Indonesian officer kill him.

Mr McKinnon said on radio at the weekend that he wanted the witnesses to supply him with sworn statements. He would put such evidence in front of the Indonesian Government at his next meeting.
The witnesses said they saw an Army officer lean out of a car and shoot Mr Bamadhaj twice as he walked alone down a street 500m from the massacre scene. Mr Bamadhaj died soon after in a nearby hospital.

He had been among hundreds of people in the provincial capital Dili for a funeral procession that turned into a rowdy protest against Indonesian rule of East Timor. Government troops opened fire at the demonstrators.

However, a Foreign Ministry spokesman in Jakarta said reopening the case was unjustified.

“As far as we are concerned the case is over because we have made an official inquiry and also held a trial and the guilty party [has been] punished,” said a spokesman, Mr Ghaffar Fadyl.

Two generals were dismissed and 10 police and military officers were sentenced to up to 18 months in prison.

Indonesia invaded East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in 1975 and annexed it the following year. Activists there have agitated for independence ever since.

In 1994, a United States court awarded Mrs Todd $21 million (SNZ32.43 million) damages against former Indonesian General Sintong Panjaitan, who was in charge of the Indonesian military at the time of the shootings.

The award has never been enforced because the general has remained outside the United States.

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**EVENTS IN ASIA**

**KOREA CONFERENCE DISCUSSES EAST TIMOR**

The Anti-Subversion Law and the Criminal Code: Cases from East Timor

Akihisa Matsuno, Osaka University of Foreign Studies


1. East Timor under Indonesian Occupation

East Timor is a former Portuguese colony now under Indonesian military occupation. Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it by force. The UN has not recognized the annexation and still considers Portugal its administering power. The International Court of Justice ruled in June this year that East Timor is a non-self-governing territory whose people have the right to self-determination.

East Timor is approximately 19,000 km² and its population is now 850,000 including estimated 100,000 Indonesian migrants. About 200,000 East Timorese are estimated to have died due to fighting and famine. The human rights situation in East Timor is one of the worst in the region. Extra-judicial killings, arbitrary arrests, torture and rapes are a daily occurrence. In the so-called Santa Cruz massacre on November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops killed more than 270 young peaceful demonstrators.

It is perhaps in early 1990 that the Indonesian authorities began to use legal instruments to punish East Timorese independence activists. By doing so the authorities are trying to show to the world that they are punishing them through a due procedure.

2. UN Rapporteur’s Recommendation

In August 1992 the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopted a resolution on East Timor which stated that the Sub-Commission was “disturbed by the heavy sentences passed on the East Timorese involved in peaceful political activities on the basis of the Anti-Subversion Law whose abolition had been recommended by the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture of the Commission on Human Rights.”

The UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Prof. Pieter Kooijmans, had visited East Timor in November 1991. He later wrote in his report:

In view of the lack of clarity as to whether basic human rights are required to be respected under the Anti-Subversion Law and in view of the fact that crimes against the security of the State and against public order are already punishable under the present Criminal Code (and will also be so under the new Criminal Code which is in the process of being drafted), the Anti-Subversion Law should be repealed. (1)

He was in Dili, the capital of East Timor, on November 12 when Indonesian troops opened fire into thousands of peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

The Portuguese Catholic NGO “Peace is Possible in East Timor” issued a list of 271 persons killed. But the Indonesian government acknowledged only 66 cases of disappearances, which were later reduced to 56 as a result of the investigations carried out by the Indonesian government. The Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances transmitted to the Indonesian government a total of 224 cases of disappearances. The Indonesian government up until now has failed to clarify these disappearances, and the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Bacre Waly Ndiaye, who visited East Timor in July 1994, concluded in his report that since the National Commission on Human Rights of Indonesia completed its investigation, “no institutionalized or organized effort has been made by the Indonesian authorities to account for the fate of the dead and disappeared.” The Indonesian authorities protested against the Ndiaye report and rejected its conclusions. (2)

Meanwhile, the Indonesian government has been vigorously prosecuting East Timorese independence activists, who in most cases acted only in a peaceful manner.

3. The Anti-Subversion Law

Indonesia’s main national security law is the Anti-Subversion Law. It was originally promulgated as a Presidential Decree in 1963, and was later approved by the parliament and enacted into law in 1969. The original Presidential Decree was a product of the Cold War regime, and its preamble defines subversive activity as activity that constitutes a threat to the safety and security of the State and the Nation that are waging a revolution to build a socialist society in Indonesia. The anti-communist New Order regime which replaced Sukarno’s Guided Democracy through a violent reign of terror that claimed hundreds of thousands of victims continued to use this law. The victims of the Anti-Subversion Law under the New Order have been dissident politicians, student activists, Muslim activists, reformist veterans, human rights lawyers, journalists, academics and so on who criticized the government or its policies.

Under this law the following are guilty of the crime of subversion.

1. Anyone who has engaged in activities with the intention, or the apparent intention, or which s/he knew, or ought to have known might have the effect of:
   (a) distorting, undermining or deviating from the national ideology Pancasila or the basic policy of the State, or
   (b) overthrowing, destroying or undermining the power of the State or the authority of the lawful government or the machinery of the State, or
   (c) disseminating feelings of hostility or arousing dissension, conflict, disorder, disturbances or anxiety within a segment of the population or in society as a whole, or between the Republic of Indonesia and a friendly state, or
   (d) disturbing, retarding or disrupting industry, production, distribution, commerce, cooperatives or transport conducted by the Government or based upon a decision of the Government or which has widespread influence on the livelihood of the people.

The maximum penalty is the death sentence, and execution is carried out by a firing squad. Although the Criminal Code clearly states that only the police are authorized to
carry out arrests and investigations, in subversion cases military authorities commonly assume these responsibilities. (4) Convicts tried under the Anti-Subversion Law usually get harsher sentences.

4. Some Cases of the Anti-Subversion Law

One flagrant case in relation to the Anti-Subversion Law is that of Fernando de Araujo, now 29 years old, who was sentenced to nine years’ imprisonment for subversion on May 25, 1992. He was found guilty of undermining the Indonesian government and “disgracing the nation in the eyes of the international community.” Fernando de Araujo was one of the founding members of an East Timorese student organization, Renetil, which opposes East Timor’s integration with Indonesia. The indictment against him lists “crimes” such as holding meetings, organizing demonstrations and sending information to international organizations including Amnesty International and the UN.

The Working Group on Arbitrary Detention adopted a decision on the case of Fernando de Araujo on September 29, 1993. The Decision No. 36/1993 says:

The arrest of Fernando de Araujo and his continued detention upon conviction are unjustified and are declared to be arbitrary being in contravention with articles 5, 9, 19 and 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, articles 7, 9, 10, 14, 19 and 21 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Principle 10 of the Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment and falling within categories II and III of the principles applicable in the consideration of the cases submitted to the Working Group. (4)

The Working Group also requested the Indonesian government to take the necessary steps to remedy the situation.

Fernando de Araujo is an Amnesty International prisoner of conscience and received the Reebok Human Rights Award in 1992. (Of course he was not allowed to go to the US to collect the award.) (5) He was also elected as the honorary vice-president of the National Union of Students (NUS) in Britain in 1995. (6)

Another East Timorese student who was convicted for subversion together with Fernando de Araujo was João Freitas da Camara. He was sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment in May 1992 for having organized a peaceful march in Jakarta on November 19, 1991, to protest against the Santa Cruz massacre. On March 31, da Camara told the court that he and his friends “just could not stay inactive while our brothers were being shot dead. We had to protest.” (7)

The East Timorese who received the harshest sentence in connection with the Santa Cruz massacre was Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, now 32 years old. Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha was accused of being the main organizer of the Santa Cruz demonstration and was sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1992 at Dili District Court. He was shot and wounded by Indonesian soldiers at the Santa Cruz cemetery. He was interrogated day and night and was hit by a policeman in the presence of members of the prosecution.

He said:

Because I could no longer bear this inhumane treatment, and because I was weakened by gunshot wound, I carelessly gave names of high officials, priests and business owners who knew nothing and had no link with me, following the saying “as long as the boss is happy.” (8)

Francisco Miranda Branco, now 45 years old, is the other East Timorese convicted of subversion for organizing the Santa Cruz demonstration. He was sentenced to 15 years’ imprisonment in June 1992. He stated before the court:

I uphold the principles of non-violence and peace, which is why, after the outbreak of the civil war in East Timor . . . . I decided that . . . . I would no longer take sides with any party, including Fretilin, which is my position up to the present day.” (9)

Amnesty International is calling for the immediate and unconditional release of Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha and the five other East Timorese convicted for organizing the Santa Cruz demonstration. (10)

5. The Criminal Code

Now, however, the Indonesian government tends to avoid using the Anti-Subversion Law in suppressing dissidents. Instead it more frequently uses the Criminal Code, which has proved to be no less repressive than the Anti-Subversion Law. As Prof. Kooijmans pointed out, “crimes against the security of the State and against public order are already punishable under the present Criminal Code.”

The most notorious articles in the Criminal Code are the so-called Haatzaazi Artikelen or “Hate-sowing Articles” and Lese Majesty Articles. These articles were introduced by the Dutch colonial administration and were incorporated into Indonesia’s Criminal Code after independence.

The Hate-sowing Articles are Articles 154-57 of Chapter V, Crimes against Public Order. Article 154 prohibits “...the public expression of feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt toward the government,” with a maximum penalty of seven years’ imprisonment. Article 155 prohibits the expression of such feelings through the public media, with a maximum penalty of four-and-a-half years’ imprisonment. Article 156 prohibits the expression of such feelings toward one or more groups in Indonesian society, with maximum penalty of four years’ imprisonment. Article 157 prohibits the expression of such feelings through the public media, with a maximum penalty of two-and-a-half years’ imprisonment.

The Lese Majesty Articles are Articles 134, 137, 207 and 208. Article 134 punishes “insulting the President and Vice-President” with a maximum penalty of six years’ imprisonment. Article 137 punishes the expression of such insult through the public media, with a maximum penalty of one year and four months. Article 207 punishes the public expression of “insulting the authorities” with a maximum penalty of one year and six months, and Article 208 punishes “insulting the authorities” through the public media, with a maximum penalty of four months.

Article 106 is also highly relevant to the East Timorese. It punishes “separatist activity” by a maximum penalty of life or twenty years’ imprisonment.

6. Some Cases of the Criminal Code

The trend to avoid using the Anti-Subversion Law to punish East Timorese independence activists became clear when the leader of the resistance, Xanana Gusmão, was put on trial in 1993. Xanana was the chairman of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, an umbrella organization of East Timorese resistance groups, and the supreme commander of Falintil, the National Liberation Army of East Timor. He was captured in November 1992 and was held in secret military custody for 17 days. He was forced to call on his people to surrender through a TV interview. He was denied access to a lawyer, and was not allowed to read his final defence plea. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, not under Anti-Subversion Law, but under Criminal Code, after being found guilty of rebellion and illegal possession of firearms. His sentence was later reduced to twenty years’ imprisonment as a result of international pressure.

Xanana Gusmão received the Human Rights Award of the United Nations Association in September 1994 in recognition of his “ongoing struggle to achieve a just and equitable settlement for the people of East Timor and full restoration of their Human Rights.” UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had this to say about him:

I have continued to discuss with the Indonesian Government the situation of East Timorese in custody, including the leader of the armed independence movement, José
“Xanana” Gusmão, who is serving a 20-year prison term after his capture in November 1992, and the need for taking measures aimed at their early release. (11)

Xanana Gusmão is now East Timor’s Mandela. Though in jail, he continues to be regarded as the leader of the resistance.

Amnesty International’s latest report on East Timor, East Timor: Twenty years of Violence, July 1995, lists 41 cases of imprisoned East Timorese. None of them were convicted of subversion. Most of them were tried under Article 154 of the Criminal Code which punishes the expression of hostility towards the government, and the sentences of these people range from one to four years’ imprisonment.

The heaviest sentence, four years, was handed down to José Antonio Neves. He was charged under Article 106 with “separatist activity” and also under Articles 156 and 157. His crime was sending information about human rights violations in East Timor to foreign organizations. Amnesty International considers him to be a prisoner of conscience.

The arrest and trial this year of José Antonio Belo, a student of the University of East Timor, drew a considerable attention. He was tortured by jail officials until he vomited blood and suffered injuries on his neck. He was sentenced to 18 months under Article 154 after being found guilty of organizing a peaceful demonstration on July 9, 1995 at the University of East Timor. The Student Union at Northern Territory University, Darwin, Australia, adopted him and another imprisoned East Timorese student as associate members in May this year. (12)

7. The New Criminal Code

It is expected that the new Criminal Code will include articles which punish those who oppose the state ideology Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, those who propagate communism and those who have had contact with an organization based on communism. The use of Cold War language is what is supposed to be a “new law” may seem odd, but we can understand the meaning when we notice the ongoing campaign of the regime against what it calls “the latent danger of communism.” Now not only extreme right (read “Muslims”) and extreme left (read “communists”) but also “extreme middle” or “extreme others” (read human rights and environment NGOs) are the targets of political harassment by the regime. The military has just begun a new campaign against what it calls “organization without a form” (OTB: organisasi tanpa bentuk) which they allege is preparing subversion against the state. Some 15 Indonesian intellectuals and human rights activists are listed as members of this organization. Even in Indonesia, however, people are not going to take this kind of campaign seriously anymore. Yet this knee-jerk type response to perceived “national security threats” will be repeated over and over again, unless the structure of the present regime undergoes fundamental changes.

Notes

(4) Ibid., p. 4.
(9) Amnesty International, ASA 21/01/95, Indonesia & East Timor: Political prisoners and the “Rule of Law,” January 1995. See the page on “Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha.”
(10) Amnesty International, ASA 21/11/92, op. cit., p. 3.

MALAYSIAN RIGHTS GROUP DEMANDS TO DROP BURMA INVITE

Bangkok Post, December 8, 1995

Malaysian human rights groups have called on ASEAN to withdraw its invitation for Burmese leader Than Shwe to attend next week’s Bangkok summit. And they have demanded ASEAN ditch its “constructive engagement” policy with Rangoon and urged it to take “concrete steps” to encourage “genuine peace talks” on East Timor between the Indonesian government and the East Timorese leadership.

About 13 groups signed the statement calling for action. The groups have planned vigils at the Indonesian and Burmese embassies in Kuala Lumpur this evening. The groups want ASEAN to withdraw the invitation in a bid to show its disdain of human rights violations in Burma.

And they claim ASEAN’s constructive engagement policy which aims to draw Burma into the world community in a bid to encourage its leaders to conform with international laws has not worked.

Asia Pacific Coalition on East Timor (Msia), AWAM (All Women Action Society), CENPEACE (Centre for Peace Initiatives), Management Institute for Social Change, PACOS (Partners for Community Organisers), were among the groups calling for action.

ASEAN has invited Gen. Than Shwe, chairman of the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), to attend an informal gathering of 10 Southeast Asian countries on December 15.

The meeting is considered to be part of the ASEAN summit Bangkok is hosting. The Burmese delegation is scheduled to arrive on December 14. Gen. Than Shwe is expected to be accompanied by Foreign Minister Ohn Gyaw, and SLORC’s First Secretary-General Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt.

“It is clear that firm action, such as withdrawing the invitation to the summit, is needed as an indication that ASEAN views with disdain the increasing human rights violations in that country,” the Malaysian groups’ statement said.

Reacting to the call, Thai Foreign Ministry Spokesman Suvidhya Simaskul said ASEAN “does not need to speak again and again of its policy on Burma, and of why we are inviting Burma.” “ASEAN knows about human rights and democratisation. But ASEAN does not believe in denial or use of negative measures,” he added.

Indonesia’s Arizal Effendi, director general for International Legal and Treaties Affairs, said Burma is well aware of the need to integrate into the region because the task of development requires interdependence.

According to the Malaysian groups’ statement, international reports on Burma from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and Amnesty International have made “special mention” of the fact that human rights abuses by the SLORC have increased “in recent times.” “Evidence indicates that forced labour and human rights violations continue to be perpetrated in the context of tourism development,” the groups’ statement said.

It is “extremely distressing” that business people from ASEAN countries such as Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia have been “active partners” of the SLORC in the tour-
isim development. “Entrepreneurs from these countries have already committed about US$ 450 million to this investment in death, rape and human misery.”

The groups urged Malaysian people to boycott the SLORC’s Visit Myanmar Year 1996, and called on Malaysian businessmen to “cease and desist” for initiating or extending any more financial dealings with Burma.

The groups maintained that the human rights situation in Burma has deteriorated since ASEAN adopted “constructive engagement” as a policy towards Rangoon.

“Any changes made have been purely cosmetic to buy off international concern,” it added.

SLORC troops “even now” are violating Thai territorial sovereignty “In the course of harassing refugees,” particularly around the Mae Sot area, in the western province of Tak, the groups said.

“Therefore, we urge the ASEAN member nations to call off their policy of constructive engagement with the SLORC and to withdraw the invitation to SLORC chairman General Than Shwe.”

On East Timor, the Malaysian groups called for immediate release of all East Timorese and Indonesian political prisoners. They also demanded the immediate application of all Geneva Protocols and international laws, and the admission into East Timor of international agencies such as the Red Cross, the Red Crescent, Amnesty International and the UN.

“ASEAN wields sufficient influence in the region to persuade Indonesia to take a conciliatory approach to solve the conflict,” the Malaysian groups said. Other Malaysian groups on the list are Jawatankuasa Sokongan Pencoba Bandar, Persatuan Sahabat Wanita, Pusat BARA, Sekretariat Pela- jar, Universiti Islam Antarabangsa, Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall Youth, Suara Warga Pertawi, SUARAM, Tamil Support Group for Human Rights, and Tenaganita (Women-force). (BP)

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**EAST TIMOR REFUGEES BIDING TIME IN MACAO**

**‘New Generation’ Hopes to Reach Accommodation With Indonesia’s Rulers**

*Washington Post, 1/22/96, By Keith B. Richburg*

MACAO – One came to escape a second prison term. Another came because his name was on a list of dissidents. And Levi, with the blue-and-white parka and the scar on his side, almost died in the graveyard where he collapsed amid the dead.

They are refugees from East Timor, a former Portuguese colony in Southeast Asia that was invaded and annexed 20 years ago by Indonesia. Almost all were involved in some way in the popular struggle against what they see as the illegal occupation of their homeland. Some are university students. One described himself as a member of the armed underground resistance and said he carried medicine and supplies to guerrillas in the hills.

They have come 2,300 miles to this tiny Portuguese-run outpost near Hong Kong on China’s southern rim by following a well-traveled “underground railroad” that runs from East Timor to Bali or Jakarta, in Indonesia, and across the South China Sea. They come on fake passports, usually bribing Indonesian officials along the way. And once here, on what is Chinese territory but still administered by Portugal, they are given money, a place to live, a passport and a chance to start a new life.

And all of them talk about the chance to return home someday.

“I hope,” said a 32-year-old man who fled here in 1991, after a massacre by Indonesian army troops. Like most of the others, he asked that his name not be used, for fear that relatives left behind might be harmed.

“I never dreamed I’d leave my country,” he said. But if he stayed, “every day I’d be persecuted by the military. But what does life mean for me here? Everybody wants to live in his own country.”

In the two decades since Indonesia incorporated East Timor as its 27th province, a largely invisible, low-level resistance has persisted there, creating for President Suharto’s government an embarrassing international issue that will not go away. There are occasional flare-ups, such as last month’s sometimes violent sit-ins at foreign embassies in Jakarta by pro-Timorese activists and last October’s week-long rioting in Dili, the East Timorese capital.

The efforts of armed guerrillas are seen in Jakarta as more an annoyance than a direct threat. But with each army crackdown, the government is subjected to fresh charges from foreign countries and interest groups that it is violating human rights.

The East Timorese refugees who make it out to the safety of Macao come with dramatic tales of repression and resistance. Their presence here is in many ways a testament to the fact that after 20 years, Indonesia still has not succeeded in fully consolidating its hold over the East Timorese and dampening their demands for self-determination.

There are about 200 Timorese now in Macao, according to the Rev. Francisco Maria Fernandes, a Catholic priest who left East Timor shortly after Indonesia’s 1975 invasion. Six years ago he came to Macao, where he assists new refugees from the largely Catholic province that is now part of a Muslim nation. Between 80 and 100 of the Timorese are asylum seekers waiting for visas before settling in a new home, most hoping to live in Macao but some in Australia. Many of the rest are mixed-blood Chinese Timorese, and most already have been integrated into Macao society.

“There is no problem. They are accepted here,” Fernandes said. “Macao is the only territory under Portuguese administration close to Timor.”

The United Nations still recognizes Portugal as the administering power of East Timor, and anyone born there is considered a Portuguese citizen and can apply for a Portuguese passport. But because most of the refugees sneak out on fake passports, they must wait here while a local support group helps them compile the needed documents – birth certificates, baptismal records, anything – to prove their identity.

Manuel Tilman, an East Timorese lawyer assisting the refugees with their resettlement, said one or two new asylum seekers arrive each week. But the number varies.

Last year, some 500 came through, he said. A community center set up here can accommodate 60 refugees, and as places become available, the Timorese leaders in Macao send messages back home to move more through the clandestine pipeline.

The flow also largely depends on the political situation back home. Many of those here now are young people who were active in the underground resistance in East Timor. Some were involved in protests in Dili in November 1991 that resulted in scores of deaths when Indonesian troops fired on hundreds of demonstrators marching to the grave of a slain Timorese activist. Indonesia has said about 50 protesters were slain, but resistance sources and human rights advocates say 200 were killed.

The young man named Levi, who was 18 at the time, told of joining the funeral march and being just outside the cemetery when the shooting began. He said a soldier used two knives to slash him on his side. While telling his story, Levi stood, unzipped his blue-and-white parka and lifted his shirt to reveal a scar that he said came from that attack. Levi said he staggered into the cemetery and thought he too would die. “I was still conscious,” he said. “I could see how many people died there. Those that were still alive, they just finished them off. They checked to see who was still alive.”

Levi survived and was taken to a military hospital where, he said, he was cleaned with a water hose and kept in detention for three weeks, before being released Dec. 3, after the intervention of the Catholic bishop of Dili.

John, who also asked that his last name not be used, said he was more active in the
resistance and was in prison from 1984 until 1988 for underground activities. “After I left prison, I continued to be involved in the underground,” he said.

Last November, John said, he received a message from the guerrillas in the hills saying they needed medical supplies and some equipment. He bought what they requested in Dili, but was warned that Indonesian intelligence officials were monitoring his activities. So he decided to flee the country.

John said his prison record and resistances made it difficult for him to get a passport, but he found help in Jakarta. “The important thing is money,” he said, patting the pocket of his jeans.

Other refugees interviewed here gave similar accounts. “Because my name already appeared on a list, the only way to get a passport was to bribe an official,” said a young man who arrived here last September after spending seven months evading arrest in Bali.

“We never give up. We never accept being a part of Indonesia,” said Jaime Ximenes, a soft-spoken East Timorese who left his homeland at age 14, just after the Indonesian invasion. He is a member of Fretilin, East Timor’s underground resistance movement. Fretilin’s leader, José Gusmão, known as Xanana, is in an Indonesian prison, but his statements occasionally are smuggled out on cassettes.

These days, however, from his new home here in Macao, Ximenes sounds like anything but a dangerous revolutionary. He said he is part of a “new generation” of East Timorese, a younger, better-educated generation that shuns talk of open conflict with the army and wants, instead, to take a conciliatory approach— even if that means deferring the dream of full-scale independence.

“What we want is for Indonesia to accept East Timor as a different entity,” Ximenes said. “We want change. But we can’t have independence now. We want recognition that we are different from Indonesia. . . . A solution for East Timor can be a compromise.”

THAILAND TO BAR RAMOS-HORTA

Bangkok, Jan 21 (Reuters) – Thailand has rejected an appeal by Thai human rights and pro-democracy groups to allow East Timor resistance leader José Ramos-Horta to enter the country during the Asian-European Summit in March, the Nation newspaper said on Sunday.

The paper quoted Forum Asia spokeswoman Chalida Tajaroensuk as saying Thailand’s decision stemmed from concern that Ramos-Horta’s presence here during the March 1-2 summit could provoke an Indonesian protest and withdrawal of participation by President Suharto.

Foreign ministry officials were not immediately available for comment.

Thai human rights groups had sought foreign ministry approval to let Ramos-Horta lecture at a month-long diplomacy training programme of Thammasat University here.

“Our appeal to the foreign ministry was for Ramos-Horta to enter the country solely as an academic without engaging in any political activities, and we gave a guarantee to the government that he wouldn’t meet any journalists or hold any press conferences on East Timor,” Chalida said.

She said: “Unfortunately, the government doesn’t trust assurances given by people’s groups and human rights organisations. Once again, the country is bowing to the interests of Indonesia and this is dreadful.”

RAMOS HORTA ASKS LISBON TO PROTEST

Publico, 23 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese

Timorese Resistance leader banned from Bangkok meeting

José Ramos Horta, the Timorese Resistance leader who is being prevented from entering Bangkok, announced yesterday that he will be asking Portugal to lodge a complaint with Thailand’s authorities.

Horta is certain that pressure has been brought to bear on the Government of Thailand by the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, which is said to be concerned that very shortly (1 and 2 March) the ASEAN-EU summit will be held in Bangkok.

Meanwhile, In Darwin, Australia, the CNRM (Maubere Resistance National Council), led by Ramos Horta, has made known its fear that there will be a “blood bath” in the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya, where separatist forces of the OPM (Free Papua Movement) have been holding thirteen hostages since 8 January. Jacobus Wandiba, one of the Indonesian hostages held by the OPM, was released yesterday. A further 7 Indonesians are being held, together with four Britons and two Dutch.

Nonetheless, before carrying out their threat of launching large-scale military operation, Jakarta’s generals have given the OPM separatists an ultimatum.

The CNRM’s concern about the situation led Ramos Horta to express his willingness to help find a peaceful settlement to the conflict. In a communiqué issued yesterday, the CNRM clarified that it had no institutional links with the Free Papua Movement, but emphasised that there was mutual “respect” and some “personal relationships” between “fellow victims of Indonesian military oppression.”

HORTA REFUSED THAI VISA?

Voice of America, 1/23/96, By Dan Robinson, Bangkok

Intro: A human-rights group in Thailand says the government has refused a visa request from a East Timor independence activist scheduled to attend a meeting in Bangkok next month. VOA’s Dan Robinson reports Thai officials say a final decision on the request has not yet been made. Still, the human-rights group says the government is trying to avoid upsetting Indonesia.

Text: José Ramos-Horta – an Australian-based spokesman for East Timorese independence groups – has been in Thailand before. In 1994, he participated in an informal human-rights seminar coinciding with meetings of the association of southeast Asian nations (ASEAN).

However, the Thai government faced pressure from Indonesia to cancel his visa – eventually expelling Mr. Ramos-Horta and other Timorese independence activists. Before his departure, Mr. Ramos-Horta met Bangkok-based correspondents and spoke about problems he sees in East Timor.

Mr. Ramos-Horta planned to attend a February training program sponsored by a Thai university (Thammasat) and Forum Asia – a Bangkok-based human-rights group. However, his visa request was rejected by the Thai embassy in Australia.

Forum-Asia spokesman Chalida Tajaroensuk says appeals were sent to Thailand’s foreign ministry, with assurances Mr. Ramos-Horta would not make political statements about East Timor. However, the spokesman quotes Thai officials as saying the Timorese activist is not wanted because of concern any statements he might make would anger Indonesia.

Indonesian president Suharto will be among ASEAN leaders attending a first-ever Asia-Europe summit in Bangkok in March. ASEAN foreign ministers meet next month to prepare for that summit.

Southeast Asian nations have a general policy of trying to prevent statements being made on their soil that might embarrass other members.

A Thai foreign ministry official contacted by VOA denied Mr. Ramos-Horta’s visa request has been formally rejected. The official says appeals are still being considered by the Thai National Security Council and Foreign Ministry.

“The Nation” newspaper of Bangkok reports (Tuesday) European and Asian officials will be discussing how the issue of human rights will be dealt with during the march Asia-Europe summit. The newspaper
quotes a Thai official as saying the European union is insisting human rights be on the agenda.

### APEC MEETS IN OSAKA - EVENTS IN JAPAN

#### EAST TIMORESE TO OSAKA NGO MEETINGS

Asahi Shimbun, Nov. 8. Translated and summarized from Japanese.

The Asahi Shimbun of Nov. 8 carried a spread on the International NGO forums scheduled in parallel with the APEC government-level meetings this month in Osaka. The forums, in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto, will raise the issues of “Development,” “Human Rights,” and “Environment.”

In the article, profiles of 60 NGO activists from 15 APEC countries and “Others” are given. Under “Others”:

José Ramos Horta (male) and Maria Bernardino (female), both of whom hail from East Timor, which is seeking independence from Indonesia, will attend. Mr. Horta is a spokesperson who has sought the (East Timor cause) at the United Nations and the European Parliament. Ms Bernardino is active as a counselor for refugees who have been tortured.

(“Others” also lists representatives from Amnesty International and World Wildlife Fund.)

#### PRESIDENT SUHARTO TO OSAKA APEC

The Asahi Shimbun of Nov. 7 carried a spread on the financial page on the upcoming APEC meetings that included profiles of the concerns surrounding the APEC leaders planning to attend. On Indonesia’s Suharto:

“Indonesia celebrated the 50th anniversary of its independence this August. It has the largest Islamic community in the world and considers itself the leader of ASEAN and the non-aligned block. President Suharto, now in his sixth term, has held power since 1968. With a buoyant economy, the country is confident, but it has the problem of who will succeed Suharto and the “post-Suharto” political picture is far from clear.”

Though not related to APEC, the Nov. 8 edition featured an interesting article on the op-ed page with photo posted by the paper’s Jakarta correspondent regarding Megawati Sukarno’s challenge of Information Minister Harmoko’s monopolizing of TV for his own and Golkar’s campaign.

#### APEC OBSERVER STATUS FOR EAST TIMOR!

Report from Jean Inglis, Free East Timor Japan Coalition, Nov. 12, 1995.

Nov 11 four East Timorese lead a demonstration by Japanese citizens, including a Diet member, down a central thoroughfare of Osaka, to demand observer status for East Timor in the upcoming APEC conference in the same city. Many of the demonstrators wore black mourning clothes in commemoration of the Santa Cruz massacre on Nov 12 four years ago when around 270 youths killed by Indonesian troops.

With security tight in the city, dozens of police and riot police were on hand for the peaceful demonstration over a route that included the Indonesian consulate and the busiest shopping and entertainment district of Japan’s second largest city.

José Gusmão, Timorese refugee resident in Darwin, Australia, the Asia-Pacific representative of CNRM, the umbrella organisation of the resistance movement, was dressed in traditional Timorese garb and in the course of the demo performed a traditional Timorese dance to the accompaniment of a Timorese drum played by Maria Bernardino, a resident of Darwin and a counsel for torture victims.

José Ramos Horta told reporters at a press conference proceeding the demo that “We have every right to participate in APEC. Even Taiwan and Hong, which are not independent states, are participating in spite of the problems raised by China.”

Domingos Sarmento Alves, who lead 29 Timorese in a 12-day occupation of the US Embassy in Jakarta at the time of last year’s APEC, told the press conference that “Ninety-nine percent of my generation, who have been educated under Indonesian rule, want independence.”

Diet Member OKAZAKI Tomiko, secretary-general of the supra partisan Diet Forum on East Timor, told the press conference that although a Diet member had formally presented the request for observer status of CNRM to the preparatory committee for APEC, the committee ignored it. Upon inquiring she was told that East Timor participation would be “difficult.”

Last week a Diet Forum delegation met with PM Murayama, she said, to request him to raise the issue of East Timor with President Suharto in their meeting in Osaka. The Prime Minister was non-committal, she told the reporters.

A photo of the demonstration appeared with an article in the national daily, Asahi Shimbun, on Nov. 12. And footage of the demo appeared on a local TV news broadcast.

#### INDONESIA BLASTS PORTUGAL

OSAKA, Japan (AP), Nov. 17 – Indonesia’s foreign minister accused Portugal Friday of encouraging East Timorese students to seek asylum at foreign embassies in Jakarta.

Ali Alatas, at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit, also said Portugal was stalling U.N.-mediated talks with Indonesia and East Timorese political factions.

Five East Timorese climbed into the French Embassy in Jakarta on Thursday, the fourth such incident in two months. Officials said they will be taken to Portugal, East Timor’s former colonial ruler. A day earlier, 21 East Timorese who sought asylum in the Japanese Embassy also were sent to Portugal.

Noting that the embassy entries are “becoming a pattern,” Alatas said: “You can go away, then. I mean, good riddance. If people want to leave Indonesia, they are free to leave Indonesia.

“We are not deriving any pleasure from this, but it is getting a little bit boring.”

Ghaffar Fadyl, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman, said the five in the French Embassy did not seek political asylum but asked to be sent to Portugal.

“Therefore it is clear they have an economic motivation,” he said.

East Timor erupted in civil war in 1975 after Portugal withdrew. Then Indonesia invaded, annexing it in 1976. The United Nations has not recognized the annexation.

Rights groups accuse the Indonesian military of beating, imprisoning, torturing and executing opponents of Indonesian rule in the province, 750 miles southeast of Jakarta. Indonesia says the problems are exaggerated.

Earlier Friday in Osaka, the mayor of East Timor’s capital, Dili, said a referendum on the province’s future would set off a new civil war.

Domingo Soares said he doubts a swift political settlement will come of U.N.-mediated talks between Indonesia, Timorese political factions and Portugal.

Soares, in Osaka as an observer in the Indonesian delegation to APEC, said the Timorese have been sapped by “mental and physical poverty” for the last 20 years.

“They will never want to have another referendum again,” Soares said. “We don’t want to have a new civil war.”

On Nov. 12 the four Timorese began a speaking tour that will take them to over seventy towns and cities in Japan.
ALATAS: FENCE-CLIMBING NO LONGER A PROBLEM

Indonesian government news service (KANTOR BERITA ANTARA), Nov. 17.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas pointed out that the cases of East Timorese climbing the fences of foreign diplomatic missions in Jakarta seeking political asylum no longer constituted a serious problem because the pattern has always been the same.

“We no longer see it as a serious case because the pattern is already clear. It happens each time there is a conference or on a date they think should be used to gain publicity,” Alatas told the press in Osaka Wednesday (Nov.15).

Alatas further said that they also get a free ride. It is therefore difficult to imagine people refusing such treatment, he added.

He also pointed out that the East Timorese had no reasons whatsoever for seeking political asylum, because the fact showed that they were no political fugitives and were not being persecuted.

In response to a question put forward to him by “Antara” on foreign media which have always used the term annexation when referring to East Timor, Alatas said Indonesia has a ‘thousand’ times explained the matter, but they kept using the term in their anti-Indonesia campaign.

VOA: APEC PROTESTS

Voice of America, 11/19/95. By Dan Robinson, Osaka

During the Asia-Pacific-leaders meetings in Osaka, some non-government groups and activists attempted to draw attention to human rights issues in APEC member countries. VOA’s Dan Robinson reports:

Security during the APEC summit was as tight as it could be. Twenty-five thousand police were deployed to ensure nobody marred the atmosphere surrounding meetings of ministers or leaders of the 18 APEC members.

Major roads near the summit site at the Osaka castle were barred to most traffic. Police helicopters flew overhead. Major hotels where dignitaries stayed were often sealed off at a moment’s notice.

Journalists covering events from the international press center were told to keep identification passes in clear view. Anyone walking on a sidewalk as a motorcade passed was stopped.

All of this did not stop a few activists from staging protests in an attempt to draw attention to human rights and political issues in some APEC member countries.

As APEC leaders met early Sunday, four people – an American and three Japanese women – stood on a bridge near the international press center protesting Indonesian policy in East Timor.

Gregory Anderson is an American who has lived in Japan for two-years and a professor at Kansai-Gaidai University. He says Japanese authorities refused to issue permits for demonstrations seeking to draw attention to human rights issues:

“We tried to get permits for months ahead of time and permits were not allowed. Even now they are telling us we have to take our shirts off. We cannot have any kind of banners, we cannot raise our voices at all. They claim it is because of security, but other protesters – such as those calling for Americans to get out of Japan – have not had any trouble holding protests.”

There was at least one other small-scale demonstration during the APEC meetings in Osaka. During ministerial talks, a group protested what it called Chinese threats against Taiwan.

When Indonesia hosted APEC’s ministerial and summit meetings last year, East Timorese students scaled the fence of the US embassy in Jakarta to draw attention to the situation in East Timor.

During the Osaka meetings, two groups of East Timorese entered the Japanese and French embassies in Jakarta, eventually gaining asylum in Portugal.

Before the APEC summit, a collection of 30 human rights, trade union, and non-government organizations said APEC members were ignoring human and labor rights in the process of seeking economic growth.

TIMORESE ACCUSES JAKARTA OF HARASSMENT

Japan Times, Nov. 18, 1995. by Cameron Hay

Osaka – East Timorese activist José Ramos Horta accused the Indonesian government of harassing him and another member of the East Timorese resistance movement during their stay here this week.

Horta, in Japan to press for East Timor to be granted observer status at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, alleged that some 12 Indonesian security agents posing as students tried to disrupt a public lecture he gave here Wednesday.

“Half of the room was full of Indonesian thugs. They engaged in a vicious personal attack on me, constantly shouting and calling me names, and taking pictures constantly. That’s their favorite intimidation tactic,” said Horta, special representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, an East Timorese umbrella resistance group.

Horta said agents also followed another member of NCRM (sic) Lurdus Bernardino, at Kansai International Airport on Thursday. They boarded the same flight to Sendai and then trailed her to a hotel, according to Horta.

W.A. Sudarto, the Indonesian government’s press spokesman in Osaka, was not available for comment Friday evening.

Horta is in Japan to request that East Timor be granted observer status at the APEC forum. However, Japanese Foreign Ministry officials have refused to distribute the request among officials of APEC nations, Horta said.

He said that while China has accepted the membership of Hong Kong and Taiwan in the APEC forum, East Timor, which is recognized as a non-self-governing territory by the United Nations and the International Court of Justice, was refused access.

“Also, two members of APEC, Indonesia and Australia, are illegally exploiting our oil (reserves),” Horta said. “We are talking about trade liberalization and cooperation in the APEC region and yet we have two vultures living off our wealth.”

Horta described Tokyo’s dismissal of his group’s request as “typical of Japanese cowardice.”

“It was really sabotage by the Japanese of vital information that APEC members are entitled to, he said.

Horta also said that Japan’s reaction after East Timorese students seeking asylum broke into its embassy in Jakarta was cowardly and hypocritical.

“They put pressure on the students to go to Portugal... to spare Japan and Indonesia embarrassment,” he said.

SALVADOR XIMENES JOINS INTEL TEAM ON APEC

by Akhisa Matsumo, FETJC, Nov. 21.

Salvador Ximenes Soares, the editor-in-chief (?) of Suara Timor Timur and a Golkar parliamentarian from East Timor, joined the Indonesian intelligence team on APEC Osaka to monitor the activities of the solidarity movement and East Timorese who were in Japan at the time of APEC as speakers of 10th Speaking Tour.

He first appeared at the venue of the International NGO Forum on APEC which was held on November 13 and 14 in Kyoto. He tried to enter the building which was exclusively used by the NGO Forum but was refused by the organising secretariat. Only registered participants were allowed to enter the building to protect vulnerable participants from abroad. Salvador Ximenes, when
he was asked why he came there, answered that he happened to be there for sightseeing. This is impossible! The Seminar House was in the suburbs of Kyoto where very few tourists were likely to come. The building stands on a low hill surrounded by fields and ordinary houses, and it is hardly likely that someone happened to be there for sightseeing!!!

There were some three or four Indonesian agents who approached the Seminar House. They were all not allowed to enter the building.

He then appeared again at the public meeting for José Ramos-Horta on November 15 in Osaka. There were 15 to 20 Indonesian agents in the meeting room including two East Timorese, Salvador Ximenes and perhaps Domingos Soares, Bupati of Dili. After the speech of Ramos-Horta, one Indonesian who called himself “Tommy” started talking. After some time he was stopped by the organizer because he did not make any question but continued to discredit Ramos-Horta. When he was asked to stop talking, he did not want to stop and said that he must have the right to speak in this “democratic country.” After “Tommy,” another Indonesian who called himself “Bambang” started talking again, this time about Wendy. He did not stop when the organizer asked him not to continue if he was not making a question.

There was an Indonesian agent who was taking pictures of the participants of the meeting. An angry participant caught him and forced him to pull out the film when he was trying to escape.

After the meeting Salvador Ximenes said to me, “There must be a balance of information. The Canberra type of conference was good.”

Then I said, “You demand that you be given a chance to provide Indonesian propaganda in this kind of meeting. If you do so, why don’t you allow East Timorese to freely speak what they think in East Timor and Indonesia? This is no balanced, is it?”

When I said that we could perhaps invite him to Japan to speak, he looked smiling. But when I added that I also want to speak in Jakarta about my opinion, his face suddenly darkened. I said, this is a fair exchange, isn’t it. He couldn’t answer.

More than 200 Indonesians were mobilized for the APEC in Osaka. Maria Bernardino was followed by an Indonesian intel from the airport in Osaka to Sendai, even to her hotel.

But his kind of harassment is destined to benefit us after all. People who saw harassments and heard Indonesian propaganda directly without exception become more sympathetic to East Timorese. They often say what used to be still vague for them became clear after this kind of exciting experience.

**Events in Europe**

**Arms Trade News: France and Germany**

From: martin@amokmar.aps.nl (Martin Broek), Stop Arming Indonesia Campaign

**East German troop transports**

“In November last year, it was announced that the army was to purchase a number of former East German troop transports and other vehicles (numbers and details undisclosed).” (Asian Defence Journal (ADJ) 10/95, page 4-10

‘Interview with Gen. Feisal Tanjung Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces.’

“The formation of BLT [Battalion Landing Team] strength is meant to overcome disturbances from within. The recent purchase of ex-East German LST’s [Landing Ship Tank] is to replace the aging LSTs whose conditions can no longer serve the operational needs. Besides, the two BLTs still need some additional LSTs.” ADJ 10/95 page 12-16.

**Pamener ABRI**

In the Asian Defence Journal (11/95) is a report of Pamener ABRI. The event was an opportunity for weapons producers “to display their systems and for ABRI to plan the procurement programmes which will take them into the next century.”

Beside news about the Alvis armoured vehicles, the presentation of anti-air missile systems by MATRA and other arms of Leica AG, GKN, ADI and Alcatel SEL AG there was also news about:

**GIAT from France**

“Indonesia is ready to buy a new class of armoured personnel carriers. GIAT Industries is offering the VAB NG to fill the billet. (...) Of particular interest to Indonesia is the internal security vehicle with a crowd control blade fitted forward and additional cupola mounting a camera and searchlight.”

**Heckler & Koch from Germany**

“Indonesia is Heckler & Koch country. The MP 5 submachine-gun is already in use by Indonesian special units. This 9mm weapon can be configured (...). Now a new member is ready to join the family. The company says the Indonesian marines are about to take delivery of the MSG 90 military sniper rifle. This weapon (...) give[s] accurate fire at long range against both personnel and sensitive targets such as generators, radar directing centers or electronic installations.”

**Mairead Maguire Meets with Japanese PM on East Timor and Northern Ireland**

Wednesday 6 December 1995

Northern Ireland peace leader Mairead Maguire of the Peace People has met in Tokyo with Japanese prime minister, Tomiichi Murayama.

Topping the agenda of course was the peace process in Northern Ireland, but Mrs Maguire also took time to bring the issue of East Timor to the Japanese premier’s attention. Mrs Maguire told the prime minister of her concerns about the pressing situation in East Timor and asked that the Government of Japan give its encouragement and support so that a peace process there could get seriously under way. Japan is Indonesia’s major trading partner and by far the largest overseas development aid donor country.

The Northern Irish Nobel Laureate recalled that once seemingly intransigent conflicts in such areas as the Middle East and Bosnia, as well as Northern Ireland, have seen breakthroughs, and the time has come for the world to support a peaceful resolution of the East Timor issue too. Working to achieve a solution to the East Timor issue, she stressed, should be a top priority of governments and leaders around the world. Tomorrow (December 7) marks the twentieth anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of the former Portuguese colony. Amnesty International and other independent human rights organisations believe that possibly as many as one-third of the population have perished as a result of the Indonesian occupation.

With Prime Minister Murayama, Mrs Maguire also discussed the links that Japan has with Northern Ireland and said that the Northern Irish people would look forward to increasing those bonds of friendship through tourism, trade, and other exchanges. The Japanese premier pledged his support for the search for peace in Northern Ireland.

Mrs Maguire is in Japan for five days to attend the “Future of Hope conference” organised by the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity and the Asahi Shimbun, a major Japan newspaper. She addressed the conference yesterday evening (Tues.). Other speakers at the conference include Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, and South Korean Prime Minister Hong-Koo Lee.
Weisel airborne armored vehicles

In June 1995 the Weser Kurier (20-06-95) published an article about the stop of an Weisel airborne armoured vehicles deal with Indonesia: ‘Minister of Foreign Affairs Kinkel blocked 100 million Dm deal with Indonesia; MAK [the producer of the vehicle in question] jobs in danger.’ On the 13th of November the secretary of state for Economy (?), parlamenteria Saatssekret r Beim Bundesminister f Wirtschaft), Dr. Heinrich L. Kolb answered questions about the Wesel airborne armoured vehicle to Indonesia. I do not have the questions only the answers.

He said in response on question 4: “The Weisel are developed for airborne operations. They will be used as model to examine by the army in Bandung military base.” On question 5: “There has been no decision made to have an arms embargo against Indonesia.” The conclusion must be the deal is going on and also that those vehicles are meant to use in airborne operations, as long as the defence policy of Indonesia is foremost to suppress the internal opposition they can be used for this purpose.

DEC. 7 INITIATIVES IN BRUSSELS

Report from SOS Timor, 3 December.

SOS TIMOR, an information group formed by people of various nationalities of the European Union staff in Brussels, launched 2 initiatives to commemorate the International Day of Solidarity with the Timorese people, 7 December.

They are asking their colleagues of the EU staff to wear that day a sticker provided by the group affirming their solidarity with the East-Timor struggle. The group send as well to all the members of the staff of the Council of Ministers (around two thousand people) one paper on the situation in East Timor.

The same day, at the European Parliament, SOS TIMOR, with the support of several Belgian NGOs, will organize a meeting for the European and Belgian MPs, discussing by Mr. Reza Muharran Coates (British MP at the European Parliament) about the situation in East Timor.

For more information, you can contact: ze-lima@mail.interpac.be
Square de Meeus, 21-A
B-1040 Bruxelles (Belgium)
Tel/fax: (32-2) 514.31.39

CARMEL BUDIARDJO’S RIGHT LIVELIHOOD AWARD SPEECH

Below is the text of Carmel Budiardjo’s Acceptance Speech at the Right Livelihood Award Ceremony in Stockholm, Sweden on 8 December, 1995.

The ceremony took place in the Swedish Parliament. It was opened by the Speaker of Parliament. The speech on behalf of the Right Livelihood Foundation was delivered by its founder and chair, Jacob van Uexkull, who also presented the awards. Each of the recipients then delivered speeches followed by music performed by members of the Dominique Music Group. The Ceremony was profoundly moving and full of warmth. Ambassadors from the countries of three of the recipients were present. The Indonesian ambassador, who had been invited, was not present.

Jacob van Uexkull’s powerful speech referred scathingly in several paragraphs to the ‘Abachas and Suhartos’ of this world. His linking the Nigerian and Indonesian dictatorships was one of key themes of his speech.

Respected speaker of Parliament, members of the Swedish Government,
Respected Chair of the Right Livelihood Award Foundation.

I am deeply honoured to have been chosen as one of the laureates for this year’s Right Livelihood Award and would like to convey my profound gratitude to the Right Livelihood Foundation for the honour you have bestowed on me. May I say in particular that I feel profoundly honoured to be following in the footsteps of one of your last year’s laureates, the great Nigerian human rights activist and playwright, Ken Saro-Wiwa, whose tragic and inexcusable death we all mourned last month.

I share this honour with everyone I have worked with in TAPOL over the years and with many organisations in Britain and around the world who are part of the international solidarity movement for Indonesia and East Timor, together with TAPOL.

I have to admit, dear friends, that it was not until people close to me, my husband, close friends, comrades and colleagues and finally myself, fell victim to human rights abuses, that I became sensitised to the issue. That was in the black days of October 1965 when the military took power in Indonesia, plunging the country into a period of great adversity, of mass killings, large-scale arrests and the violation of the civil rights of millions of citizens.

For the first three years, I had no job, having been dishonorably dismissed, and my husband was in prison. In September 1968, I landed up in prison myself, spending three years behind bars. I was never charged or tried, never even allowed access to a lawyer. My eventual release and expulsion from Indonesia placed me in the fortunate position of being able, back in Britain, the country of my birth, to do something about my husband and the many women and men whom I had left behind. In those days, even though political imprisonment on a massive scale had continued for more than six years, there was no such thing as a human rights movement inside Indonesia, with the exception of one or two brave individuals, courageous enough to raise the issue; released prisoners would never dare to make their voices heard.

What shocked me in London was that so little was known about the political prisoner situation in Indonesia even though Amnesty International regarded the country as one of the worst offenders in the world. This led us, a small group of relatives and friends, to set up TAPOL, which we called the British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners. Our sub-title has changed over the years as the scope of our work has expanded and been transformed but we have stuck with the name TAPOL, a new word coined soon after the military takeover. It means ‘political prisoner,’ a contraction of ‘tahanan politik.’

Perhaps it was just a coincidence that not long after TAPOL was born, the Indonesian Government declared that the word ‘tapol’ was banned because, they said, there were no political prisoners in Indonesia, only criminals. The military regime has done a great deal to re-mould the Indonesian language in its own image but this is one decree that never took root. The word ‘tapol’ has never disappeared from the vocabulary. New generations of political prisoners have emerged as the repressive apparatus has turned its fire on yet more ‘troublesome’ sections of the population. In the late 1960s it was Communists, then students, then Muslims, then labour activists, then people defending their land rights and then people fighting for their right to self-determination, a never-ending stream of tapols. But that was not all.

In 1974, we became acutely aware of atrocities in West Papua which had been annexed by Indonesia in 1964. Later that year, it became clear that East Timor was on
the brink of a terrible disaster because of the threat of an Indonesian invasion. Knowing what we did about the brutalities of which the Indonesian army was - and still is - capable, we wrote in dark terms in our Bulletin, drawing attention to the massacres of 1965 and 1966 in Indonesia. The unimaginable happened when the Indonesian army struck. The full horror of what happened in Dili on 7 December 1975 - an anniversary which we commemorated yesterday - did not come to light for several years. Much of the detail was explained to us when we interviewed the retired head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Mgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, when he visited London in 1984.

In Indonesia itself, there was a wave of repression against the student movement throughout the 1970s. In September 1984, the worst atrocity in the country since the 1965/1966 killings occurred in Tanjung Priok, Jakarta when hundreds of Muslims were shot dead after soldiers had defiled their mosque. The true dimensions of that atrocity have to this day not been investigated. This was followed by scores of trials which we recorded and analysed in a book, Muslims on Trial. That was our third publication; the others were about East Timor and West Papua. Perhaps this can give you some idea of the range of human rights problems we have had to handle.

Later in the 1980s came the Indonesian army’s war against liberation forces in Aceh, North Sumatra. TAPOL has certainly taken a leading role in exposing the atrocities that have been perpetrated in that part of the country.

We in TAPOL concentrate in particular on analysing Indonesian government policy and the shifts in emphasis within the regime. This is where our regular monitoring of the Indonesian press is of great importance, absorbing much of our time every day. We try to keep the solidarity movement supplied with the kind of analysis that helps groups to understand the political background to whatever the current wave of repression happens to be. We also regularly attend and make submissions to the UN human rights bodies and do what we can to brief journalists and others planning to visit Indonesia and East Timor, and de-brief them when they return.

How do we, in far-away London, keep in touch with all these developments? This is a major aspect of our work. In some cases, the flow of information runs smoothly; in others information-gathering, which is at the heart of what we do, it can be extremely difficult. The East Timorese have proven themselves, throughout the twenty years of their country’s occupation and isolation from the rest of the world, to be past-masters at keeping the outside world informed. But we have sometimes gone for years without getting any reliable information about what is going on in West Papua. In the past few months, however, things have changed and we have been able to report extensively on the many abuses there since June 1994.

Our information about Indonesia itself relies heavily on the contacts we have made during the past few years with the many human rights and pro-democracy groups that have mushroomed in Indonesia in the 1990s.

We try where we think it will be effective to campaign on specific issues by launching Urgent Actions and have developed a wide network of supporting NGOs in the UK, involved in peace, development, the arms trade, indigenous peoples and the press. Our contact with parliamentarians is also very regular, with a number of MPs responding to our requests for help in questioning British government policy. One major focus is opposition to the sale of British-made weapons of destruction to Indonesia.

TAPOL is not a membership organisation but we have a very large circle of readers throughout the world. Our flagship is TAPOL Bulletin which has appeared regularly every two months for the past twenty-three years. As one Indonesian colleague wrote recently, it has become part of what we call the alternative press at home in Indonesia and abroad, keeping alive the torch of free expression, extinguished for so long in New Order Indonesia.

As many of you here have probably experienced, the information super-highway has greatly enhanced our access to information. Strangely enough, this is an area where NGOs have outstripped governements. We’ve been on the network for more than five years, supplying information to groups throughout the world about West Papua and East Timor but the Indonesian armed forces only woke up to the effectiveness of this kind of networking a few months ago. Now, they too will join in, as they put it, to refute all the ‘malicious misinformation’ about Indonesia that disseminates worldwide, un-fettered by Indonesian censorship controls.

Recently we have been accused by the regime of manipulating a worldwide campaign of vilification against Indonesia and ‘engineering’ the activities of activist NGOs inside the country. It is claimed that we, TAPOL, from our tiny office in London with a staff of three, are the brains behind a ‘communist plot’ to discredit Indonesia. We are flattered by all the attention and even grateful for the publicity that this has given us in the Indonesian press, but such fantasies will not help the regime to confront the growing tide of opposition which it faces, in Indonesia, in West Papua and in Aceh.

Let me say in conclusion that your decision to honour me in this way fills me with a great sense of responsibility to continue to do the work I have been doing for as long as I possibly can.

Thank you

CORTO MALTESE AND EAST TIMOR

From Bruno Kalm, Jan 2.

Hugo Pratt, the famous author of comics hero traveller Corto Maltese, died suddenly last August. He left a notebook for futures adventures, which has just been published in Paris. The last (unfinished) synopsis deals with East Timor. It is too bad that he did not live to complete it.


“PRONK [DUTCH MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT] AGAINST ARMS DEAL

From martin@amokmar.antenna.nl (Martin Broek) Jan. 8

Minister Pronk for Development thinks Hollandse Signaal Apparaten must not get a license to export arms for the Indonesian Navy. He stated before Dutch Radio (VPRO) on 05-01-95 such a deal in respect to the human rights situation in East Timor “should not take place.”

The deal is on about radar systems for patrol vessels with a value of DFL 75 million. Pronk stated that the situation in East Timor, which was annexed in 1974 is “inhuman.” Hij has the opinion that the Netherlands must avoid the appearance it is supporting the Indonesian armed forces which occupy the former Portuguese colony.”

NRC-Handelsblad (major Dutch daily 06-01-95)

AMOK-Mariitiem: Pesthuislaan 39, 1054 RH Amsterdam, the Netherlands, tel/fax: +31 20 6164684

FROM FRANK WILLEM, JANUARY 8.

Dutch minister for development-aid Jan Pronk said Dutch government should not agree to the sale of radar-systems worth 75.000.000 guilders by Hollandse Signaal Apparaten (HSA) for Indonesian patrol-vessels. According to Pronk the situation of human rights in East Timor is very bad.

There are some restrictions for the export of strategic matter in Dutch law: the receiving nation should not be engaged in a war and the stuff should not be used for the vio-
loration of human rights. If the receiving nation gets development-aid from Holland, the minister of development-aid should be consulted about the export.

When Pronk criticised Jakarta about the Dili-massacre, Jakarta refused all development-aid in 1992. So, for the export of strategic matter to Indonesia, the consultation of Pronk is no longer necessary. Pronk does not expect he will be involved in the decision about the export of radar systems to Jakarta; his expertise is politically unwelcome.

“I am kaltgestellt” he said. (Kaltgestellt is a nasty German expression - meaning being put in the ice-house - suggesting a nazimentality at his opponents. And indeed, a very good friend and loyal supporter of Suharto, Prince Bernhard, has been member of the NSDAP, the German nazi-party, until he married Julia, as is revealed some time ago.)

HSA did not ask for a export-permit yet, and they don’t expect any problems when they do. “Indonesia is not a problem-area” a spokesman said.

Blaauw, spokesman for VVD (political party at the far right wing, part of the government-coalition), said every arms-deal should meet proper moral standards. But in the case of HSA Pronk should keep his mouth shut because there is nothing wrong in Indonesia.

**COMMISSION SUGGESTS CHANGE TO PORTUGAL’S POSITION (ON ASEAN ACCORD)**

*Diario de Noticias, 19 January 1996, By Fernando de Sousa. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged*

Venice – Vice-Chairman of the European Commission, Manuel Marin, has indirectly suggested that Portugal refrain from blocking an agreement with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) so as to facilitate relations with that region.

Portugal has been opposing such an agreement in protest against Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor. Marin, in Venice for a conference on Europe-Asia relations, did not suggest pressure should be brought to bear on Portugal to change its line, saying that any decision should be left to the Portuguese authorities. He did, however, suggest that, when considering the continuation of its opposition to an accord with ASEAN, Portugal ought to bear in mind Europe’s desire to deepen its relations with Asia.

Portugal’s European partners have shown understanding regarding Portugal’s position on East Timor. Their support was expressed, for the first time, in the conclusion of the last European summit in Madrid, and the EU’s Council of Ministers may well be shortly adopting a further expression of solidarity, which would serve to encourage Portugal to maintain its stance. However, according to Manuel Marin, there is a growing desire in Europe to deepen relations with the new emerging economies of Asia, particularly in view of the fact that the US and Japan are already comparatively further ahead in this field than Europe.

Manuel Marin agreed that East Timor is a “very delicate and extremely sensitive” case, and added that he had already discussed the matter with the government of Antonio Guterres. This would suggest that there may be attempts in future to persuade Portugal to stop blocking approval of an association agreement with ASEAN, without losing the political backing in support of Timor.

In this regard, the lack of substantial results from the last round of talks in London between the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers could contribute to increased pressure on Portugal. Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres will be attending the next EU-ASEAN summit, scheduled for March in Bangkok, at which the EU-ASEAN agreement is likely to be an important item on the agenda.

**THE ASIAN SEMESTER**

*Publico, 23 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged*

Lisbon – The European Commission, firmly supported by member-States such as the UK and Germany, wants to make the first 6 months of 1996 a framework for development of EU relations with Asia. The Commission’s Vice-Chairman, Manuel Marmm, is even talking about an “Asian Semester”.

However, the Commission insists that the “new strategy” which it wants to outline for its relations with Asia should not be based solely upon “economic interests”... The Euro-Asian summit (Bangkok, 1-2 March) should also be the start of a “political dialogue” between the EU and countries within ASEAN... As is customary, on the menu put forward by Europe to its future Asian partners will be the subject of human rights. Just how much these words really mean remains to be seen when the Portuguese Government refers to the issue of East Timor, during the preparations for the EU-ASEAN summit which are already underway.

Trade relations are certainly a high priority for Europe, which absorbs 23 per cent Asia’s exports, and aspires to penetrate more extensively the Region’s large emerging markets.

**GAC (OF EUROPEAN UNION) TO PREPARE FOR BANGKOK SUMMIT**

*[abridged], By Jeremy Lovell*

**BRUSSELS, Jan 29 (Reuters) - The General Affairs Council began begin its preparations on Monday for the forthcoming summit in Bangkok between the leaders of the European Union and 10 Asian nations, diplomatics said.

They was some confusion on whether the ministers had agreed a statement on East Timor – an issue that the former colonial power Portugal wanted cleared up before the March 1 and 2 summit with Brunei, China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, South Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

Some diplomat said the issue had been blocked at the level of political directors and therefore not reached the Council.

Others said it had been agreed by the ministers and would be published shortly, while others again said it had been put on ice until some countries had dealt with the tricky issue of refugees in their embassies.

No one said what the disputed text contained, but last week diplomats said a text under discussion by political directors called for dialogue between Indonesia – which invaded in 1975 and is regularly accused of human rights abuses – and the local population, with the stress on observing human rights.

Diplomats said the ministers agreed that foreign ministers should accompany their political masters to the Bangkok summit because the EU wanted the meeting to produce solid results.

They also ranged over a report agreed last week by the European Commission setting out the EU’s shopping list. It calls for strengthened political contacts both at bilateral and multinational level, much enhanced trade and investment, promotion of human rights, democracy, the environment and cooperation in regional security issues.

All the participants in the summit have been at pains to ensure that the meeting stresses the positive – politics, trade and economics – and skates cautiously over the more contentious issues such as human rights, democracy and social protection.

“The agenda is still open,” one diplomat shrugged when asked how the issue of human rights would be included.
RAMOS HORTA & SEN. CLAIBORNE PELL AWARDED 1ST UNPO HR PRIZES


First UNPO Awards Winners Announced

Mr. José Ramos-Horta of East Timor and Senator Claiborne Pell, one of the United States Senate’s most senior members, are the winners of the First UNPO prize. This award was created to formally acknowledge the unserving commitment and work for the rights and freedom of threatened peoples throughout the world, particularly in relation to promoting equal standards of human rights for all peoples.

Senator Pell, a Democrat from Rhode Island, has spent many of his 76 years working to bring democratic and peaceful solutions to conflict situations throughout the world. He was Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for its most prestigious years, and is today the Ranking Member of that Committee. When presented with seemingly intractable problems, Senator Pell has called for communication, investigation and resolution. He was an early and outspoken opponent of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam and, more recently, led Congressional action to protect the Kurds against Saddam Hussein. Senator Pell was one of the first U.S. officials to express support for the Dalai Lama which led to the Senate receiving His Holiness in 1979. He has supported the right of the people of Taiwan to self-determination; he undertook action on behalf of the Jummas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the Ogoni of Nigeria, Albanians in Kosovo, and the Chечens. Senator Pell has constantly upheld the rights of refugees in Portugal, especially the ones who occupied the US Embassy premises in Lisbon. The Award’s Ceremony on February 1 1996 coincides with UNPO’s Fifth Anniversary. Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Ms. Mairead Maguire and Special Envoy for the Dalai Lama, Kasur Lodi Gyari Will Present the Awards at 4:00 in the afternoon at Hague City Hall, Spui No. 70, the 11th Floor, With reception following. An opening address will be given by H.E., President Ashef of the Republic of Ingushetia, Chechenia’s closest neighbouring republic. Other UNPO Members to attend include representatives of The Aboriginals of Australia, The Chchen Republic, Circassians, East Turkestan, Ogoni, Sanjak, Scania, Taiwan, Tatarstan and West Papua. A press conference will be held immediately following the awards ceremony.

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EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

NEW YEAR, NEW LIFE

From “Timor Leste,” monthly news bulletin produced by CDPM (Maubere People’s Rights Commission), October 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – September heralds the start of a new academic year. For the young Timorese (refugees in Portugal), especially the ones who occupied the US Embassy premises in Jakarta, September could be the start of a new life.

Most had been university students, and arrived in November 1994, accepting Portugal’s offer of asylum. Although coming to Portugal had, in itself, never figured in their original plans, they could never have imagined the obstacles awaiting them in their new country.

When they arrived, only a few of them had a smattering of Portuguese. Understandably, given the circumstances, none of them had brought with them the documents that would be needed for the recognition of their academic qualifications. There was, however, a general feeling that Portugal would receive them with open arms, and provide them with the vital support necessary for them to integrate into our society.

Settling In

Their first disillusion emerged on the very first day, when they realised the conditions in which they were to be housed. The conditions were so extreme that even newspaper reports on their plight. From the outset, solidarity groups (including the CDPM) were determined to help the group. Subsistence was the first problem to be resolved. They now receive a monthly allowance (of 17,500 Escudos) from the Ministry of Employment and Social Security, and accommodation in a university residence from the Ministry of Education. The allowance (which does not cover meals) is usually granted for a six month period, and has already been extended because of the training courses underway and because they have no other income whatsoever.

For three months, the group attended a vitally important intensive Portuguese language course. During that time, the academic qualifications of each one, and their expectations for the future were carefully scrutinised. Based on the results of the scrutiny, and given that most of the group wanted to restart higher education training, a second training action was organised. This continued to focus on language training, but included other subjects considered to be essential before going on to any higher education course in sciences.

Choices

Timorese students have to apply for university entrance through a special scheme (which also covers other categories of candidates). They do not have to sit the entrance exams, but do have to produce documentary evidence to prove they have attended the relevant courses at secondary school level. In the group’s case, this was not possible but, fortunately, the problem was overcome. Given the curricular differences, and the level of language proficiency required of secondary school students, as well as proficiency in relevant courses, two different strategies were thought up, in order to have a better chance of success. During the final month in which training actions were held, and with the help of teachers taking part, the students were asked to carry out a self-assessment exercise and to make a final choice themselves between (1) proceeding immediately to the first year of university or (2) first attending a one year university course in Portuguese as a Foreign Language.

The first option is legally possible, while the second (which we call 0-Year) depends entirely on cooperation from the university concerned, since there is no legal provision for it.

Outcome

Of the 29 young Timorese, only 6 have applied to university and are currently in the process of inscription. Most opted for 0-Year and, with the cooperation of the Minho and Oporto Universities, 13 have
already been placed, with grants and accommodation organised. Negotiations are still underway with Coimbra and Lisbon Universities concerning the placement of a further four students. The remaining 6, who opted for professional training, are waiting for replies from their Job Centres, which deal with channelling candidates for such courses.

This brief outline of events may give the idea that everything ran smoothly. We purposely avoided reference to problems which arose outside the area of education, not because they were not considerable, but because there would be just too much to write about! It is not hard to imagine the kind of difficulties we are referring to. We only have to recall our own experiences to realise how the most simple task can turn into a nightmarish complication, involving civil servants and public services. If we add to that problems connected with not speaking the language and ignorance of the basic rules on how our society functions, we have a better picture of what these young Timorese were up against.

If any conclusion is to be reached from this experience, it is that this was an apprenticeship which taught all of us something about the workings of the society in which we live. We just hope that this new academic year is really going to be the start of a new life, not only for this group of 29 students following news that four more East Timorese youths have escaped from their Indonesian-ruled homeland by way of the French embassy in the Indonesian capital.

“It is to create conditions for a generalised exit of Timorese (opponents) with the object of easing internal pressures,” he said.

Since late September, 39 East Timorese youths have escaped from their Indonesian-ruled homeland by seeking sanctuary in embassies. All of the asylum-seekers have ended up in Lisbon and the four young men who burst into the French embassy on Monday looked likely to follow the same route.

It was the second invasion of the French embassy in a matter of days. Other refugees made their way to Lisbon by way of the Japanese, British and Dutch missions.

Indonesia, which invaded East Timor in 1975 and formally annexed it a year later, accused Portugal last week of encouraging “Indonesian tactics” would not change Lisbon’s stance on the exiles.

“One has to distinguish between the international political aspects and the rights of individual people which cannot be questioned,” he said.

The Prime Minister, who has made a solution to the problem of East Timor one of his foreign policy priorities, said Portugal would continue to receive the exiles “with generosity” while maintaining the pressure “so that it becomes possible for the rights of the Timorese to be respected in Timor.”

Portugal abandoned East Timor in 1975 shortly before Jakarta invaded.

The flood of embassy invasions, which came after several months of heightened tension, has coincided with a number of politically-sensitive anniversaries including the killing four years ago of at least 50 Timorese by Indonesian soldiers.

Guterres, whose recently-installed Socialist government has stuck by a long-standing Portuguese pledge to take all Timorese who want to come, said what he called the “Indonesian tactics” would not change Lisbon’s stance on the exiles.

By Samantha McArthur

LISBON, Dec 1 (Reuters) - Most Europeans might have difficulty placing East Timor on a map, but mention of the tiny former colony in Portugal provokes an emotional debate that touches a deep national guilt.

“We delivered a people under our imperial protection to Indonesian rule. We feel guilty. The fact that we had our own revolu-
tion at the time does not absolve us," historian Fernando Rosas told Reuters.

East Timor, invaded by Indonesia 20 years ago, features in Portuguese media almost daily. The troubled territory only occasionally makes international headlines.

“Timor is part of the national consciousness. It is always with us,” said constitutional lawyer Miguel Galvao Telles.

This is no exaggeration. When President Mario Soares visited South Africa recently a front-page headline in the daily Diario de Notícias summed up the nation’s amazement at a perceived omission by the host: “Mandela fails to mention East Timor.”

But in 1975 Portugal virtually tripped over itself as it rushed to abandon the part of the island it had ruled for four centuries and turned its attention to chaos at home where revolution had overthrown nearly 50 years of right-wing dictatorship.

The Indonesians were equally swift to move in and formally annexed East Timor in 1976. Human rights groups say 200,000 people – one third of the population – died during the invasion and subsequent fighting. The United Nations does not recognise Jakarta’s occupation and still regards Lisbon as the administering power.

The Portuguese left African colonies such as Angola and Mozambique in similar disorder but it is East Timor that prompts the greatest soul-searching.

Most historians agree there was little the East Timor governor could have done to stop Indonesia invading.

He had only a platoon of paratroopers, fighting had broken out between various Timorese factions and Lisbon was gripped by anti-colonialist fever.

“The idea of sending troops to the other side of the world to fight for a colony during a revolution which began in protest at colonial wars would have been rather unpopular,” said Rosas.

Lawyer Galvao Telles agrees: “You had to have lived here at that time to understand. We were on the brink of civil war.”

But the guilt and the desire to make amends persist and have increased with accusations of Indonesian human rights abuses in the territory.

Earlier this year Portugal took Australia to the International Court of Justice to challenge an agreement it had signed with Jakarta over oil exploration off the Timorese coast.

Portugal lost the case but succeeded in drawing the world’s attention to East Timor.

“This is not some artificial crisis they are creating to win international kudos. It is a very real domestic issue for them,” said one diplomatic source in Lisbon.

Lisbon’s aim is to keep East Timor on the international agenda, hoping that one day it will achieve self-determination.

“They have to keep talks going in the U.N. and hope that some act of self-determination will emerge,” the source said.

In 1991 Portugal’s efforts were boosted by images of Indonesian troops firing on a crowd in the capital Dili, killing up to 200 unarmed demonstrators.

“The massacre was a watershed. It was probably the first time Indonesian brutality had been widely televised,” the diplomatic source said.

East Timor is no longer simply a colonial memory but a living human rights issue that appeals to younger Portuguese.

“Remember that our own history is one of resisting our larger Spanish neighbour. Subconsciously we relate to small, oppressed nations,” Rosas said.

He believes the Timorese resistance, which has waged a low-level guerrilla war against Indonesian occupation, is also responsible for keeping the issue alive in Portugal.

“How can we possibly sit back and watch a courageous people smashed just because the other side is bigger?”

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**PORTUGAL REJECTS INDONESIAN NATO ROLE IN BOSNIA**

[both abridged]

Lisbon, Dec 5 (Reuters) - Portugal will not accept Indonesia’s participation in the NATO peacekeeping force in Bosnia. Foreign Minister Jaime Gama said on Monday.

"Indonesia will not be part of the peace implementation force in Bosnia due to the opposition of Portugal," Gama told reporters in Brussels where he attended a meeting of his European Union counterparts. Portuguese Channel One television broadcast his remarks.

“The force should comprise countries enjoying a NATO consensus,” Gama said.

Portugal’s objection meant there was no such consensus and that as a result Indonesian troops would not be part of the force, Channel One reported from Brussels.

**INDONESIA SAYS PORTUGAL STANCE “STRANGE”**

JAKARTA, Dec 5 (Reuters) - The Indonesian foreign ministry on Tuesday described as "rather strange" remarks by Portugal’s foreign minister opposing Indonesia’s participation in the NATO peacekeeping force in Bosnia.

“It is rather strange for the Portuguese Foreign Minister to say that. Indonesia has never been requested to take part in IFOR,” ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl said.

Portugal, which has approved sending some 900 troops to Bosnia as part of the NATO mission, has had no ties with Indonesia since Jakarta annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1976.

Fadyl said Indonesia was ready to take part in any peacekeeping mission, including the one in Bosnia.

He said Gama’s comments were made because of Portugal’s sentiment against Indonesia.

“When there is a chance, Indonesia will be mentioned,” he added.

Indonesian troops have been in the former Yugoslavia, contributing to the U.N. peacekeeping mission.

**VETO KEEPS INDONESIA OUT OF BOSNIA MISSION**

Publico, 6 December 1995. By Isabel Arriaga e Cunha

Brussels – The US and Holland proved to be major obstacles, but Portugal played a card that was hard to beat: if Indonesian soldiers were stationed side by side with Portuguese troops in Bosnia, it could well bring down the Lisbon Government. With a helping hand from Paris, that was how the veto won the day in NATO, much to Jakarta’s annoyance.

If Indonesia were to contribute towards the 60 thousand troops being sent to Bosnia to ensure implementation of the peace agreement, it could lead to the fall of the Portuguese Government. This was basically the message the Portuguese NATO delegation relayed to its partners during over a month of intense pressure, in order to win what one of the ambassadors of the Sixteen described as a “colossal battle.”

The US and Holland put up the most resistance. Both were determined to secure the participation of Indonesian troops. According to diplomats of other nationalities, this determination was rooted in Jakarta’s relations with the two countries involving oil and arms trading. “But Portugal’s veto was absolute,” said one of the diplomats who attended last Friday’s meeting of Alliance Ambassadors, at which Washington and The Hague conformed to Portugal’s demands.

“No one was expecting such strong resistance,” said the same diplomat, explaining that one of the arguments put forward by the Portuguese Ambassador was that the government could fall if Portuguese soldiers were ever put in the position of having to fight alongside Indonesians. Lisbon did get the firm support of France. This may have been to secure the presence of the Portuguese brigade within its division near Mo-
star - a presence which was subsequently confirmed.

According to the decision taken yesterday at a meeting in Brussels of Foreign and Defence Ministers of the Sixteen, Indonesia will not in fact be taking part in the peacekeeping force, unlike other Moslem countries, such as Bangladesh, Pakistan and Egypt.

NATO leaders tried to keep the Indonesian issue discreetly under wraps and appeared surprised when it was made public by Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama, on Monday in Brussels.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama said Jakarta’s invasion had cut East Timorese freedom and self-determination to the disputed territory of East Timor.

“We will stick with the initiatives currently under way and broaden them to all areas where international condemnation of Indonesia and support for the East Timorese can be achieved,” Guterres told Portuguese news agency LUSA in Brussels.

Guterres was speaking on the anniversary of Indonesia’s 1975 invasion, and subsequent annexation, of East Timor following the departure of Portugal’s colonial administration.

More than 100 East Timorese youths scaled the walls of the Russian and Netherland’s embassies in Jakarta to mark the anniversary.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama said in a written statement that Jakarta’s “occupation of East Timor...is an unjustifiable and inhuman anarchonism which must be brought to an end.

“The Portuguese government will continue to fight for a solution for East Timor which fully respects the rights of its people, including the right to choose their own political destiny,” Gama said.

Gama said Jakarta’s invasion had cut short East Timor’s decolonization process and had “brutally stamped out East Timor’s desire for freedom and self-determination.”

Gama is scheduled to meet with Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas in January in another round of open-ended talks on the future of East Timor.

The talks are being brokered personally by United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The United Nations still regards Portugal as the legitimate administrative power in the territory.

PORTUGAL’S SOARES SAYS INDONESIA “DICTATORSHIP”

By Brian Williams, [abridged]

TOKYO, Dec 13 (Reuters) - Portuguese President Mario Soares described Indonesia as a dictatorship on Wednesday and pledged to accept any refugees fleeing “oppression” in Lisbon’s former colony of East Timor.

Despite what he described as Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor, Soares said Portugal still regarded itself as the legitimate ruler of the island.

In a wide-ranging interview with Reuters, Soares forecast Portugal would not run into social trouble like France in its bid to meet Maastricht criteria for a single European currency and said he would stay completely out of politics when his 10-year rule as president ended.

Soares said recent incidents involving East Timorese breaking into foreign embassies in Jakarta were to be expected.

“Indonesia is a dictatorship which shows no respect for human rights,” Soares said in the interview. “Its position has been that of abuse and violence against the martyred people of East Timor.”

“Portugal has full solidarity with these youngsters and those who seek refuge in embassies and wish to seek refuge in Portugal will be accepted,” said Soares, in Tokyo at a Japan-sponsored conference on protecting oceans.

Soares, whose 10-year spell as president ends next month after guiding the nation into the EU and restoring economic stability, said his future did not include politics.

“I’m old enough to retire,” he said. “I don’t intend to take part in any more party politics, either on the domestic level or on the international level.”

LISBON TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON JAKARTA

LISBON, Dec 7 (UPI) - Portuguese prime minister Antonio Guterres pledged Thursday to step up diplomatic efforts aimed at forcing Indonesia to grant self-determination to the disputed territory of East Timor.

“We will stick with the initiatives currently under way and broaden them to all areas where international condemnation of Indonesia and support for the East Timorese can be achieved,” Guterres told Portuguese news agency LUSA in Brussels.

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TEN TIMORESE FAMILIES TO RETURN TO EAST TIMOR

Kompas, 26 December 1995. Abridged in translation

Comment: This is part of Indonesia’s strategy of trying to re-introduce into East Timor’s history an element of pro-Indonesian sentiment based on the small rebellion that occurred in Portuguese Timor in 1959. Carmel, TAPOL

Solo – At the beginning of January 1996, the Indonesian government will receive back four East Timorese families, ten individuals in all, who will become Indonesian citizens. They are the first of a group of 15 families of altogether 70 people who settled in Portugal in 1959 and now intend to return home.

Lopez da Cruz, roving ambassador, told this to journalists after a meeting with East Timorese students and youth which was attended by only 50 members of Impettu, the Timorese association.

The four returning families took part in the rebellion against the Portuguese government in 1959.

These are people who struggled during a dark, long period against the Portuguese colonial government and in favour of integration with Indonesia in 1959, he said.

They were arrested by the Portuguese, taken to Portugal and thrown into prison, he said, then later banished to Mozambique and Angola. After Timor’s integration with Indonesia they several times asked the Portuguese government to return them home but the government ignored their requests.

In 1994 they wrote to President Suharto who was moved to read their letter and instructed the Minister-Coordinator for Political and Security Affairs to arrange for their return home, said da Cruz. They are due to leave Portugal on 2 January and arrive in Indonesia the next day.

Asked whether other Timorese who had ‘fled’ to Portugal would be allowed to return, da Cruz said, ‘We’ll look at the circumstances when they fled. If they said bad things about Indonesia. we shall of course refuse to allow them back,’ he said.

About 2,000 East Timorese are now residing in Portugal; while 15,000 are residing in Australia.

10 ANTI-COLONIAL EAST TIMORESE FIGHTERS TO ARRIVE JAN 5

From ANTARA, Courtesy Indonesian Embassy in Washington, Jan. 3, 1996

Jakarta, Jan 02 (ANTARA) - A group of 10 former fighters against Portuguese colonialism in East Timor are expected to arrive here from exile in Portugal next January 5 (Friday) or two days later than originally scheduled, an Indonesian foreign office spokesman said.

“The delay is due to a purely technical problem and not to anything political,” Ghaffar Fadyl, director of overseas information at the Foreign Ministry, told ANTARA here Tuesday.

The ministry had earlier announced that the group would be arriving on January 3. Fadyl did not explain what the technical problem was that had caused the delay.

The ten East Timorese would include Armando Soares Amaral, Venacio da Costa Soares, Evaristo da Costa and Domingos Soares. They were once exiled from East Timor by Lisbon as punishment for having taken part in an anti-Portuguese uprising on June 4, 1959.
The group had been wishing to return to Indonesia for a long time but the Portuguese government had always stood in their way. Only after the Indonesian government – represented by ambassador-at-large Lopez da Cruz – intervened, were they able to overcome Lisbon’s objections.

Through Da Cruz’s good offices, President Soeharto had agreed to provide the necessary facilities to the group which would make the trip home to Indonesia with technical assistance from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

**TIMORESE ON THEIR WAY BACK**

Publico, 4 January 1996. By J. T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

36 years later, they return to the territory with Indonesian citizenship.

Lisbon – After being the destination of dozens of East Timorese refugees arriving in Portugal in recent months, today Lisbon airport is the point of departure for 8 Timorese who want to go back. 1959, the year in which they took part in an uprising against the Portuguese colonial authorities in the territory, is far behind them. Now they are on their way back, helped by Manuel Macedo, who interceded on their behalf with Suharto. When they arrive, they will be Indonesians.

“If the Red Cross does not pay their expenses, then I will,” said Manuel Macedo, Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association (AAPI). (...)

Back in 1959 in what was then the Portuguese colony of East Timor, Domingos Soares, Evaristo Costa and Armindo Amaral took part in an uprising. They were imprisoned in the holds of ships off East Timor. They spent time in Caxias (Portugal) prison and the Penal Colony of Bie in Angola. In the 1960s and 1970s, they were returned to Portugal. After Indonesia occupied East Timor in 1975, they asked various Portuguese governments to help them return to Timor.

This was the story told yesterday by Macedo during a press conference, attended by Domingos, Armindo and Evaristo, all now in their fifties, and set to fly out today to Jakarta, via Amsterdam, with 5 members of their families.

Manuel Macedo explained that the case of the 1959 rebels was brought to his attention 8 months ago. The AAPI leader immediately compiled a dossier, which he submitted to the Indonesian authorities. The necessary authorisation arrived from Jakarta, with one condition: the Timorese would have to adopt Indonesian citizenship. This did not pose a problem. At the press conference, Domingos Amaral, spokesman for the group, spoke in favour of East Timor’s integration with Indonesia. He said that the men who had taken part in the 1959 uprising had been seeking “equality of treatment,” and refused to be treated like “slaves.” Only after Manuel Macedo said that “the intention of integrating already existed then,” did Domingos refer to another aspect of the rebellion, which suddenly became news in Indonesia (see below).

The AAPI’s next action is to take place in February, when Manuel Macedo has promised to take Xavier do Amaral to Lisbon. He is the first and last President of the Republic of East Timor, who subsequently became an integrationist and now lives in Jakarta.

The journey of the “1959 Timorese” precedes the next round of Ministerial negotiations on East Timor by less than two weeks. Yesterday, in Jakarta, Minister Ali Alatas spoke of the meeting which will take place in London with Jaime Gama and UN SG Boutros Ghali, saying that he was hoping for some progress to be made on the matters of substance: “If there is no progress on that score, then people will ask what the point of these meetings is,” warned Alatas. Two issues were left pending at the sixth round, held in July with Durão Barroso representing Portugal: preservation of Timorese cultural identity, and the possibility of alterations to the bilateral relations between Lisbon and Jakarta.

**RETURN TO INDONESIA**

[slightly abridged]

JAKARTA, Jan 5 (Reuters) - Three East Timorese men who fought in a rebellion against Portuguese colonisers in their homeland in the 1950s and were deported to Portugal, Angola and Mozambique returned to Indonesia on Friday.

The men, arriving with their five children who had never seen Indonesia before, were the first of 15 East Timorese who fought against Portugal in 1959 expected to return to Indonesia after living in exile.

“I feel happy to be here,” 25-year-old Antonio Soares Nunes, son of Domingus Soares, 56, told reporters in Portuguese in the VIP room at the Sukarno-Hatta international airport.

It was not clear when the others, who now live in Portugal, would return to Indonesia.

Outside the room, about 30 Indonesians staged a pro-integration protest holding banners which read “Welcome home freedom fighters.”

The three Timorese men, aged between 56 and 60, declined to speak to reporters.

Indonesia’s Foreign Ministry said in a statement 68 East Timorese were deported from East Timor after the rebellion in which 500 people were killed. It said many had died in exile.

Hasan Wirayuda, director of international organisation at the ministry, quoted the Timorese as saying they wanted to become farmers in their homeland.

He said their return was arranged by the Indonesian government and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

Wirayuda declined to give other details.

**MINISTER DINES WITH TIMORESE REFUGEES**

Jornal de Noticias, 24 December 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The new Minister of Solidarity and Social Security, Eduardo Ferro Rodrigues, referred to his anti-fascist past record to explain his understanding of the Timorese issue.

Eduardo Ferro Rodrigues took part in a dinner and social event with Timorese, organised by his Ministry at the Casa Pia in Lisbon.

“As an opponent of a totalitarian regime, I can understand the feelings of all the Timorese exiles, refugees and immigrants, who are seeking in Portugal what they did not manage to find in their own country,” said the Minister, adding that for that very reason he wished to leave a message of solidarity.

At the dinner, attended by about 300 Timorese “supported to an extent by the Portuguese state,” particularly by Social Security, the political leader emphasised the recently created inter-ministerial commission for assessing reception of Timorese and their subsequent integration with Portuguese society.

“Measures are already underway, involving the Ministries of Solidarity and Equipment, Foreign Affairs, Health, Internal Administration, Justice, Qualification and Employment and Education,” said Ferro Rodrigues, referring to a matter which, he believes, affects all levels of government.

Note : About 30 young Timorese refugees, recently arrived to Portugal, and staying in a hostel situated in the centre of Lisbon, have forged a friendly relationship with police officers from the nearby station: Christmas dinner this year for these Timorese included a turkey - a gift from their local law enforcement agents.
PORTUGAL ACCUSED OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS


Sydney – In November 1992, and coinciding with the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, José Duarte, a Timorese deputy in the Indonesian parliament in Dili, announced at a press conference that he, along with a group of other Timorese, was preparing a case against Portugal of “human rights abuses in East Timor” during Portuguese presence in the territory.

Duarte, who described himself as the “organiser of the rebellion against Portugal in Viqueque in 1959,” refused at the time to give further details about the case, the number of people involved, and when the international complaint would be formally presented. He did, however, state that Portugal had been responsible for the death of 545 Timorese during the Viqueque uprising: “I myself witnessed the brutality, and have sufficient evidence with which to win the case.” He also added that there were “at least 9 others who can testify on what happened.”

The matter was not heard about again in public until last August, when Antonio Freitas Parada, Chairman of East Timor’s Legislative Assembly reported that he would be lodging a complaint against Portugal with the International Court of Justice, for alleged crimes against the Timorese people. The alleged crimes, he said, had been perpetrated by “representatives of the State of Portugal” in 1945, 1959 (Viqueque uprising), and in 1975 (Timorese civil war). “In addition to the Portuguese State, some individuals who were responsible for the crimes committed ... could also be cited ...” In this respect, he mentioned the name of the former Governor, Lemos Pires, as well as Almeida Santos, a former Minister who promised a referendum, which was subsequently never held.

It is going to be difficult, however, to proceed with the complaint: it would have to be lodged through Indonesian Government, which does not recognise the jurisdiction of the International Court. Even so, Timorese sources reported that, so far, over 33 million Escudos have been paid to a Dutch lawyer to prepare the case.

Abilio Osorio Soares, the Jakarta-appointed Governor, is among the plaintiffs. Back in 1992 he had expressed his support for José Duarte’s initiative in bringing the case against Portugal “for the brutal deaths of alleged rebels.” The group wants Lisbon to pay compensation to all the alleged victims, including Timorese “victims of the repression in 1945,” which followed the Japanese invasion of the territory.

Lisbon is also accused of persecuting members of the “black columns” - groups of Timorese who helped the Japanese forces. The then Governor of East Timor, Oscar Freire de Vasconcelos Ruas, is said to have deported to the island of Atauro “about 50,000 Timorese,” of which “only between 120 and 150 survived.” Antonio Parada claims that during the Viqueque uprising, the Portuguese Government was responsible for the “massacre of about 500 people” and for the “deportation to Angola, without trial, of a further 200.”

When the matter was first made public in 1992, its first critic was Abilio Araujo (then still leader of Fretilin), who said the idea was “absurd” and equivalent to “accusing Portugal of abuses when it first arrived to the island in 1515.”

 Ironically, Abilio Araujo was in Jakarta in late December when the matter was once again aired in public. The Indonesian Government did its utmost to publicise the case of the four Timorese families (a total of 9 people) who are, today, leaving Portugal for Jakarta, to become Indonesian citizens.

In order to spread this news, which was highlighted in the local press, Indonesia’s roving ambassador, Lopes da Cruz, called a meeting of the hitherto unheard of Timorese association “Impettu.” The 50 young people who attended were described as having been “very pleased with the news about what is going to happen.” “These four families were involved in the uprising against the Portuguese Government in 1959,” Lopes da Cruz told Publico. “During a long and bitter period, these people fought against Portuguese colonial rule, and for integration into Indonesia, in 1959.”

The Indonesian Ambassador went on the say that in 1994 the Timorese families wrote to President Suharto, who “was moved by their letter” and instructed .. that their repatriation to Indonesia to be arranged.”

NEW PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT WILL KEEP EAST TIMOR QUESTION ALIVE

CDPM report, 14 January 1996

Lisbon – New Socialist President intends to keep the question of Timor “alive, both externally and internally.”

56-year-old lawyer and former Socialist Mayor of the City of Lisbon, Jorge Sampaio, was elected the new President of the Republic in Portugal’s presidential elections held today. His opponent in the running was the former Social Democratic Prime Minister, Anibal Cavaco Silva, who held office for 10 years until being ousted by the Socialist Party in last October’s General Elections.

Addressing the nation just a few hours after the ballot boxes had closed and once his victory was confirmed, Jorge Sampaio, who will be sworn in as President on 9 March, included a reference to Timor in his speech. The question of Timor, he said, was one which he intended to “keep alive, both externally and internally.”

PORTUGUESE ELECTION ENDS ERA

Jan 15, 1996, [abridged]

Lisbon, Portugal (AP) – Jorge Sampaio’s presidential victory marks the end of a political era, with his ascendant Socialist Party replacing a fading but long-ruling center-right coalition.

Sampaio’s win Sunday over Anibal Cavaco Silva gives Portugal a government and president of the same political hue for the first time since democracy was restored in 1974. Socialists won October’s general elections, ending 10 years of center-right government under Cavaco Silva.

The election marks the exit of the nation’s dominant politicians of the past decade: outgoing President Mario Soares and Cavaco Silva – both Social Democrats. Soares is required by law to step down after two consecutive terms.

“... We will overcome difficulties and underdevelopment to become a tolerant, developed and caring country,” Sampaio told hundreds of cheering supporters outside the Lisbon hotel where he celebrated victory. “That is my task.”

“Starting today, I’m the president of all Portugal – those who voted for me and those who didn’t,” said the 56-year-old lawyer.

Sampaio took 54 percent of the vote, compared to 46 percent for Cavaco Silva. Turnout was 66 percent of the nearly 9 million eligible voters.

Sampaio will be sworn in March 9.

Sampaio’s victory avenges a humiliating defeat to the Social Democrats in general elections five years ago. The loss cost him the Socialist Party leadership and might have ended his political career, but he won re-election as mayor of Lisbon and rehabilitated himself.

The soft-spoken Sampaio is expected to back mainstream government policy, which supports European integration. He has pledged to defend the less privileged and fight unemployment.

The son of an illustrious physician, Sampaio was raised in a liberal, urbane Lisbon family. He was sent to an English school to learn the language of Shakespeare. Later, as a
law student he rose through the ranks of leftist underground movements.

Since 1974, voters have viewed the presidency as a counterweight to government, electing a head of state of a different party than the one ruling parliament. But an economic slump in recent years apparently changed voters’ habits.

Comment from: Mariza Cabral, Jan 16

A correction on the AP report on the new Portuguese president: the former president, Mario Soares, was not a social-democrat but a socialist as well. In fact he was one of the founders of the socialist party (PS) and president of the party for many years.

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**TIMORESE ARRESTED BY JAKARTA AS THEY ATTEMPT TO FLEE TO AUSTRALIA**

Diario de Noticias, 24 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

A spokesperson for the Timorese Resistance in Lisbon told LUSA yesterday that the Indonesian authorities arrested 25 young Timorese on Saturday, as they tried to make their way by boat to Australia. According to the same source, some of the detainees are being held in Baucau, but most were taken to Dili for interrogation.

The Timorese, five of whom are young women, are aged between 15 and 21 years. They had left Baucau on 19 January and were arrested the following day by the Portuguese coast guard.

**PORTUGAL SHOULD SUPPLY HUMANITARIAN AID**

Speaking about Timor yesterday, Nuno Abecasis, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on East Timor, said he believed Portugal ought to provide humanitarian aid to the armed Resistance movement in the territory. The MP was speaking as he left a meeting with members of Renetil - the National Resistance of East Timorese Students’ organisation, which had approached MPs in an effort to get them to persuade the Portuguese Government to supply the guerrilla movement with humanitarian aid.

The Parliamentary Commission decided to give their backing to RENETIL’s campaign, as well as to the campaign of the CNRM (Maubere Resistance National Council) for Xanana Gusmão and Bishop Ximenes Belo to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. “We had already agreed with that candidacy, and we are willing to support the initiative,” said Abecasis, who went on to explain that contacts with MPs in other countries would be established in order to gain further support for the proposal.

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**CRIMINAL CHARGE AGAINST PORTUGAL’S “KING”**

Businessman Manuel Macedo, Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, lodged a criminal complaint today with the police against Dom Duarte de Bragança, for allegedly encouraging “vandalism” and “xenophobia.” The allegations are connected with statements made by Dom Duarte during a Radio Renascença programme called “Cartas na Mesa” (cards on the table), transmitted on 13 January. According to Macedo, the statements constituted an encouragement to young Portuguese to vandalise shops in which Indonesian products were on sale.

Note: Dom Duarte de Bragança is head of Portugal’s royal family and uncrowned heir to the throne.

Comment from João Pedro Martins:

Actually, he did say it. He didn’t encourage ‘xenophobia,’ but he did say Portuguese should not buy Indonesian products (which, unfortunately, can’t be helped from entering the country), and should make the store owners aware of what they are selling.

I have, as have friends of mine, given back Indonesian products when I discovered where they were made.

**DOM DUARTE’S BOYCOTT**

Diario de Noticias, 26 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

In a recorded interview transmitted by Radio Renascença, the Duke of Bragança (and uncrowned King of Portugal), Dom Duarte, suggested that young people refuse to buy Indonesian products on sale in Portuguese shops. This statement became the cause of a criminal complaint brought against him by the Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association.

Dom Duarte said yesterday that he never incited young Portuguese to undertake acts of violence ... and reformulated his statements: “My statements were made in the same spirit with which Christ entered the Temple and overturned the vendors’ tables, and they were not intended to incite violence.”

He defended his position by asking “If the island of Madeira were invaded by some foreign power, would Portugal’s reaction be similar to its reaction with regards Timor?!” Stating that actions such as boycotts “are accepted by the international community today,” Dom Duarte, by way of example, referred to the Falklands’ War. It was a time during which “to find Argentinean products on sale in England would have been unthinkable.”

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**GAMA IN MANILA**

Diario de Noticias, 25 January 1996. By Abel Coelho de Morais. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

**RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH JAKARTA DEPENDS ON CHANGE OF INDONESIA’S POSITION ON TIMOR**

Lisbon — Re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Indonesia is linked to the question of Timor. This is, and will continue to be Portugal’s position, said (Foreign Minister) Jaime Gama yesterday, during lunch at the American Club. The Minister was answering a question about the possibility of Portugal and Indonesia re-establishing relations, but it is a matter which Gama does not wish to consider, as long as there is no “qualitative change” in the “static” pattern of occupation and integration employed by Jakarta in East Timor.

“Indonesia has to adopt a more constructive position, which would be in line with current international law and human rights criteria,” before diplomatic relations between the two countries can be considered.

**SOARES GETS CHRISTMAS GREETINGS FROM XANANA**

Diario de Noticias, 26 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Yesterday, Mario Soares (President of the Republic) received, via a representative of the Timorese Resistance in Lisbon, a Christmas card from Xanana Gusmão.

Luis Cardoso, who delivered the good will gesture, said that Xanana “is well, strong and lucid,” adding that the Timorese Resistance leader has not been tortured by Indonesian security forces.

**TIMOR TO RECEIVE RTPI (PORTUGUESE TV)**

Publico, 29 November 1995. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

AsiaSat-II already launched

Lisbon — AsiaSat-II, the satellite which is to beam RTPi to Asia and the Pacific, was launched yesterday by a Chinese rocket, Longa Marcha 2E, from the Xichang base in Southwest China. By January 1996, when reception of the service should be underway, Timor will be able to tune into the Portuguese channel. The five or six week lapse between the launch and the time reception is possible, was explained by RTPi Director, Afonso Rato, as being due to the need to individually test the over 20 TV channels being carried by the satellite.
Reception of the Portuguese channel will be possible in Timor by using a 1.5 metre dish. Afonso Rato explained that “In East Timor, there are several hundred dishes, normally measuring three metres, facing Indonesian satellites. ... There are advantages in our system ... only a small alteration to the dish” will be required in order to receive RTPi. ... There has been non-official interest in the launch of the satellite among the Timorese, while the Indonesians have already issued a short statement saying they are going to “assess the situation” when the service goes into operation.

The satellite, made by the US manufacturer Lockheed Martin, is the most powerful of the Asian satellites and cost 200 million dollars. ...

In addition to Marconi Portuguesa, the satellite is to be used by: Australian press magnate Rupert Murdoch’s Star TV; Associated Press Television; Worldwide TV News (WTN); Hong Kong Telecommunications; Deutsche Welle, Pacific Century Group, and by Malaysia’s Time Communications. It is owned by Hong Kong based Hutchison Whampoa, the Chinese state-owned China International Trust and Investment Corp, and by Cable & Wireless.

**RTPi begins broadcasts to East Timor**

_translated, summarized_

Lisbon, Jan 28 (LUSA) - The emissions of Portuguese Television (RTPi) to the Asia-Pacific region, started today at 11 AM and were received in excellent conditions in East Timor.

The emissions today included an address to the East Timorese people by PM Antonio Guterres, speaking in Tetum. In his address, Guterres said that “defending the rights of the East Timorese is not only a duty of all of us, Timorese and Portuguese, but effectively also an obligation of the international community.” Guterres referred the need to support the East Timorese “wish for freedom,” referring their “right to self-determination,” and that “all peoples have the right to be free” and “choose their own destiny,” and be respected in their “dignity as human beings.”

Present at the address, recorded from the Marconi telecommunications conference room, were several government members and numerous East Timorese residing in Portugal. For the representative of the Timorese community in Portugal, Manuel Rosario dos Martires, the RTPi emission to Timor “is very important to lift the spirits of the Timorese and to maintain in them some hope and trust in the Portuguese government.”

The address by Antonio Guterres in Tetum was received in Dili with applause and excitement. Manuel Carrascalão, contacted on the phone from Macao, stated that “it was with great excitement that we heard the Portuguese Prime-Minister speak our language. We didn’t expect that much and this gesture touched very deep into our hearts.” “Those who were watching the emission here started applauding when they heard the Prime-Minister speak in Tetum.”

“We expected a political message of circumstance, for we had doubts that he would speak in favor of our rights, but what he said surpassed all our expectations.” “They were the perfect words for Timor,” said Manuel Carrascalão.

**Excitement in Dili**

_Publico, 29 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged_

As from yesterday, Timor is able to receive RTPi (Portugal’s international TV channel) via satellite. During the first transmission, Portuguese Prime Minister, Antonio Guterres, sent a message in Tetum, in which he spoke out in favour of the Timorese people’s rights and stirred emotions in the capital, Dili.

When the first transmission of RTPi reached East Timor yesterday, it was a moving moment. ... RTPi started up with a special programme to mark the beginning of its regular broadcasts through Asiasat-2, which covers Asia, including Timor.

According to LUSA, dozens of Timorese stood up when they heard the (Portuguese) national anthem that preceded transmission. Manuel Carrascalão, speaking from Macao, said “...we are very moved as we listen to the national anthem ... From now on, we are closer to Portugal ... this is an historic moment which we are experiencing with great joy and excitement.”

The Prime Minister ... used the opportunity to send a message from Lisbon directly to the Timorese. Speaking in Tetum, their native language, he said that “to defend the rights of the Maubere people is not only a duty for every one of us, Timorese and Portuguese alike, but is also the international community’s obligation.” ... He also spoke of the need to support Timorese people’s “desire for freedom” and their “right to self-determination.” ... “All nations have the right to be free” ... “choose their own destiny,” and see their “human dignity respected,” he continued in his message.

In Timor, the PM’s message was applauded. The fact that he addressed the Timorese in Tetum, and reiterated support for “Timorese rights” on such an occasion, came as a surprise.

**Events in Britain**

_Britain’s help to Jakarta condemned by Labour MP_

_Jornal de Noticias, 16 October 1995. By Gilberto Ferraz. Translated from Portuguese_

Labour MP Ann Clwydd, a long time upholder of the rights of the Timorese, has denounced the assistance given by the British Government to Indonesia on projects connected with East Timor, which is contrary to Britain’s official position.

In a long report, Ann Clwydd refers to various cases in which the British Govern-
ment has given assistance with projects, namely on transmigration, connected with East Timor. In her general condemnation of Britain’s help to Indonesia, Ann Clwydd also reveals cases of Indonesian officers, seriously implicated in human rights violations and possibly involved in arms sales, being trained in the UK.

The British Government, which officially does not recognise Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor, has stated that it “does not collaborate in governmental projects involving East Timor.”

However, Ann Clwydd asserts that she has found evidence of various projects which contradicts this statement. The most significant proof involves a donation of 6,250,000,000 Escudos towards a “regional physical plan for transmigration ... supplying exact cartography and qualitative data on the availability of land for new villages.”

Ann Clwydd reports that when she sought confirmation of this case from the Government, she was informed the facts were correct - that is, it did include East Timor.

Given this evidence, and in the light of the recent intensification of the transmigration practices in East Timor, it is clear that Indonesia’s deliberate policy is to quickly take control of East Timor by colonising the territory with people from Java and other parts of Indonesia. The intensification of this plan to “Indonesianise” East Timor originates and aggravates understandable tension among the native Timorese population.

Ann Clwydd refers to two other Indonesian projects in East Timor which received financial backing from the British Government. They involved the training of municipal officials in natural resources projects. Ann Clwydd concludes that the British Government is, “in practice, not only recognising the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia, but actually contributing to it as well and, furthermore, the Government has been lying to Parliament when it has categorically stated it does not collaborate in governmental projects involving East Timor.”

Convinced that this kind of assistance is illegal, under the 1980 Overseas Co-operation & Development Law, Ann Clwydd is looking at ways in which to accuse the British Government of misuse of public funds.

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**HAWKS OVER EAST TIMOR; BRITISH ARMS INDONESIA**


While East Timor begins its third decade under Indonesian occupation, British arms exporters make a killing in Jakarta.

by Mark Curtis, [former Research Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.]

The Indonesian armed forces are accused of massive human rights abuses in putting down Timorese resistance.

As protests in world capitals, including London, marked the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor in December (followed by its annexation), the British government continued its decades-long embrace with Indonesian President Suharto. Since 1990 alone, Britain has sold arms worth more than $350 million to Indonesia, and has in place agreements to sell an estimated $3.5 to $9 billion more.(1) Those weapons are helping Suharto and his generals smash Timorese resistance to the Indonesian occupation, and have made Britain Indonesia’s second largest arms supplier in recent years.(2)

But Britain’s role grows even more significant with the US finally having placed limited restrictions on arms sales and military training for Indonesia. The US Congress cut off funds for training Indonesian troops in 1992, and the State Department imposed a ban on the sale of small arms two years later. Despite the Clinton administration’s tentative efforts this spring to increase arms sales, that ban remains in effect.(3)

When asked about the US restrictions, a Suharto spokesman replied, “No problem. We can always turn to Britain.”(4) The East Timor independence movement, meanwhile, has termed Britain “the single worst obstructionist of any industrialized country” when it comes to international action against Indonesian violence in East Timor.(5)

That violence has been terrible by any standard. When Indonesian troops stormed into East Timor on December 7, 1975, they killed an estimated 200,000 of a population of 700,000.(6) While the pace has slowed since the initial slaughter, thousands were killed in the 1980s. In the most notorious incident in recent years, in November 1991, Indonesian troops firing on a funeral in Dili, the capital of East Timor killed more than 250 people.

Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor is illegal under international law. The United Nations has issued nine resolutions condemning the invasion and annexation, and still considers Portugal, the former colonial master, as having administrative control. Several Western countries have cut aid to Indonesia citing human rights abuses in East Timor, and others, notably Portugal, Italy, Sweden, and South Africa, have banned arms sales.

But international condemnation has not prevented some Western countries, particularly the US, Britain, Australia, France, and Germany, from lending military aid and comfort to the Suharto regime. And no wonder: The first three approved of the invasion even before it happened.(7)

**Britain in the Postwar Order**

That Britain did so fits the pattern of its foreign policy for the last half-century.
Throughout the post-World War II era, British policy toward Jakarta has been of a piece with its wider priorities in the Third World, as revealed in recently declassified planning documents. These clearly lay out British planners’ aims for the postwar Third World. The basic goal was (and remains) to control the world’s most economically important regions, usually in the face of democratic or popular nationalist forces, and often in alliance with favored regional clients.

The Foreign Office made clear early on that the overall policy was based on “the importance of our maintaining control of the periphery” - that is, areas outside the control of the Soviet Union. Britain viewed the Middle East as of prime importance but it also cast an avaricious eye on Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. In 1950, the Foreign Office described the region as “very important in peace, as a dollar-earner and as a sterling source of essential raw materials.”

Britain has pursued its global economic and strategic goals in alliance with the US. The “special relationship” between the two has been a central pillar of world order since 1945, and continues today. It rests on (often solitary) support for each other’s acts of aggression and a joint understanding of respective roles - Britain very much the junior partner - in pursuing basic Western foreign policy and economic priorities.

Thus the US strongly supported Britain’s overthrow of the elected government in its colony of British Guiana in 1953, and Britain returned the favor the next year. As the US moved against Guatemala, Whitehall (site of the British Foreign Office) provided critical support at the UN. Foreign Minister Anthony Eden recalled that “we had an obligation as their principal ally to go as far as we could to help them.”

Britain aided the US with signals intelligence in Vietnam, and while the British government has always denied it, the British Special Air Service (SAS) elite forces reportedly fought in that war alongside Australian and New Zealand SAS squads.

Britain also provided diplomatic backing for Ronald Reagan’s Central American crusades. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher noted in 1984, for example, that “we support the United States’ aim to promote peaceful change, democracy, and economic development” in the region. And during the Gulf War, Britain, alone in the so-called “coalition,” was the only major power to support unstintingly the belligerent US position.

The Role of Arms Exports

Arms exports have been key in advancing both countries’ interests. Weapons sales are not only commercially profitable, but also serve to cement alliances with key regimes and help them to maintain domestic control. Early on, a key aspect of US arms sales to the most important oil state, Saudi Arabia, was that they promoted “internal security” and “keep the goodwill of the King and other important Saudi Arabs.” US planners dryly noted that such priorities could lead people in the Arab world (and, one might add, elsewhere) to believe the US and UK were “backing the corrupt governments now in power, without regard to the welfare of the masses.”

In Britain today, those foreign policy considerations are increasingly wedded with domestic economic priorities. Particularly since the Margaret Thatcher administration, which laid the foundation for the current big push on arms exports, promoting weapons sales has been a deliberate policy. The defense industry now accounts for one in ten British manufacturing jobs – an estimated 450,000 positions, with over 100,000 depending on exports.

As Prince Charles proudly noted at a 1994 arms fair in Dubai, “We’re really rather good at making certain kinds of weapons” – and selling them. Arms exports increased from $6 billion in 1989 to $10.5 billion in 1993, making Britain the world’s second largest weapons trader, after the US.

Foreign arms sales, says the Ministry of Defence’s head of exports, are a “tremendous national asset.”

We Can Always Turn to Britain

Such sentiments have necessarily influenced Britain’s attitude toward Indonesia. It abstained on the first UN resolution condemning the invasion, supported two weakly-worded and watered down others, and abstained on all subsequent ones. British economic assistance to Indonesia continues, and has even increased from $31 million in 1990 to $54 million in 1994. But arms sales are the starkest indicator of Britain’s priorities in Indonesia.

British arms exports to Indonesia began in earnest in April 1978, when British Aerospace (BAe), the world’s fifth-largest arms export company, announced an export order to Indonesia for eight Hawk jet aircraft, Rolls Royce engines, spares, and training of pilots and engineers.

The Labor government refused to assure Parliament that the Hawks would not be used against East Timor, and downplayed the extent of Indonesian brutality.

More Hawk sales followed in 1984, as did contracts worth over $350 million for the Rapier air defense system, and the Royal Navy supplied three frigates worth $41 million. The Rapier deal included agreements on technology transfers and provided for training Indonesian military officers in Britain.

In 1987, Rolls Royce signed a technical cooperation agreement with Indonesia’s state-run aerospace company, involving joint venture manufacturing and the servicing of engine parts. UK-based Thorn EMI was reportedly aiming to sell a radar system, and Vickers a light tank.

These deals were part of a warm diplomatic relationship. Suharto was granted an audience with the Queen in 1979, when the body count in East Timor was in the hundreds of thousands. And BAe sold Indonesia a jet for Suharto’s personal use in 1985, a deal worth $24 million.

That relationship has included official contacts with military leaders directly implicated in the atrocities committed in East Timor. In October 1991, Indonesian News (published by the Indonesian embassy in London) reported that British Defense Minister Tom King met with his Indonesian counterpart, Benny Murdani, to discuss “improving military cooperation between the two countries.” Murdani had organized and commanded the invasion of East Timor in 1975.

Massacre? What Massacre?

Close relations continued even after the November 1991 Dili massacre, which sparked renewed worldwide condemnation and eventually led to the US decisions to end training and ban small arms sales.

Whitehall, however, remained largely immune to such concerns. The international outcry did cause London to delay the sale of a navy support ship to Indonesia in January 1992, but the following month, after the international spotlight shifted, the sale went quietly ahead.

At year’s end, Suharto presented Margaret Thatcher with an honorary medal from the Indonesian Engineering Association at the State Palace in Jakarta. Thatcher’s response? “I am proud to be one of you.”

Four months later, in April 1993, Foreign Secretary Hurd visited Indonesia and signed a $95 million loan agreement. While in Jakarta, Hurd pronounced upon the difficulty of exporting “Western values” to developing nations. Amidst such high-level apologetics, BAe signed a $750 million sales contract for 24 more Hawks, along with $75 million worth of engines from Rolls Royce. Defense Minister Malcolm Rifkind exulted that the sale would “enhance the existing good relations between the United Kingdom and Indonesia.”

Recent British military sales include frigates, submarine communications equipment, and surveillance radar used by the Indonesian military for its naval blockade of East Timor.

British-supplied Saladin, Saracen and Ferret armored vehicles, meanwhile, have been used for repression in Indonesia.
But arms sales continued so as not to "hazard the defence and other cooperation we enjoy." (31)

Likewise, British arms deals with Indonesia have been signed against the background of continuing terror in both East Timor and around Indonesia. In 1983-85, as the contracts for the Rapier air defense system were being inked, 3,500-4,500 people were murdered by army death squads in Indonesia.

Similarly, on the same day that BA announced a co-production agreement with Indonesia for the Hawk and another light attack fighter, one newspaper observed that "foreign human rights investigators and Western diplomats in Jakarta now estimate that up to 5,000 people have been killed or 'disappeared' in Indonesia's Aceh province at the time. (32)

Amnesty International estimated 2,000 deaths in Aceh from 1989 through July 1993, with most of the victims "ordinary villagers living in areas of suspected rebel activity." The Indonesian military commander in Aceh province was quoted as saying in November 1990 that "I have told the community, if you find a terrorist, kill him. There's no need to investigate him ... If they don't do as you order them, shoot them on the spot, or butcher them." (33)

A recent UN Human Rights Commission report noted that "East Timor continues to be particularly affected by violations of the right to life perpetrated by the Indonesian security forces," who enjoy "virtual impunity." The report declared that "there has been no significant improvement in the human rights situation on the ground and unless concrete measures are taken, no such improvement can be expected in the near future." (34)

Business Is Business

Britain's past performance gives no indication that it will take such "concrete measures." Close military and diplomatic relations with Jakarta have advanced fundamental British priorities at the expense of large numbers of both Timorese and Indonesians. Under Suharto, Indonesia has consistently offered Western business interests the opportunity to benefit from the archipelago's political "stability." The roster of British companies who have taken advantage of Indonesia's "favourable political climate" includes Rio Tinto Zinc, British Petroleum, British Gas, and Btioil, as well as the arms exporters.

This climate, and the accompanying violence, has both been aided by, and is partly the product of, systematic British government policy toward Indonesia. With British aid to Indonesia increasing and further sales of Hawks and tanks in the offing, the policy firmly continues 20 years after the invasion of East Timor.

NOTES


3. The ban "prohibits the sale or licensing for export of small or light arms and crowd control items until the Secretary has determined that there has been significant progress on human rights in Indonesia, including East Timor." Wendy R. Sherman, State Department Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Letter to Sen. Russell Feingold (D-Wisc.), Sept. 21, 1995.


6. That figure has been confirmed in 1990 by the Indonesian army intelligence chief for East Timor and this year by the Indonesian-appointed governor. East Timor Action Network, Background on East Timor and U.S. Policy, May 1995.

7. US approval for the initial invasion and support of Indonesian claims to East Timor is wen-documented. See, for example, John G. Taylor, Indonesia’s Forgotten War, The Hidden History of East Timor (London: Zed Books, 1991). For Australia, see Hamish McDonald, Suharto’s Indonesia (Blackburn, Victoria, Australia: Fontana Books, 1980).

8. See my Ambiguities of Power: British Foreign Policy Since 1945 (London: Zed Press, 1995), from which this article is largely drawn.


me whether murder or overthrow is intended by the word liquidate.”(1)  

A then highly-placed MI6 officer later denied that “liquidate” meant killing Sukarno, but conceded that, “However, they might well have discussed the best way of getting rid of this awkward fellow.”(2) When Suharto overthrew Sukarno in 1965, unleashing an orgy of terror that left at least half a million corpses, his regime received quick support from both Britain and the US.  
L Labor Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart visited Indonesia a year after Suharto’s bloody assumption to power and declared the Jakarta regime “harsh and tyrannical; but it is not aggressive.” He was able to “reach a good understanding with Foreign Minister Adam Malik” who was “evidently resolved to keep his country at peace.”(3) Malik later acted as a primary apologist for Indonesian atrocities in East Timor. In 1977, for example, he was reported as saying, “50,000 or 80,000 people might have been killed during the war in East Timor ... It was war...Then what is the big fuss?”(4)  

As it did a decade earlier, Britain supported Suharto’s bloody ambitions in 1975. Five months before Indonesia invaded East Timor, the British ambassador in Jakarta informed the Foreign Office: “The people of Portuguese Timor are in no condition to exercise the right to self-determination” and “the arguments in favour of its integration into Indonesia are all the stronger.” The ambassador added that:  

“Certainly, as seen from here, it is in Britain’s interest that Indonesia should absorb the territory [East Timor] as soon and as unobtrusively as possible, and that if it should come to the crunch and there is a row in the UN, we should keep our heads down and avoid taking sides against the Indonesian government.”(5)  

At about the same time, the Confederation of British Industry noted that Indonesia presents “enormous potential for the foreign investor” and the press noted that the country enjoyed a “favourable political climate” and the “encouragement of foreign investment by the country’s authorities.”(6)  

SIDEBAR NOTES  

BRITAIN BCKS JAKARTA  
DENIAL OF TIMOR TERROR CLAIMS  

The Independent on Sunday, December 3, 1995. By Hugh O’Shaughnessy, slightly abridged  

The governments of Britain and Indone sia have joined in an attempt to discredit a report in the Independent on Sunday of 12 November that British-built Hawk war planes were used on a mission to bolster Indonesia’s savage occupation of East Timor. (That article, “Resistance Burns Bright as Massacre is Remembered”, Is In the Santa Cruz Remembered section of these Documents.)  

The Government’s action comes as protesters world-wide prepare to mark the 20th anniversary on Thursday of the Indonesian invasion of the former Portuguese colony.  

The Indonesian government has issued to the Foreign and Commonwealth office a formal denial that two British Aerospace Hawk war planes flew low over Dili, capital of East Timor, on the morning of 10 November.  

I saw the Hawks make their pass as I stood near the Red Cross compound in a tense and frightened Dili at 8:50 am on 10 November while armed troops and police were filling the streets. The military activity was aimed at preventing demonstrations on the anniversary of the killing of 271 armed [sic – this is clearly a typographical error on the part of the newspaper, and should say “unarmed”] Timorese protesters at the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991. I was expelled from East Timor a few hours later.  

Jeremy Hanley, Minister of State at the Foreign Office and former Conservative Party chairman, said: “We have no evidence to support [the] claim that Hawk aircraft flew over East Timor.”  

Mr Hanley was replying to a letter from Lord Avebury, chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group, who had complained to him of the Indonesians’ use of Hawks, quoting this newspaper’s report.  

Lord Avebury accuses the government of having breached the 1993 agreements of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, which bans the export of arms to areas where they exacerbate existing tensions.
Lord Avebury has put down a question in the House of Lords asking Mr Hanley why he “prefers to believe the denial by the spokesman of the Indonesian occupation forces in East Timor ... rather than the word of a British journalist.”

Our report also embarrassed Downing Street. Whitehall has maintained that General Suharto, the Indonesian dictator, has promised not to use the Hawks to bolster the occupation. When he was Foreign Secretary in 1989 John Major, against the protests of his Cabinet colleagues, stopped the sale of Hawks to Iraq because they could have been used by Saddam Hussein against the Kurds.

In 1991 after the first of my four visits to East Timor, the Foreign Office attempted to discredit my eye-witness report of Indonesian forces using British military vehicles in Dili. It claimed there was “no evidence.” The Indonesian air force, with 44 Hawks on order or in service in two counter-insurgency squadrons, is the largest foreign customer for the aircraft, outstripping even Saudi Arabia. A BAE spokesman said his company hoped Indonesia would buy more; the Indonesians hint they may buy 100.

The Indonesian Embassy yesterday had nothing to add to its denial and would not comment on my expulsion. Meanwhile the UN, recognising the erosion of its prestige represented by Indonesian chronic defiance of the Security Council resolutions demanding the withdrawal of its troops, is increasing its activity on the Timor question. Jose Ayala Lasso, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, arrives in Dili this week and, if the Indonesian troops permit, will stop the sale of Hawks to Iraq because they could have been used by Saddam Hussein against the Kurds.

At the dayschool we will be looking at what goes on there and talking about what we can about it

* Eurofighter & Typhoon - these are BAE’s major new weapon projects. Discussion of what they are (a fighter plane and a “stand off” missile) and what to do about them

* Jobs & Conversion - a major issue for all those working in/against the arms trade

* The Indonesian Hawk Deal - BAE is about to deliver 24 Hawks to Indonesia who have an appalling human rights record at home and continue to occupy East Timor. The workshop will be a review of recent campaigning and looking at how to take the campaign forward.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: Ring Chris on 0171 275 9150 or Michael 01457 871 609; Email Michael c/o MARC@mcr1.poptel.org.uk

**WOMEN DISARM HAWK JET WITH HAMMERS**

**SEEDS OF HOPE - EAST TIMOR**

**PLOUGHSHARES WOMEN DISARMING FOR LIFE AND JUSTICE**

**PRESS RELEASE 29 January 1996 - For immediate release**

Three women were arrested at the British Aerospace military site at Warton, Lancashire in the early hours of this morning after completely disarming a Hawk warplane (jet number ZH 955 ) with household hammers. The women Lotta Kronlid, Joanna Wilson and Andrea Needham. phoned from inside the South Hangar to say that they had completed a Ploughshares Action - to disarm Hawk ground-attack aircraft destined for Indonesia, which were to be used to continue Indonesia’s genocide against the people of East Timor. This is the 56th Ploughshares action worldwide and the 3rd in Britain. Inspired by the biblical injunction “to beat swords into ploughshares,” these are nonviolent acts of disarmament in which the activists take full responsibility for their actions. The women are currently being held at Lytham St. Annes police station and are due in court to present a plea tomorrow. They are charged with illegal entry and criminal damage, expected to be millions of pounds worth.

British Aerospace are due to deliver 24 Hawk Jets to Indonesia during 1996. Lotta Kronlid, a gardener from Oxford, said, There is substantial evidence that Hawks from previous deals have been used by the Indonesian military to bomb civilians in neighbouring East Timor. Indonesia has illegally occupied East Timor for over twenty years - in defiance of ten UN resolutions - and has been responsible for the deaths of...
200,000 people, approximately one-third of the pre-invasion population.”

For three years, many local and national groups and individuals have been calling on both British Aerospace and the British government to cancel the Hawk deal. The Wharton site - where the Hawks are assembled and tested - has been the focus of regular protest Joanna Wilson who is a borough councillor in Kirkby, Merseyside, said, “Despite a sustained campaign, the British government and British Aerospace have refused to stop the sale. These planes will very soon be killing people in East Timor unless action is taken immediately to stop them.”

Andrea Needham, a nurse and peace activist also from Kirkby, said, “I pray that what we do today in disarming these planes will be a smell ray of hope for our sisters and brothers struggling for peace and justice in East Timor.

Angie Zelter, an environmental campaigner from Norfolk, is part of the group but has not yet carried out her part of the action: “Ploughshares actions seek to empower others to believe in their ability to disarm weapons and be publicly accountable for their actions. In keeping with this spirit I will carry out my act of disarmament soon and hope that others will continue this work.” (Interviews available)

For further information: Phone 0171-249-6949, and fax / phone: 0171-923-9511

The Seeds of Hope - East Timor Ploughshares group has prepared a broadcast quality video, taped interviews and a report about the action, which are available to the press. Personal statements, indictment and photos are also available.

THREE ARRESTED FOR DAMAGING HAWK
Update, Jan. 30.

Three women appeared in court today after being arrested Monday during a nighttime raid on the British Aerospace site in Wharton, Lancs.

A Hawk ground attack aircraft was badly damaged by the intruders who were protesting against the sale of Hawk aircraft to the Indonesian government, because of its campaign of genocide against East Timor.

The three women who cut through the perimeter fence and entered a hangar are: Joanna Wilson, 32, from Kirkby, Manchester, a member of Knowsley borough council; Andrea Needham, 30, a nurse also from Kirkby; and Lotta Kronlid, 27, a gardener from Oxford.

The three women were refused bail after declaring in court that they wanted to go free in order to continue with their work against British Aerospace. They are due to appear before magistrates on Thursday.

EVENTS IN IRELAND

DUBLIN VIGIL IN SUPPORT OF IRISH PEACE PILGRIMS
Press release from East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign, Nov. 9

In response to Indonesia’s decision to refuse Senator David Norris and Patricia McKenna M.E.P. access to East Timor, and the deportations of other international figures from the territory, the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign will hold a one hour candle-light vigil outside the British embassy, Merriion Road on Friday, November 10th between 7pm and 8pm.

A special ceremony commemorating the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, in which over 270 East Timorese were gunned down by Indonesian troops, will take place at the embassy. A similar ceremony was intended to take place in Dili, East Timor, with Senator Norris and Ms. McKenna reading messages of support from, among others, Bono of U2, and Nobel Laureate, Mairead Maguire, and lighting a Flame Of Hope (AHI NAKLAKAN).

It has just emerged also that an Indonesian officer, whose men brutally murdered five Western journalists-two Britons, two Australians and a New Zealander-prior to the full-scale invasion of East Timor, has since been given a year’s training at a top British military college.

Given these recent developments, ETISC will be calling on John Major’s government to support pleas for a fresh inquiry into the killings of the journalists, and to cease all military assistance, both training and hardware, to the Suharto regime.

“the actions taken by the Indonesian authorities to ban two Irish parliamentarians from entering East Timor is a clear indication of Indonesia’s disregard for international law and respect for human rights,” said Tom Hyland of ETISC.

NORRIS URGES VISIT TO TIMOR REBEL LEADER

The Irish Times, 8th Dec. 1995. Reporter: Reg Cullen

N.B. Extracts form the Senate debate were carried on R.T.E television Oireachtas (Parliamentary) report. Those who spoke included The Tanaiste (Deputy Prime Minister) and minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dick Spring and Senator David Norris.

Independent senator Mr. David Norris yesterday called on the Tanaiste to instruct Ireland’s ambassador to Australia, who is also accredited to Indonesia, to visit Mr. Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese leader is illegally imprisoned in Indonesia.

Mr. Norris made his appeal during a debate marking the 20th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia. He also asked Mr. Dick Spring to get the EU Council of Ministers to establish an independent international inquiry into the country. During the past 20 years, 200,000 people or one third of the population had died through mass-execution, famine forced labour and in concentration camps. Until recently, the west had turned a blind eye to all of this, he said. Mr. Spring replied that the government wanted Indonesia to cooperate fully with United Nations agencies in East Timor. Ireland wanted to see a political solution based on the principles of international law and justice.

Moreover, Mr. Spring said, Ireland called for a halt in the supply of arms to Indonesia which could be used as instruments of oppression in East Timor and demanded the release of Mr. Xanana Gusmão and other political prisoners in East Timor. The Tanaiste deplored the fact that Senator Norris and MEP Patricia McKenna and other’s were prevented from visiting East Timor last month on a mission of goodwill, peace and prayer to commemorate those killed in Dili four years ago.

SANTA TO DECOMMISSION WARPLANE AT BRITISH EMBASSY

East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign
Press Release, 20th December 1995

Santa Claus will be paying a special visit to the British embassy between 12 noon and 1pm on Christmas Day to decommission a British Aerospace Hawk aircraft.

On his return to Lapland, Santa will stop off at Merrion road and carry out the decommissioning as a present to the people of East Timor, who suffer from the use of the British Hawks by the Indonesian military.

The British made Hawks have been used for bombing raids against civilian targets in
East Timor, which has been illegally occupied by Indonesia for the past 20 years. Reports of the aircraft’s use have been made as recently as November 1995 when the Irish journalist Hugh O’Shaughnessy observed them flying over the ‘Santa’ Cruz cemetery in the East Timorese capital, Dili. Following the sighting, Mr. O’Shaughnessy was deported from East Timor by the Indonesian military.

Tom Hyland, co-ordinator of ETISC, commented: “With the issue of weapons decommissioning attracting so much attention in this country, I am delighted that Santa Claus is coming here to broaden the issue. When we talk about weapons we must realise that the needs of the people in Ireland, north and south, and the people in East Timor are the same. They all need peace.”

More information, Dublin 353 1 6233148.

ROLE OF IRELAND STRESSED AS UN TALKS BEGIN

The Irish Times, 15th January 1996. By Hugh O’Shaughnessy

As UN talks of the future of occupied East Timor start in London today diplomats are underlining the key role Ireland could play in alleviating the crisis in the former Portuguese colony when it assumes the presidency of the EU.

The talks, at the Dorchester hotel, involve the UN Secretary General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr. Jaime Gama, and Mr. Ali Alatas, his opposite number from Indonesia whose forces have been occupying the territory in defiance of UN Security Council resolutions since 1975.

Mr. Alatas has promised that this week’s session will bring substantive progress on the question of East Timor where an estimated 200,000 people have died as a result of Indonesia’s occupation and invasion. “It is important that we enter the substantive discussion in quitting a meeting with Alatas in disgust last year has not been forgotten. And Ireland has a very good UN record.”

Meanwhile, there is worry in Timorese circles at persistent reports from Lisbon that Bishop Belo will be relegated to the provincial town of Baucau when, as seems likely, the diocese of East Timor will be divided into two or even three.

HORTA INTERVIEWED ON RTE

RTE Today at Five, January 16. National in Ireland and on the Astra Satellite to Europe
Interviewer: Aileen O’Meara

Aileen O’Meara; “Ireland takes the presidency of the EU in July this year and it presents us with the opportunity to have a key role in alleviating the crisis in East Timor, so says José Ramos Horta, spokesperson for the Timorese resistance. José was Foreign Minister in East Timor for just ten days, between the declaration of independence and the Indonesian invasion in 1975. He is in London today, to coincide with the UN sponsored talks of the future of occupied East Timor. Can you tell me what the present situation is in East Timor now?”

José Ramos Horta, “The situation has deteriorated seriously over the last 12 months. There are at least 30,000 Indonesian troops in our country, a country the size of Israel or Kuwait. There are over 1,000 Timorese in prison, torture is commonplace and is a daily occurrence. Dozens and dozens of East Timorese are detained and tortured at random. At the same time the resistance gets stronger and stronger than ever. The more the Indonesian aggress against the people of East Timor, the more they resist.”

Aileen O’Meara; “What do you think that the people of Ireland can do about the situation, it is very far away?”

José Ramos Horta, “Well first and foremost allow me to say that we are indebted, we are grateful, profoundly moved by the action taken by the Irish Government and Irish politicians in regard to the situation. We have a very long history of resistance to the Indonesian occupation. Ireland, yes is far away, is small but it has a strong moral position. There is no country in the world that can accuse Ireland of having neo-colonial or imperial ambitions against anyone. So whenever Ireland takes a stand it has an impact. No one can criticize Ireland like they criticize Australia or the United States and for these very reasons we commend very strongly the stand taken by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Dick Spring late last year when he stood up the Indonesian Foreign Minister. This was the first time that the arrogant Foreign Minister of Indonesia faced a European Minister who is not afraid of Indonesia’s wealth, who is not afraid of the Indonesian dictatorship. Ireland must be proud of this.”

EVENTS IN CANADA

ISABEL GALHOS SINGS EAST TIMOR INDEPENDENCE SONG AT INDONESIAN EMBASSY IN OTTAWA

From ETAN/Ottawa, Nov. 14

Cold wind and snow did not deter 300 people from protesting at the Indonesian Embassy in Ottawa. The rally also marched to the Human Rights monument and then to Parliament Hill. The crowd chanted down McLaren street with independence flags, banners, and over 200 crosses - each carrying the name of a person who had died in the Nov 12, 1991 massacre in Dili. Many of the
names were of teenagers - gunned down in cold blood.

At the Indonesian Embassy, East Timorese refugee, Isabel “Bella” Galhos sang the independence song of East Timor. “In my country, people die or are tortured for singing this song” said Bella in her introduction to the song.

The rally then moved to the Human Rights monument where Bella spoke of her account of the events of Nov 12th, 1991 in East Timor’s capital, Dili. She described what happened as the Indonesian army opened fire at the entrance to the cemetery. She climbed a wall and escaped as her friends and neighbours were being slaughtered. A ‘minutes silence’ was observed for those slain.

During our rally, Indonesian students, from PERMIKA (Indonesian Students Association - Ottawa) were handing out literature stating that the majority of the people of East Timor wanted integration with Indonesia. It included statistics regarding development that Indonesia had brought to East Timor. At Parliament Hill Bella denounced this “propaganda” and the lies that it contained. In an impassioned talk she told of the horrors that the Indonesian Government had forced on her people. Murder, torture, rape, forced sterilization and daily intimidation are the methods of the Indonesian army. She thanked those who came out to the rally and asked the crowd to work in support of a free East Timor.

At the parliament buildings the crosses were placed on the steps. Those attending were asked to write letters to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs asking for Canada to end the sale of military goods to Indonesia.

Rally organised by: East Timor Alert Network (ETAN), Ottawa Chapter, P.O.Box 4115, Stn.E. Ottawa, ON K1S 5B1

(613) 742-9141 Information Line (recorded message)

Canada statement to UN General Assembly on East Timor

Canada’s statement to Third Committee under Item 112, by Ambassador Fowler. December 1, 1995

Mr. Chairman,

We are assembled today for this debate on human rights violations in all parts of the world for a simple reason: human rights are fundamental values which we are all obliged to promote and protect. This is not an issue of interference in the internal affairs of others. Sovereignty confers no license to abuse people. Just as domestic violence can no longer be considered a private matter under national law, so domestic violence of another kind is no longer an internal matter under international law. Our task here must be viewed as a common quest for the universal application of human rights standards.

(others country situations)

Canada sees a crucial role for the UN special rapporteurs, representatives and the human rights treaty system in assembling human rights violations and encouraging states to live up to their commitments. All governments, without exception, should cooperate fully with the Special Rapporteurs of the Commission on Human Rights and the UN’s human rights treaty bodies.

A positive development on East Timor this year was the initiation of the All Inclusive Intra-Timorese Dialogue, where a degree of consensus was achieved. Unfortunately, recurring violence and killings point to a continuing deterioration of the situation in the territory itself. We welcome moves by the Indonesian National Human Rights Commission to investigate the situation. We continue to encourage the Indonesian Government to implement the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on Extra-judicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions and to cooperate with other UN thematic mechanisms. We are gratified by the Indonesian Government’s invitation to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and trust he will have full freedom of movement and access to all those he wishes to meet.

BISHOP BELO WINS THE JOHN HUMPHREY FREEDOM AWARD

Press release from International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, Montreal.

MONTREAL, November 24, 1995 - The International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development awards its John Humphrey Freedom Award to Bishop Carlos F.X. Belo, for his exceptional contribution to the defence and promotion of human rights in East Timor. The official ceremony will be held at 6:00 p.m. in Montreal, at the Westin Mont-Royal Hotel, on Sunday December 10, 1995, International Human Rights Day.

Because of increasing tensions in East Timor on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion, Bishop Belo is unable to leave the island state to receive the award in person. He has designated Father Mateus do Rosario da Cruz, head of the

East Timor Justice and Peace Commission, to accept the award on his behalf.

The award ceremony will also honour the life of McGill University Professor John Peters Humphrey, the Montreal lawyer for whom the award is named. Professor Humphrey prepared the first draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Prominent Canadians who well serve as this year’s Award Patrons include: Denys Arcand, Charles Bronfman, Irwin Cotler, Jules Ceschenes, Timothy Findley, Flora MacDonald, Ovide Mercredi, Andreu Ruffo, David Suzuki and Bertha Wilson.

Bishop Belo will receive a grant of $30,000 to further his work in the field of human rights and democratic development in East Timor. The funds raised at the Award dinner will allow the Bishop to visit Canada in the spring in order to meet with government and NGO representatives.

MESSAGE FROM BELO ON RECEIPT OF AWARD

This speech by Bishop Belo was read by Father Matteus in Montreal, Canada, on the occasion of Bishop Belo being awarded the 1995 Freedom Award.

KEUSKUPAN DILI

Mr. President of International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, Ladies and Gentlemen

The news that I am selected to receive “John Humphrey Award 1995” reached me last month when I was attending a seminar in Rome for the Bishops from the Mission Territories.

On December 10, precisely on the commemoration of the International Day of Human Rights, this extremely valuable Award will be given to me. However, due to the particular situation in East Timor now, it is impossible for me to come to Montreal to express orally my cheerful and deep gratitude for such a high distinction. Nevertheless, it is a great honour for me to address the President of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, and the honourable members as well as the presentees.

First of all, I would like to render my heartiest thanks to the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development for “John Humphrey Award 95” bestowing my humble person. This Award inspires me profoundly although I am unworthy for it.

I must say that the Award is awarded not only to Bishop Carlos Belo but to all East Timorese as well as to all men of good will who are working and searching for peace, by promoting human rights, democracy and civic freedom.
Mr. President and the Committee members,

I am fully aware that “John Humphrey Award 95” would demand more commitment from me to the cause of issues on human rights and also to continue the efforts for building up peace and reconciliation among the East Timorese.

When I was entrusted with the ecclesiastical responsibility of the Apostolic Administrator of Dili on May 1983, one of my primary pastoral preoccupations was to defending the dignity of East Timorese. Since then the promotion of the dignity of the East Timorese gained preference in my pastoral leadership.

East Timorese People have experienced one of the most tragic periods of their history since 1975. The Timorese society was fractioned. The occupation of East Timor by Indonesia brought the situation of human rights into focus, at various levels:

a) At the demographic level: many Timorese died, because of the effects of the war, famine, disease and ill-treatments. Hence it was urgent to safeguard the existence of the Timorese society. Until 1985, many Timorese were forced to live outside their own villages. They were forced to live in the new settlements, which was the place of breeding of mosquitoes, and located in the hottest areas of the island. This resulted in the population suffering from malaria and tuberculosis. In many places throughout the island, people were not allowed to go out beyond 5 kms, for farming their lands and the rice-fields. Many others were removed from their own villages and were exiled to Atauro, Lautem, Dotik, Cailaco, and Lalerek Mutin. People with differ [sic] ideology were tortured, murdered or disappeared without any trace from prisons.

b) At the socio-economic level: East Timorese People were relegated into second class citizens as if they are not the agents of development of their own country;

c) At the cultural level: East Timorese were introduced to or forced to adopt alien system of culture, outside their own “welt-schaug.”

d) At the political level: it is prohibited to hold and express different opinions; people were forced to accept the “status quo.” Whoever opposed this “status quo” was jailed, tortured and on trial, had to undergo two to six years imprisonment [sic].

In this confusing and sorrowful situation, the role of the Catholic Church and that of the Bishop is, above all, to appealing for the respect of the dignity of human being, for respecting and safeguarding religious, cultural and historical identity of the East Timorese. At the same time, we are continuously appealing to the East Timorese that, amidst the difficulties, they have to continue to loving their enemies, to forgive each other, and to work for peace, reconciliation, harmony and development of their own home land.

The situation of human rights in East Timor, now, has not yet been totally improved, despite of the enormous efforts. Therefore, as I mentioned above, on accepting the Award, I will be obliged to take more responsibility in this difficult but noble sphere of life, i.e., human rights and democracy.

Finally, I take the liberty of requesting your valuable prayers and your solidarity with the East Timorese in order that they learn to respect the rights of others so that others could respect their tool.

That’s all. Thank you.

Dili, 13 November 1995
Msgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, SDB
Bishop Apostolic Administrator of Dili Diocese

MESSAGE OF SECRETARY-GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI TO THE AWARD DINNER

Montreal, 10 December 1995

Annually on this Human Rights Day, we commemorate the adoption by the UN General Assembly, on 10 December 1948, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This year we have been celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the world Organization. So on Human Rights Day 1995 we should recall that the Universal Declaration grew out of the Charter of the United Nations itself. It built on and codified the central message of the drafters of the Charter by setting out, clearly and explicitly, the inviolable rights of the human person.

Since its inception, the United Nations Organization has worked to extend its normative efforts not only into the field of individual rights but also into those of economic, social and cultural rights.

Now the time has come to go further. For the rule of law is meaningless unless steps are taken to ensure that it is applied judicially.

That is why we should be unceasing in our efforts to encourage States to ratify international human rights laws, and why we must also do all we can to ensure that they abide by them.

Efforts of the international community to extend its jurisdiction must be stepped up. The International Courts dealing with war crimes and human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda are good examples.

But they are also – unfortunately – the reflection of deep and shameful dilemmas within the international community which show that the spectre of genocide – which we had once thought had disappeared for ever – is, alas, very much still with us.

So it is more than ever necessary to make it clear that the concept of human rights makes sense only if it forms part of a political project which makes a lasting impact on the conscience of peoples and nations.

That project is called democracy. My profound belief is that only democracy – both within States and within the Community of States – can truly guarantee human rights.

That is because democracy alone can reconcile individual and collective rights, the rights of peoples and the rights of individuals. It is through democracy that the rights of States and the rights of the community of States are harmonized.

Democratization must therefore be a goal of the international community. And the United Nations must make every effort to make States, peoples and nations aware of this democratic necessity.

So my message today is this: democracy is the political expression of our common heritage. Democracy is for everyone. And, like human rights, democracy has a universal dimension. So democracy and human rights are goals which are indissolubly linked and which must be pursued together. And we must work untiringly for both of them.

In this effort, the contribution of non-governmental organizations and institutions in promoting respect and concern for human rights and honouring those who have served in their cause is inestimable. The International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development has been an important source of support to the United Nations in this mission. The memory of John Peters Humphrey, whose death we mourned this year, has been kept aflame by the institution of the Freedom Award in his name. The United Nations remembers the moral and intellectual vigour which informed his participation in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Preamble to this Declaration reflects the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as being the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. This recognition has been manifest in the work of Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, an outstanding advocate of peace and human rights, whose efforts at reconciliation in East Timor have reflected the United Nations’ own search, through the Secretary-General’s good offices, for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to this question.

In conclusion, I count on the continued help of all assembled here this evening to take the world along the path of human
rights and democracy. I thank you for your work and your commitment.

UNIONS CALL FOR ARMS EMBARGO

From ETAN/Canada, Dec. 7.

Trade unions representing more than 1.7 million Canadians today joined a call initiated by the East Timor Alert Network for an embargo on the sale of military equipment to Indonesia. At a news conference on Parliament Hill, Canadian Labour Congress executive vice-president Jean-Claude Parrot spoke along with Sunera Thobani, president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women; Bern Jagunos of the Canadian Asia Working Group (lead agency of the Canadian churches on human rights in Asia); Svend Robinson MP of Parliamentarians for East Timor; and Isabel Galhos, one of three Timorese to have escaped from East Timor.

Prime Minister Jean Chretien’s government has resumed the sale of military equipment since coming to power. The previous Conservative government did not make arms sales after 1991.

The unions issuing calls included:
- Canadian Union of Public Employees
- National union of Public and General Employees
- Canadian Auto Workers
- Canadian Union of Postal Workers
- International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
- Telecommunications Workers Union
- United Food and Commercial Workers
- Public Service Alliance of Canada
- United Steelworkers
- Communications, Energy and Paperworkers union
- Saskatchewan Government Employees Union

These unions have a combined membership of 1,757,000.

CANADIAN EAST TIMOR ADVOCATES THRASH TRADE TRIP

By Stephen Dale

OTTAWA, Dec 26 (IPS) - As Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien prepares to lead a high-level trade delegation to Indonesia in mid-January, he is under increasing domestic pressure to take a hard line on Indonesia’s human rights abuses.

Public concern in Canada has focused mainly on the plight of East Timor, the former Portuguese colony which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Human Rights Watch/Asia estimates that a third of East Timor’s population has perished since the invasion, and there are continuing reports of violence committed against the Timorese by the Indonesian military.

Numerous high-profile Canadians, including members of Parliament, leaders of major labour unions, and the head of the Montreal-based International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, have called for an end to Canadian military sales to Indonesia.

Many also want the Chretien government to publicly condemn Indonesia’s human rights abuses.

“The trade union leaders and Canadians in general are committed to this issue and will be following what happens,” says Kerry Pither, co-ordinator of the National Solidarity Programme of Canada’s East Timor Alert Network (ETAN).

Pither also promised a series of media events in Canada to coincide with Prime Minister Chretien’s arrival in Indonesia.

Chretien will be in Indonesia Jan. 16-17, heading the so-called “Team Canada” trade delegation which includes the trade minister, business leaders, and 10 of Canada’s 12 provincial and territorial leaders.

“A ‘Team Canada’ visit to China last year was widely criticised as inappropriate in light of China’s continuing abuse of human rights. This style of trade mission is seen as symbolic of a new Canadian approach to foreign policy that puts trade considerations ahead of concern for human rights.

But foreign affairs department spokesperson Colin Stewart says that though the visit is mostly about trade, Chretien will raise the topic of East Timor and human rights in general.

“I would highlight that it will be constructive dialogue,” Stewart told IPS.

“We don’t believe in loud public condemnation as a way of achieving anything. Our approach is one of wishing to be helpful, of sitting down and saying that we have these concerns and that we would like to do what we can to help...We want to deal with these issues on a firm but constructive basis,” he explained.

Stewart said that by keeping open the channels for dialogue, Canada has been able to launch new initiatives, including the pairing of the “nominally non-governmental” Indonesian Human Rights Commission with the Canadian Human Rights Commission.

He added that Canada would not have been able to provide development assistance funding for human rights-oriented non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Indonesia, had it taken an adversarial approach to the Indonesian government.

But Canadian advocates for the East Timorese say that while supporting Indonesian human rights groups may be worthwhile, it is an inadequate response given the level of abuse in East Timor.

“The policy of Canada over the past 20 years has been to increase trade and at the same time to speak privately and quietly to (Indonesian leader) Suharto about these matters,” says Sharon Scharfe, an organiser with Parliamentarians for East Timor.

“Over the past 20 years there’s been an increase in trade between Canada and Indonesia, and there’s also been an increase in repression. So maybe the policy is not working,” said Scharfe, author of the new book, ‘Complicity: Human Rights and Canadian Foreign Policy – The Case of East Timor.’

Canada is facing additional pressure to change its tack since the leak of an internal assessment of the situation in East Timor. In response to Scharfe’s request for information under Canada’s Access to Information Act, the government released a telex from the Canadian embassy in Jakarta, summarising a fact-finding mission to East Timor.

In it, Canada’s ambassador to Indonesia describes a military crackdown, consisting of “intimidation, stepped-up military and police visibility, arrest and ill-treatment, and since January 1995, a number of cases of death, disappearance and severe beatings.”

In light of this assessment, advocates say Canada is clearly wrong to sell military products to Indonesia.

Canada made just under one million U.S. dollars in sales to the Indonesian military in 1994. Information provided to Scharfe shows that the items sold were classified on export permit forms as aircraft and aircraft components, “specially designed or modified for military use.” The government will not say what specific items were sold to the Indonesian military.

But Stewart defended the sales by saying that although the goods were registered under “fierce sounding categories,” they do not in themselves have an offensive purpose. He said the Indonesian military has the legitimate function of guarding its own borders.

Edward Broadbent, president of the Montreal-based International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, has criticised the sales.

“We should stop the sale of all military equipment until there is a peaceful and democratic solution to the tragedy of East Timor,” he said.

Canada has changed its rhetoric on East Timor in the past. In the 1980s, Ottawa insisted that the Indonesian annexation was a “fait accompli” accepted by the Timorese and the world.

Today, Canada says it is “concerned” about East Timor and that it supports U.N.-sponsored talks between Portugal and Indonesia as a way of finding an “internationally acceptable solution.”
At the time, Chretien had publicly supported two resolutions passed by the UN Security Council calling for the withdrawal of Indonesia from East Timor and the right for the occupied country to self-determination.

Before leaving on the trade mission, Chretien said he planned to raise the human rights issue during private meetings with Indonesian President Suharto.

That’s not good enough, Allmand said, urging the prime minister to push the issue publicly.

“I don’t know why they are so timid about raising this,” he said. “If they don’t want to buy our soup, or whatever, then we’ll just leave and sell it somewhere else.”

A spokesperson for a human rights group called the East Timor Alert Network was even more forceful in calling for Canadian action. “It’s inappropriate that he (Chretien) is there at all,” Kerry Pither said.

“If he is going to be there, it should be a mission that puts human rights on an equal platform with trade.”

Bella Galhos, an East Timorese who escaped in 1994 and is seeking refugee status in Canada, said women are being raped, tortured, kidnapped and forcibly sterilized.

At the press conference, Galhos read a message from a friend who escaped Indonesia this week and is seeking asylum in Portugal. “I watched my friends and family dying and now the prime minister is shaking hands with the man who is ordering this killing,” her friend wrote.

On the India leg of the trip, Chretien was forced to put human rights higher on his agenda when a 13-year-old Toronto schoolboy raised the issue of child labor abuses in that country.

EAST TIMOR SUPPORTERS LASH TRADE MISSION AS “HYPOCRISY”

Toronto Star, Jan. 17, 1996, By Allan Thompson, Ottawa Bureau

OTTAWA – Prime Minister Jean Chretien will be a hypocrite if he fails to use his visit to Indonesia to forcefully press leaders there to respect the rights of the people of East Timor, human rights activists say.

Chretien, who arrived in Indonesia yesterday as part of his Team Canada trade tour of Asia, is to meet Indonesian President Suharto and Vice-President Try Sutrisno.

Both are accused of authorizing gross human rights abuses against the residents of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony occupied by Indonesia since 1975.

Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have consistently ranked Indonesia as one of the world’s worst human rights violators.

“The hypocrisy of this trade mission is shameful,” said Kerry Pither of the Ottawa-based East Timor Alert Network, which held a news conference yesterday that involved labour leaders, activists and Liberal MP Warren Allmand (Notre-Dame-de-Grace).

Pither chided Chretien for lining up to meet Indonesian leaders linked to genocide.

“He’s meeting and shaking hands with, and dining with, and promoting friendly ties with the men who have ordered the deaths of hundreds of thousands of innocent people,” Pither said.

By some accounts, more than one-third of the people of East Timor have been killed in organized genocide since Indonesia seized the area by force two decades ago and began settling Indonesians there.

Sunera Thobani, head of the National Action Committee for the Status of Women, said Chretien owes it to Canadians who oppose human rights abuse to raise the violations as a key concern.

“We do not want to be complicit in this genocidal war on the people of East Timor,” she said. “And our Prime Minister should state this unreservedly.”

Bella Galhos, an East Timorese refugee who witnessed the killing of relatives and friends at the hands of Indonesian soldiers, said: “The only reason that Suharto can continue to kill my people is because Western governments support Suharto by ignoring that he is a killer,” said Galhos.

Galhos escaped the country by joining an Indonesian youth corps and pretending to accept Indonesia’s colonization of her country.

Galhos said many East Timorese women are victimized by Indonesian troops and subjected to rape, forced sterilization and made to witness the abuse of loved ones.

PM URGED TO TAKE A HARD, PUBLIC POSITION AGAINST MISTREATMENT OF EAST TIMOR ISLANDERS

CRAIG SUMI, Southam News, Jan 17.

OTTAWA – Maverick Liberal MP Warren Allmand says it will be “scandalous” if Prime Minister Jean Chretien ignores the Indonesian government’s brutal treatment of the people of East Timor while on a trade mission there.

“Mr. Chretien should publicly demand that they respect UN resolutions and that they cease human rights violations and get out of East Timor,” Allmand said at a press conference Tuesday. “He should make it clear that if they don’t, we will play hardball . . . and take sanctions.”

“Chretien, accompanied by six provincial premiers and 300 Canadian business leaders, arrived late Tuesday in Jakarta. It’s the latest stop on the 12-day Team Canada trade mission that has seen Canadian companies sign about $3 billion worth of agreements.

It has been 20 years since the Indonesian military invaded East Timor, a former Portuguese colony located 500 kilometres northwest of Australia.

Since then, human rights organizations estimate as many as 200,000 people have been killed by Indonesian forces.

“One-third of that little nation’s population has been killed in the last 20 years, the worst genocide per capita since the Holocaust,” Allmand said.

The Montreal MP isn’t shy about speaking out, even at the risk of embarrassing the prime minister. Allmand was disciplined by his party brass last summer for voting against the Liberal budget bill. He had condemned the government for abandoning its social conscience.

Allmand noted Chretien had spoken out against the mistreatment of the East Timorese while opposition leader in 1991.

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CANADA CAN BE BOUGHT!

From Paul Salim, Jan 18, 1996. This article was abridged from local TV news yesterday.

Despite human rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor, yesterday (17 January 1996) Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien and 6 Premiers witnessed signings of $566 million in contracts and 2.2 billion in agreements in principle in Jakarta (Indonesia), as the "team Canada" trade mission continued its swing through Asia.

Meanwhile, an MP of the Liberal Party (Prime Minister’s Party) - Warren Allmand - has launched an attack on the Prime Minister's trip to Indonesia. Allmand wanted Chretien to publicly raise human rights concerns about Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor. But speaking in Jakarta, Chretien said he had raised human rights abuses, par-
ticularly in East Timor, with Indonesian President Soeharto, but he added Canada believed in dialogue rather than trade sanctions.

Also unhappy about yesterday’s trade deal is the East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) in Ottawa which says Chretien has shown to Indonesia that Canada can be bought.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and Indonesia has killed one-third of East Timor’s population.

**CANADIAN TRADE MISSION TO INDONESIA DRAWS FIRE OVER HUMAN RIGHTS**

Report from David Webster, ETAN/Toronto, Jan. 19

From Jan. 16 to 18, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien and six of the ten provincial premiers travelled to Indonesia on a trade mission, dubbed Team Canada by the PM. Representatives of more than 300 Canadian corporations were also along for the mission to India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaysia. It signed more than $8 billion in deals, of which $2.76 billion (more than $2 billion US) were signed in Indonesia.

The East Timor Alert Network organized a number of activities aimed at getting the mission to publicly raise human rights and East Timor. There has been more press coverage this week than ever before in Canada as a result. The coverage is too much to post it all, but a sample follows as responses to this topic.

**CANADIAN RUSE FREES ACTIVIST**

Embassy officials help

Gloucester woman free

The Ottawa Citizen, January 18, 1996. By Lee Whittington, Citizen Correspondent

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Southam News) - Canadian officials took advantage of a colorful wedding procession Wednesday to whisk a Canadian human rights advocate away from Indonesian police.

While children carrying candles and wearing red and gold tunics paraded through a hotel, Sharon Scharfe of Gloucester was rushed through the procession and out the back door to a waiting car.

From there. Canadian High Commission officers drove the terrified 28-year-old woman to the Jakarta airport to put her on the first plane to any city in southeast Asia. That turned out to be Tokyo.

The escape followed a tense stand-off between Canadian and Indonesian officials while Scharfe took sanctuary in the media work room at the hotel where Prime Minister Jean Chretien

Scharfe’s Ottawa-based East Timor Alert Network works to exert pressure on Indonesia to end its brutal military occupation of the island, about 500 kilometers northwest of Australia.

Indonesia took over East Timor when Portugal’s colonial rulers left in 1975, and stayed in defiance United Nations resolutions. Indonesian troops have used an iron fist to try to crush the East Timor independence movement.

Human rights abuses have been a cause of widespread international concern and activists claim up to 200,000 Timorese have been killed.

“I’m scared to death, but then I think of all the people on East Timor who have to live in fear like this every night of their lives,” Scharfe said before escaping.

She waited – too nervous to eat – in the media room for three hours while a uniformed Indonesian military officer and plainclothes security personnel stood in the hall on the other side of the door.

Scharfe flew to Indonesia to ensure the issue of human rights in East Timor was raised during Chretien’s visit to Indonesia, which has concentrated mainly on expanding trade.

She arrived Friday and discovered she was on what she calls a blacklist of people banned by President Suharto’s government.

After being held at the Jakarta airport for three hours. She was put on a plane to Singapore. Undaunted, she returned on Sunday by boat to the main island in the Indonesian archipelago. She received a stamp in her passport allowing her to stay in Indonesia for 60 days.

When she returned Wednesday to the hotel in Jakarta, Scharfe said she was followed by security guards.

“All of a sudden I noticed a swarm of security running around me, pointing at me with walkie-talkies.”

She quickly went to the media room.

She said she hadn’t done anything illegal, but the military was probably brought in because she had met with Timorese activists who oppose Indonesia’s control of the island territory.

“(The activists) are running for their lives here. and don’t know what to do. These are people that the military wants. and I have met with them.”

She said she told High Commission officials she was “willing to go back to Canada right now if the embassy accompanies me to the airport so that I don’t disappear along the way.”

After many telephone calls, Canadian officials hustled Scharfe out of the hotel to a waiting car and two officers. They left for the airport.

Scharfe telephoned her mother in Ottawa, but Carol Scharfe said she wasn’t told where the call originated.

“She told us everything is fine and that she is coming home. We’re thankful.” Carol Scharfe said.

She had been worried about Sharon’s safety: “We’ve been doing a lot of praying.”

Ottawa members of the East Timor Alert Network have heard plenty of horror stories about how people are mistreated in Indonesia, co-ordinator David Webster said. “She knew there were risks going over there, but she decided it was, worth the risk.”

Canada has repeatedly pressed Indonesia to improve its human rights record in East Timor But results have been minimal. Canadian officials here describe the process as “frustrating” and see no reason to think the current visit will change anything.

In a meeting with Suharto, Chretien again raised the issue. He also expressed Canada’s concern about human rights in front of about 1,000 Indonesian business people.

“We always mention this problem,” Chretien said later. “I hope that the pressure that all of us were putting on the government to find a solution is helping to improve the situation.”

Chretien rejected a demand Tuesday by Liberal MP Warren Allmand that Canada should demand action from Suharto to ease the East Timor situation or reduce ties with Indonesia. “Isolation is the worst recipe in my judgment for curing human rights problems,” Chretien said.

Canadian officials said Suharto told Chretien that Indonesia is hoping for progress in UN-sponsored negotiations on East Timor’s future between Indonesia and Portugal.

Scharfe applauded Chretien for raising the issue of human rights.

“But the reality is, if you’re going to raise human rights and then follow it with $2.7 billion in trade agreements, you’ve got to realize that words mean nothing when you see the actions that are following it.”

“And that’s the message that Indonesia is going to take away from it.”

**Update**

The Issue:

Indonesia’s brutal occupation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. In 20 years, an estimated 200,000 people have died. The United Nations, Canada and many other nations have protested the occupation, to no avail.

What’s new:

Canadian officials helped Sharon Scharfe of Gloucester, a member of an Ottawa-based group demanding an end to human rights
abuses in East Timor, get to the Jakarta airport and out of the country.

Background:

Scharfe, who came to Indonesia to make human rights in East Timor an issue during Prime Minister Jean Chretien’s visit, says she was at risk because she opposes President Suharto’s policies. Canadian officials admit they are frustrated by Indonesia’s hard-line stance toward East Timor.

CLOAK-AND-DAGGER EFFORT TO MEET PM FAILS

Indonesian police quash activist’s bid to get out message

*The Ottawa Citizen, January 18, 1996. By Jacque Miller, Citizen staff writer*

She disguised herself as a man, used a fake name, and was chased down hotel corridors by Indonesian security men with walkie-talkies.

Gloucester resident Sharon Scharfe’s voice is still shaking as she describes her adventures in Indonesia during the Canadian trade mission there this week. The 28-year-old human rights activist fled the country Wednesday after Canadian embassy officials helped whisk her out of a hotel, one step ahead of police.

Scharfe was back in Ottawa Thursday safe but shaken.

Scharfe is part of a small, tenacious bend of Canadian activists trying to bring world attention to Indonesia’s brutal treatment of East Timor. Indonesia invaded the island 20 years ago. Since then, human rights groups estimate that a third of East Timor’s 650,000 people have died of starvation, disease, execution, or while fighting the occupying forces.

Scharfe has made the island 500 kilometres northwest of Australia her personal passion. Last year, she published a book on Canadian complicity in the occupation of East Timor. She is a full-time volunteer for the East Timor Alert Network, a Canadian human rights group. Her bedroom in her parents’ Gloucester home has been converted into a makeshift office, where she writes letters, organizes protests, and talks by computer with other human rights activists around the world.

Scharfe figured Prime Minister Jean Chretien’s trade mission to Indonesia would be good chance to grab some media attention for the issue. When Scharfe arrived in Jakarta last Friday, officials refused to let her into the country. Scharfe suspects they knew about her because of her book, and her volunteer work. She was put on a plane to Singapore.

Undeterred, Scharfe tried again a few days later by joining a group of tourists travelling by boat to Indonesia. This time she was allowed into the country no questions asked.

She registered at the Hilton, where Chretien’s delegation was staying, under her own name. “Which I guess was foolish. I didn’t think Jakarta was that organized.”

Monday, after being tipped off that Indonesian police were after her, Scharfe packed her bags. But on the way out of the hotel, a security officer chased her as she jumped into a cab. The man spoke to the driver and Scharfe made out the word “police.”

“This poor cab driver was just scared. Just a look of wide-eyed terror ... But after we got out of the Hilton compound, I said, ‘Look, I’ll give you 10 bucks to get me to the Canadian embassy.’”

At the embassy Canadian officials asked her if she wanted to go home, but Scharfe decided she hadn’t come half way across the world to give up so easily.

So she registered at another hotel, across the street from the Hilton. This time, she used the name Sharon Taylor.

By Wednesday Scharfe was feeling bold enough to saunter over to the Hilton. She threw one baseball cap and sunglasses, hoping she would look like a man. “The disguise was really silly,” she laughs. “I just scooted in.”

She was soon spotted in the hotel lobby where she stepped to pick up airplane tickets that were being held for her – under her own name.

“All of a sudden I could see security coming from all angles with walkie-talkies.”

The men, who wore white shirts with the word “security” printed on them, were ostensibly hotel staff. But Scharfe says they believe they were really military.

So she made a dash into the nearby media room, where Canadian reporters accompanying Chretien were housed. Scharfe was holed up for about two hours in the media room, with Indonesian security officials waiting outside the door.

Two officials from the Canadian embassy arrived. “They said ‘what have you done?’ The military is out there, the police is out there. They want you, they want to take you away’ I said, ‘look I’ve done nothing wrong.’” Scharfe made a deal with the Canadian officials: she would leave immediately if they would help her

“I said, ‘look, I’ll leave tonight... I’m scared out of my mind, I just went to pack up and go home now’”

They saw their opportunity when a huge wedding procession headed down the hallway outside the media room. Scharfe, flanked by two RCMP officers, two Canadian embassy officials, and one staffer from Canadian Foreign Affairs, slipped into the procession. They ducked out a back door, where a Canadian embassy car was waiting.

Once at the Jakarta airport, Scharfe said Indonesian officials did not bother her. She waited, with two Canadian embassy staff, for about two hours to catch the next plane to Tokyo.

Forthy hours later, she was back safe in Ottawa, exhausted but undaunted.

While telling her tale, Scharfe used the opportunity to slip in a reminder about the cause she is promoting.

“I’d had five days without sleep, looking over my shoulder, running from the military, disguises ... this is the reality. The Timorese had to live with for 20 years.

“To say nothing of the brutal beatings, the torture.

WHAT PROFIT TRADE IN HUMAN RIGHTS?


The results of Jean Chretien’s latest jaunt to Asia as leader of a somewhat reduced “Team Canada” are being hyped for all they are worth. But was it really good business to include on the trip Indonesia, a country rated among the top human rights violators in the world by Amnesty International.

Indonesia’s human rights record is by now well known, particularly its brutal occupation of East Timor, where one third of the population has perished in 20 years of military occupation. Less well known is its rating by Transparency International, a global lobby against corruption in government, as the most corrupt regime in the world.

In Indonesia, Mr. Chretien posed for the inevitable photos, signed a host of trade and investment deals, and meet with President Suharto and other government leaders. Mr. Suharto has ruled Indonesia for 30 years, having grabbed power in 1965 in the midst of a bloodbath in which a million Indonesians (most of them ethnic Chinese) were killed. Violent crackdowns on dissent have been the hallmark of his regime, with especially brutal treatment meted out to labour organizers, who have been jailed and even killed for attempting to organize independent trade unions and for organizing strikes that often demanded nothing more than payment of the official minimum wage.

No potential contender for power has been allowed to threaten the strongman, a situation that does not bode well for Indonesia’s future stability. The aging President has missed several international engagements because of health problems. A violent power struggle is likely when he dies.
So much for human rights. Mr. Suharto’s family also leads the way in Indonesia’s corruption sweepstakes. Their personal wealth is impossible to gauge because much of it is funneled through a shadowy web of “foundations” that are exempt from taxation and audit. However, Far Eastern Economic Review writer Michael Vatitakis has estimated the figure at $2–3 billion (US).

Also involved in the trade talks was Try Sutrisno, who was vaulted from the head of the armed forces into the vice-presidency in 1993. Mr. Sutrisno showed his colours after a 1991 massacre in Indonesian-occupied East Timor that saw over 250 protesters gunned down by Indonesian soldiers. “In the end, they had to be shot,” he said. “These ill-bred people have to be shot ... and we will shoot them.”

Then there was minister of research and technology B.J. Habibie. On the surface a liberal technocrat, Habibie threw the brakes on Indonesia’s privatization program in the late 1980s to organize all ‘strategic’ sectors of the economy into a state-owned cartel under his personal supervision. Aerospace, shipbuilding and arms manufacturing are all part his personal empire.

In 1993, Mr. Habibie personally negotiated the purchase of 39 German warships, virtually the whole of the old East German navy. The $1.1 billion deal was opposed by the Indonesian finance ministry and navy, but went ahead anyway, with suspicions that it involved kickbacks to the Suharto and Habibie families. Companies owned or controlled by Mr. Habibie’s family were the main bidders for contracts to refit the ships.

The affair caused a scandal in the Indonesian press, including personal criticism of Mr. Habibie. Mr. Suharto rushed to his friend’s defence, saying: “We cannot let them [the press] carry on like this. If they are deaf to warnings, we will take action against them.”

In the summer of 1994, the three publications most active in reporting on the scandal – DeTik, Editor and Tempo – were closed down. Four more publications received warnings. Subsequent demonstrations calling for freedom of the press were attacked by riot police.

All this speaks to a country that is deeply corrupt and a government that routinely violates human rights. It seems a bizarre target for Canadian investors.

Indeed, it appears that the Indonesia of the 1990s has a lot in common with the South Africa of the 1980s, a country with which the government of Canada, led by then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, chose not to trade. But then it may be that in such a matter Mr. Mulroney’s standards of ethical behaviour are higher than Mr. Chretien’s.

But ethics aside, business considerations alone argue against trade with Indonesia. Its pro-democracy movement is growing. The Suharto regime will not be able to resist the global wave of democratization forever. When it does fall, those countries and companies that have been friends of Indonesian democracy will reap the economic benefits. Those who backed the dictatorship will lose out.

David Webster is a coordinator with the East Timor Alert Network, a national association founded in 1987 by the Canadian Council of Churches.

INDONESIA PACTS MAY TOTAL $2.7 BILLION

By LES WHITTINGTON, Southam News, Jan 25.

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia - From Bombay’s rutted, overcrowded streets to the sleek new skyscrapers of Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur, the overriding theme of life in Asia is change.

Old, cumbersome ways of economic life and government are crumbling, overtaken by a headlong rush to join the free-market economic revolution that is turning the Asia-Pacific region into the world’s powerhouse.

This above all has been driven home to Prime Minister Jean Chretien and the provincial premiers who have spent the past 12 days hop-scotching through the region.

Everything else - from human rights to nuclear disarmament - pales beside the trade imperative as Canada’s top travelling salesmen help scour Asia for business connections and jobs for Canadians.

“The most important fact in the world of today,” Chretien declares, is trade. “Trade means jobs. Jobs and opportunity, growth in our economy and a better future for our children.”

Chretien and six premiers - Ontario’s Mike Harris, B.C.’s Mike Harcourt, Nova Scotia’s John Savage, Gary Filmon of Manitoba, New Brunswick’s Frank McKenna and Prince Edward Island’s Catherine Callbeck - head home this weekend from Asia with $2.6 billion in solid business deals for Canada as trophies.

The 300 Canadian executives who accompanied them through India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaysia also rang up dozens of other tentative agreements.

If fulfilled in the years ahead, they would involve Canadians in another $6-billion-plus in business and investment activity in the four Asian countries.

In all, the results of this sales trip equal the much-celebrated Team Canada trade mission to China which also tied up $8.6 billion in contracts and potential deals.

Despite cynicism back home, the idea of getting Canada’s top political figures to knock on doors along with business people is an unqualified hit on the road.

“It’s encouraging for the Canadian business community to get this kind of support,” says Bell Canada International chairman Derek Burney. “It’s a good opportunity to see some of the senior government leaders and gives them the opportunity to know the importance of the investment we’re making.”

Whether it’s cranes and bulldozers on many city corners, showrooms jammed with Mercedes and BMWs or the legions of confident, energetic executives from Singapore to Islamabad, the upward thrust of Asia’s boom is something to behold.

In 25 years, seven of the world’s 10 strongest economic nations will be Asian. The region will account for 40 per cent of the world’s trade.

By 2000, more than $1 trillion will have to be invested in roads, bridges and other projects as Asia continues its rapid transition from a region of underdeveloped nations to western-style consumer societies.

Can Canada even begin to keep up? That’s the question that occurs to some members of the Team Canada mission.

“If we don’t hurry up, we’ll be driving these people around,” quips New Brunswick’s McKenna.

But beyond the lure of tapping into Asia’s economic miracle are other troubling questions.

Outside the gleaming new financial centres and busy freeways, millions of Asians still eke out a living on the edge of starvation. They are the shoe-shine boys, the beggars, the rag-pickers and the street children who crowd the slums across the continent.

More than 700 million poor people - 65 per cent of the world’s total - can be found in Asia, and another 300 million are considered only slightly above the poverty line.

As well, the region is beset with political tensions, nuclear jealousy, fragile democracies and widespread human rights abuses.

It cannot be said that Chretien dodged these troublesome topics in the Asian capitals he visited.

In India, he nagged his hosts to end their hold-out status in the signing of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty meant to curb the spread of atomic weapons. This was much to the annoyance of Prime Minister Narsimha Rao.

Chretien also surprised some of India’s top business executives by publicly bringing up the problem of child labor. Millions of children in India work in deplorable conditions producing carpets and other goods.

In India and Pakistan, Chretien broached the most sensitive topic in the region - the
longstanding conflict over the future of the northern Indian state of Kashmir.

In Pakistan, Chretien also pressed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to ensure that a Canadian aid worker being held in connection with a terrorist bombing was treated fairly.

And in Indonesia, Chretien took time out from his business promotion to raise the issue of East Timor. Indonesian troops have been committing gross human rights violations for years as they try to eliminate an independence movement on the island territory.

Chretien got points for raising these thorny issues with his hosts. But few Canadian diplomats in the region were optimistic about having much short-term effect.

Chretien takes the position that as living standards improve through economic growth in Asia, the expanding middle classes will demand action to eliminate government excesses and human rights abuses. Canada’s best option is to continue to work with its Asian neighbors, funding projects to improve the lot of the poor and keeping up the pressure for change.

He also understands the limitations of Canada’s influence. Asked why he hadn’t pressed Indonesian President Suharto harder on the East Timor issue, the prime minister snapped: “We’re not running the government here.”

British Columbia Premier Mike Harcourt supports Chretien’s approach.

“We’re talking about countries that are developing their economies, their democracies and their concepts of human rights.

“Tt took us in Canada about 80 years to give aboriginal people the right to vote and people who were Chinese and Japanese the right to vote. We shouldn’t be too smug.”

But the Chretien approach may not always put Canada’s leaders in a comfortable position.

For instance, take the recent remark of Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, known to be one of the Asian leaders who most dislikes interference from the West on issues like human rights and free trade in Asia.

With Chretien and the premiers looking on Thursday, Mahathir told guests at a state dinner that Canada has shown “full respect for the sensitivities and interest” of Southeast Asian nations.

He added that he expects all countries who wish to trade in Asia to do likewise. In other words, not to rock the boat.

**INDONESIAN CANADA AMBASSADOR INTIMIDATES EAST TIMORESE FAMILY**

CNRM East Timor statement, 23 Jan. 1996

Indonesian ambassador to Canada coerces East Timorese defector family

The National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), deplores recent reports that family members of East Timorese refugee in Canada, Ms Bella Galhos, are being intimidated by Indonesian authorities, who seek to prevent the outspoken young East Timorese woman from informing the Canadian public about the existing terror and oppression in her homeland. It is internationally well known how the people of the former Portuguese colony, invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and occupied since then in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions, suffer from severe human rights violations by the brutal Indonesian military.

Unable to gag Ms Galhos from exposing the East Timor truth in Canada, a democratic country respectful of human rights and basic freedoms, the Indonesian Ambassador to Canada accompanying last week’s trade visit to Indonesia by Prime Minister Chretien’s ‘Team Canada,’ forced his presence onto Ms Galhos’ mother and family at their East Timor home. A terrified Mrs Galhos is reported to have informed Bella by telephone that Ambassador Parwoto ordered the mother to get her daughter to shut up and return home. Having already experienced strong reprisals from the Indonesian authorities for Bella Galhos’ public dedication in Canada, her family in East Timor is greatly frightened by this new form of coercion.

CNRM condemns the continuing Indonesian oppression of the East Timorese population, and the ongoing attempts of the Indonesian authorities to export their terror and oppression to free and democratic societies to prevent the true reality of the East Timorese situation from being exposed. Memories are still fresh of the heavy handed interference in Philippine internal affairs to stop an East Timor conference from taking place. Only this week reports from the Australian Northern Territory again expose pressures by Indonesian Consular staff aimed at suppressing basic freedoms of expression.

CNRM asks the Canadian government to closely monitor the situation of Ms Galhos’ mother and family in East Timor through its Jakarta embassy, and to ask the International Committee of the Red Cross to do likewise through its East Timor personnel.

CNRM also calls on the Government of Portugal to impress on European Union Embassies in Indonesia the need to closely monitor the situation of the Galhos family, as well as that of the many other victims of Indonesian persecution in occupied East Timor.

**OTTAWA EAST TIMOR ACTIVIST SAYS DIPLOMAT THREATENED HER FAMILY**

The Ottawa Citizen, January 24, 1996. By Jacqui Miller

Isabel Galhos knew it was risky for her to travel across Canada denouncing atrocities in her native East Timor. The 23-year-old Ottawa resident has political asylum in Canada, but that is no protection for her family back home.

Her fears were realized this week when she heard the frightened voice of her mother on a fuzzy phone line from East Timor, a former Portuguese colony north of Australia, occupied by Indonesia for two decades.

Galhos’ 53-year-old mother said she had been visited by Benjamin Parwoto, Indonesia’s ambassador to Canada. Parwoto came with a warning: Tell your daughter in Canada to be quiet.

Canada has asked Indonesia to explain the incident. An attempt by a foreign government to pressure a resident of Canada is unacceptable, said Foreign Affairs spokesman Colin Stewart.

Canadian Embassy staff in Indonesia will try to verify that Galhos family is safe, said Stewart.

Galhos related the story Tuesday, along with a plea for Canada to help protect her family in East Timor. Galhos is a refugee here, awaiting permanent resident status.

“I hope that by speaking out today, I can save the lives of my people: my mom, and all of my brothers in East Timor.”

Human rights activists have asked Canada to expel Parwoto.

The incident happened shortly after Prime Minister Jean Chretien left Indonesia as part of his Asian trade tour.

Galhos and other human rights activists had pressed Chretien to publicly criticize Indonesia for its actions in East Timor. More than 200,000 East Timorese — about a third of the population — have died since Indonesia took over the island.

Instead, Chretien raised the issue privately with the Indonesian president.

Galhos said Parwoto arrived at her mother’s home with two embassy officials. He said Galhos had destroyed the reputation of Indonesia in Canada.

“They asked my family to work with the government of Indonesia to get me back.”

However, Galhos said she fears that if she returned she would be killed.
Parwoto was still in Indonesia Tuesday, and could not be reached. But a spokesman at the Indonesian Embassy in Ottawa said Parwoto dropped in on Galhos’ mother “just to say hello.”

“It’s the right of the ambassador to visit whomever he wants to,” said Faisal Bafadal, chief of information.

OTTAWA PROBING “VISIT” TO TIMOR REFUGEE’S KIN
The Toronto Star, January 24, 1996, By Allan Thompson

OTTAWA – Canada and Indonesia are on the brink of a major diplomatic dispute after allegations that Indonesia’s ambassador here went to East Timor and threatened the family of a human rights activist who lives in Canada.

East Timorese refugee and activist Bella Galhos told reporters yesterday her mother was threatened back home in East Timor, right after Prime Minister Jean Chretien’s trade visit to Indonesia last week.

Galhos has waged a media campaign during Chretien’s trip, urging him to speak out publicly about Indonesia’s human rights record and its treatment of people in East Timor. Some 200,000 East Timorese are said to have died since 1975, when Indonesia invaded and annexed the former Portuguese colony.

Galhos said yesterday the Indonesian ambassador to Canada, Benjamin Parwoto – who accompanied Chretien on the trade tour – personally visited and threatened her mother at the family home in East Timor.

“He asked my mom to ask me to shut my mouth and tell me to go back to East Timor,” said Galhos, who has refugee status in Canada. “I was terrified when my mother told me this, that the ambassador of Indonesia came to visit my family,” said Galhos, who also said her mother sounded very frightened.

Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Ouellet confirmed he has launched an investigation that could include calling in Parwoto to respond to the allegations.

“If these allegations are true, it’s a situation that is absolutely unacceptable. We can’t tolerate pressure being put on someone who lives in Canada by foreign authorities,” Ouellet said.

A senior foreign affairs official confirmed that Ouellet has (asked the Canadian Embassy in) Jakarta to send a stern message to Indonesia’s foreign affairs ministry. And the Embassy will send someone to East Timor to check on the family.

The Indonesian embassy confirmed yesterday that Parwoto had called on Galhos’ mother, but insisted that the ambassador, in line with Indonesian tradition, was just making a friendly social call.

“It was just to say hello, just to meet her mother,” embassy communications officer Faisal Bafadal said. “Galhos has twisted the facts.”

But Galhos said her mother and a brother called her Sunday to tell her that Parwoto and two other Indonesian officials had come to their home in East Timor to intimidate the family.

“The Indonesian ambassador told my family that I had destroyed the good name of the Indonesian government in Canada. The ambassador told my mother that she is the only person that could stop me from talking in Canada. He told her to ask me to go back home.”

A survivor of the 1991 Dili massacre, when Indonesian soldiers killed 271 activists demonstrating in the East Timor capital, she entered Canada in 1994 and won refugee status.

Chretien seemed unsure of Galhos’ allegations when asked about the matter yesterday, but insisted he raised the issue of human rights in East Timor in private meetings with Indonesian President Suharto.

CANADA DEMANDS MEETING AFTER INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR VISITS REFUGEE
Canadian Press wire, Jan. 25, 1996, By Diane Rinheart

OTTAWA (CP) – Canada is stepping up diplomatic pressure on Indonesia after confirming Thursday that its ambassador visited the family of an East Timorese refugee living in Ottawa.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Colin Stewart said Canada still cannot confirm whether the meeting was an attempt to intimidate Bella Galhos from speaking against Indonesia’s human rights abuses.

“We can say that the issue isn’t settled and we still want to discuss this a bit further with ambassador (Benjamin) Parwoto,” he said Thursday.

Former foreign affairs minister Andre Ouellet warned Indonesia on Tuesday that Canada “cannot accept that a foreign country’s representative exerts pressure on people who live in Canada.”

Stewart said “we’ll decide if any further steps are required” after meeting Parwoto.

Lloyd Axworthy, the new foreign affairs minister, has been briefed on the incident, Stewart said.

(first add)

Galhos, 23, said Tuesday the ambassador threatened her family in East Timor, which is occupied by Indonesia, during a visit on Jan. 20.

Parwoto demanded that Galhos’ mother order her home, Galhos says. But instead her mother phoned her and warned her not to return or she would be killed.

The meeting occurred directly after Prime Minister Jean Chretien’s Team Canada trade mission to Indonesia ended. Parwoto was there attending the mission.

Galhos says Parwoto was accompanied by hundreds of Indonesian soldiers who surrounded her mother’s home.

Stewart says independent sources say there were no soldiers accompanying Parwoto.

But Canada sought an explanation from Indonesian authorities in Ottawa and Jakarta about the meeting and checked on the well-being of Galhos’s mother – who is safe.

Indonesian authorities deny the meeting was an attempt to intimidate Galhos from criticizing Indonesia in Canada, Stewart says.

They also say it was a private visit – not approved by the government.

Galhos has been speaking on behalf of the East Timor Alert Network about human rights abuses in her native country since she took asylum in Canada last year.

AMBASSADOR VISITED EAST TIMOR
Press release, Jan. 26, 1996, from the Embassy of Indonesia, Ottawa, Canada

Comment: A transparent attempt at damage control after some strong reports in the Canadian media.Grammatical mistakes as per original. The number of troops present is beside the point, which is harassment of a refugee’s family. Has anyone heard of this “traditional custom”? Or the supposed exodus of Timorese from Portugal?

During his required presence in Indonesia for the visit of the Prime Minister of Canada, H.E. Benjamin Parwoto, Ambassador of Indonesia to Canada, had travelled to East Timor to see for himself the current development of that Indonesia’s youngest province. He had the opportunity to have discussions with Vice Governor Johannes Haribowo, members of the Provincial House of Representatives Antonio Freitas Paradas and Manuel Carrascalao, some prominent figures including Bishop Carlos Belo, as well as encountering students and ordinary people in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Contrary to some hearsays in Canada, the Ambassador found that the situation and condition in Dili are normal, quiet and peaceful, while the people are free to talk and do not show any fears.

The meeting between an Indonesian representative, with the people having relatives abroad is a normal social event, for one of his tasks is to oversee the welfare of his fel-
Mrs. Galhos said it was not true that Ambassador Benyamin Purwoto had asked her to stop her daughter, Isabel Galhos, from criticizing Indonesia while living in Canada.

Antara reported that Isabel said in a news conference in Ottawa last week that Purwoto had asked her mother to stop her daughter from criticising Indonesia.

It gave no details of Isabel’s activities in Canada. Purwoto returned to Indonesia two weeks ago during a visit by Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien.

Indonesian foreign ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl said on Friday that Indonesia rejected Isabel’s accusation because it was baseless.

“The foreign ministry has done some checks and that accusation has proven to be wrong. We deeply deplore the baseless accusation and it is clear there are certain parties which have made use of the situation to twist the facts,” he was quoted as saying.

Galhos was quoted by Antara as saying on Monday in Dili that she and the rest of the family were ready to accept her daughter if she wanted to return to Indonesia if there was an assurance from security forces of her safety.

Isabel was a former English student at East Timor University who did not return to the territory after taking part in an Indonesia-Canada student exchange in 1994.

Comment from David Webster,
ETAN/Canada:
It should be added, however, that Theresa Galhos said this morning she had given no such quote to Antara.

Additionally, a CBC Radio corespondent filed a report from East Timor this morning that confirms through a third source that Theresa Galhos was in fact visited and intimidated by Ambassador B. Parwoto.

More lies from Antara is no surprise, but it’s a shame to see them repeated by Reuters.

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EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

THE EAST TIMOR QUESTION AND U.S. INTERESTS IN THE PACIFIC REGION


The advent of the decade of the 90s constituted a very important moment for the problem of East Timor as it coincided with a significant change whereby the focus of the problem changed from local to global power. This has meant that the finding of a way to achieve self-determination for the territory has become a matter of concern and commitment for the international community. The Dili massacre contributed greatly towards this shift and could be seen as having been a boomerang effect arising from the introduction of an “opening-up East Timor” policy which began in 1988.

However, it is unfortunate that this shift has also coincided with some important changes in US foreign policy in both the economic and political field which seem to be unfavourable towards its supporting calls for self-determination for the territory. This situation has come about mainly as a result of the pursuit of US economic interests and the putting aside of any moral or political commitment to the people of East Timor and peoples in other regions.

The US: Shift from global to economic-regional policy

The post cold-war era could be characterised by two dominant phenomena: the emergence of economic issues in international relations and the establishment of regional economic blocs. This latter phenomenon is viewed by some economics experts as an international reaction to the failure of the Uruguay Round of the GATT talks to create a free trade region.

The US has anticipated the two post-war trends by shifting the orientation of its foreign policy in both the political and economic field. In the former, one notes a transition from an ideology-oriented to an economy-oriented policy whereas in the latter field there has been a shift from global-oriented to regional-oriented policy.

The new regional-oriented outlook gives considerable attention to the Pacific region, on which the US economy is heavily dependent. It is significant that US economic penetration (and transaction) in the Pacific basin has been wider than in other regions. Consequently it has been giving considerable support to APEC (Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation) which has enabled it to achieve a level of economic (and political) penetration which is both wide and deep.

Indonesia, having a large population (and potentially big market) coupled with a stable economy, has been perceived as being an extremely important member of APEC. Given this situation, I would argue that there is likely to be no basic change in US policy towards Timor, regardless of who or what party comes to power. Matthew Jardine, an American activist for self-determination for East Timor, has written: “If the US were to take action against Indonesia... it would only end up isolating itself
and thus hurting US capital interests involved with Indonesia.”

The Indonesian monthly magazine Gatra has recently observed that “US foreign trade with the Pacific Basin in the 1990s amounts to 35% of its total while that with North America and Western Europe come to 26% and 24% respectively. Likewise the total US exports to the former come to 29% whereas the respective figures for the other two are 28% and 27%.”

Based on these figures we can conclude, as commented by the US Today daily “The Pacific region offers a huge market for US goods and services.” The Pacific region will become even more vital for the US if the predictions of some economic experts that the world economic center will move from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean by the beginning of the 21st century are correct. This would mean that the relations between nations in the Pacific region are likely to be dominated more by economic considerations than political ones. On the other hand, it is also probable that political issues will be resolved in a manner favorable to the economic interests of the large nations.

Given the reality that the US economy rests heavily on the Pacific region and Indonesia in particular, Mr Clinton did not touch the “substantial issue” (i.e. self-determination for East Timor) during his bilateral talks with Mr Suharto during the APEC summit in Jakarta 1994. He limited himself to pressuring Jakarta to improve its human rights situation. “[Relations between Indonesia and the US] will never reach their highest level if people in the US do not have confidence that there is an effort to respect human rights.”

A final note
I would like to conclude this piece by quoting a pertinent statement: “Independence is (such an) intricate and complicated instrument that only big countries with great populations can use it to their profit.”

My interpretation of this is that:
1) colonized people of today have lost their autonomy and the power to determine their own future;
2) the meaning and value of interdependence is changing from idealism to economics. In other words, the achievement of self-determination is dependent on the goodwill of the great nations and their attainment, or not, will be determined by the extent to which it reflects the economic interest of these nations.

Thus, the achievement of independence by a small nation would be “impossible” if large countries interests would be at stake. Such an interpretation would seem to apply, at least, in the case of East Timor.

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Helder M. Pirez is a former Political Science student at Gadjah Mada University of Yogyakarta, Indonesia and he is a member of Renetil. He can be reached through Kai-bauk - Boletim de Informação Timorense, Apartado 22, 2795 Linda-a-Velha, Portugal.

2. “GATRA,” 27, May 1995 (In Indonesian language)
3. Editorial, USA Today, Nov. 1995
4. TAPOL bulletin No 126, Dec. 1994, p.2

EAST TIMORESE POLITICAL PRISONERS WRITE U.S. CONGRESS

Translated from Portuguese. Full text.

Semarang Prison, Mid 1995

Your Excellencies
Illustrious Members of Congress of the United States of America

We the undersigned, political prisoners, survivors of the 12 November 1991 tragedy in Santa Cruz, Dili, East Timor, take the liberty of addressing this prestigious legislative body of the great nation of North America, expressing our greatest consideration and respect for the manner in which the Congress has directed its attention and concern towards the events that have developed in East Timor.

By means of this letter we would like to present Your Excellencies the image of the present situation “in loco” in East Timor, after the massacre of 12 November 1991 in Santa Cruz, Dili.

The continuing presence in East Timor of the Indonesian armed forces has generated systematic human-rights violations through the course of two decades of occupation. In fact, the International Red Cross has kept record of the more recent arrests and murders of civilians, and the disappearance of over twenty East Timorese civilians in the period from January to July, generating an increasingly tense situation.

The establishment of a climate of terror fostered by the military oppression of police character, through the creation of terrorist groups supported by the Indonesian Intelligence Service, intended to create an environment of intimidation, has caused the exodus of the Timorese youth from the territory. On the other hand, we observe a renewed massive wave of Indonesian settlers, who arrive in East Timor and are positioned in the strategic and most fertile land in the territory. Meanwhile, the Timorese population is forcibly pulled out of its villages and placed in new concentration camps created by the Indonesian territorial forces with the purpose of dismantling popular resistance. Moreover, the Indonesian forces have promoted social disturbances in the main East Timorese cities, with the intent of portraying the National Resistance as consisting of bandit groups, removing from the picture all political character, and the demand for self-determination by the East Timorese people.

And there is the continual politics of “Divide and Conquer” designed to conceal the true common political goals of the people, projecting to the World the wrong image of the East Timor conflict being a war between brothers.

The most recent upheavals, which have included nearly the entire East Timor territory, are reminiscent of a volcanic eruption, in which lava accumulated for years is finally expelled. The strong motivation for this wave of brute-force action against the Indonesian colonizers is the chagrin of this defenseless People, accumulated over twenty years of brutal military occupation, rooted in the feelings of discontentment with the integration policy, with the military occupation, and with the growing human rights abuses.

No doubt that after twenty years of illegal occupation of the territory the Jakarta government today faces great difficulties in successfully carrying through its program of forced annexation of East Timor as its twenty-seventh province. This is proven when even the pro-integrationists, led by current East Timor governor Abilio Osorio Soares, have abandoned their traditional political position by presenting a proposal to the Jakarta government for concession of political autonomy to the territory, which was rejected by president Soeharto.

The existence of a national conscience among all Timorese is made clear with the success achieved by the dialogue between political leaders in Austria, from which resulted a joint communiqué which has much disappointed the Jakarta government.

We want to denounce here the way in which the Jakarta government attempts to influence the UN Secretary-General not to confer much importance to the intra-Timorese talks, so that the Timorese political leaders will not come to take active part in the process that would lead to a solution to the East Timorese conflict. This gesture by Jakarta reflects its unwillingness to embrace the success achieved by the Timorese political leaders in Austria, and represents an attempt by Jakarta to abort the UN program.

Today, with the existence of the International Tribunal for War Crimes, we believe it is appropriate that the crimes committed by the forces occupying East Timor be pon-
organized crimes which amount to over two hundred thousand Timorese lives during a situation of war crisis, and which ought to be considered and condemned by the referred tribunal, for which we solicit that Your Excellencies intervene with this tribunal.

Today we enter the XXI century, in which the standards are higher and the need stronger than ever for the democratization of all peoples, the establishment of respect for human rights, and the importance of World solidarity; in order to achieve more just social conditions, human dignity, and for that the value attached to human rights places these at the center, not at the periphery, of the concerns of World political leaders.

We are confident that the US Congress, presently dominated by an overwhelming majority of members of the Republican Party, will not conform itself with the present situation of conflict in East Timor. On the contrary, we believe that the actions of this prestigious Congress with respect to East Timor should in the future be more determined and forceful. And we believe it is fair that the solution to the East Timor conflict, which has already exterminated two hundred thousand lives, not be measured with a system of double standards.

We wish that God bless Your Country and the American People.

Respectfully,

1. Francisco Miranda Branco 40-years-old. Arrested on 6 December 1991. Accused of being one of the organisers of the Santa Cruz protest. Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

**ORGANIZING WHERE THE MONEY IS**


The strongest advocacy for close US ties with the Suharto regime in these post-Cold War days comes from those who profit from the relationship. Indonesia is rich in human and mineral resources, which make billions of dollars for multinational corporations. When Suharto tells them to jump, many do.

ETAN is trying to help corporations realize that, even if they have no moral scruples against genocide, there is a public image (and consequent economic) price for supporting the devil’s work. Our corporate campaign will expose, and hopefully change, companies which justify Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor. When they communicate their disquiet to Jakarta, they will be heard.

Only a few companies profit directly from the occupation. Arms-makers provide weapons, and oil companies will make millions from stealing the oil under the Timor Gap. But there are others - including some of the most active and effective corporate lobbyists, which have close economic ties with Indonesia and do Jakarta’s bidding here.

Indonesia’s number one investor and corporate booster is Freeport-McMoRan, a New Orleans-based mining company that runs some of the largest gold and copper mines in the world in West Papua (Irian Jaya) and actively promotes Indonesia’s interests (including the annexation of East Timor) in Washington. Freeport is known throughout Louisiana and Texas for its environmental criminality; its investments in legislators like Rep. Robert Livingston (RA, chair of the House Appropriations Committee) and Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (DLA, former chair of the Senate Interior Committee) have paid off handsomely for Indonesia. Freeport is also behind much of the current Congressional effort to eviscerate environmental protection, and has been linked to killings of West Papuans who got in their way. Although Freeport’s profile in the US has been low, it is high in Washington - thanks in part to the presence of Henry Kissinger on their Board of Directors and their employment of Kissinger Associates to lobby Congress.

In October, Freeport received a devastating blow from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a US government agency. Citing Freeport’s understatement of environmental devastation from their mine tailings in West Papua, OPIC cancelled $100 million in government-subsidized political risk insurance. The OPIC action, which defied the personal intervention of Kissinger and Suharto, may temper their weight in Congress.

**Timor Gap oil**

The Timor Gap is the most glaring international rape of the resources of East Timor. A major oil deposit lies under the sea between East Timor and Australia. Jakarta and Canberra signed a treaty in 1989 to develop this oil, and they have contracted with a worldwide selection of oil companies to share in the lucre. Portugal, as the UN-recognized Administering Authority over East Timor, sued Australia in the International Court of Justice to invalidate the treaty, but the Court last June refused to rule on the issue of who owns the oil because Indonesia does not accept the court’s jurisdiction, and Australia successfully argued that it wasn’t the proper sole defendant. The court did, however, state that East Timor’s right to self-determination continues to exist whether or not Indonesia is party to the case.

The US companies involved in the Timor Gap are Phillips Petroleum, USX/Marathon, Chevron, and Oryx Energy. Other US oil companies with major involvement in Indonesia (although not in the Gap) include Texaco, Mobil, Union Texas Petroleum and Exxon, all of whom actively lobby for their interest.

Indonesia has other corporate lobbyists usually companies they buy from, like GE, ITT, ATT, Bell Atlantic, American Express, JP Morgan, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, Rockwell and Eidetics. Part of our campaign will research and expose these activities. We could use your help.

There are other businesses which do a lot of trade with Indonesia, often using sweatshop labor (Nike, Reebok and other sneaker and clothing manufacturers). Others are involved in resource extraction, including coffee (e.g. Starbucks), spices (e.g. McCormick), and minerals. Although these companies labor and environmental practices in Indonesia may be indefensible, we haven’t heard of any of these defending the occupation of East Timor, and our national campaign hasn’t targeted them. Some local ETAN groups where they are based (Portland for Nike, Seattle for Starbucks) are encouraging these companies to use their relationships with Jakarta to support East Timorese human rights.

**ETAN’s Corporate Campaign**

Our corporate campaign is inspired and supported by similar campaigns, especially the Campaign for Corporate Withdrawal from Burma, which draws on the experience and effectiveness of divestment campaigns.
against apartheid. We work closely with the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), whose member religious organizations hold substantial amounts of stock in many companies. ICCR uses those shares to influence management to be more socially responsible in many areas, including international human rights.

Last year, the ETAN Steering Committee approved my proposal to begin a corporate campaign. At this point, we are not organizing boycotts (although this could happen in the future), but researching and exposing the corporate connections. We are forming a committee to coordinate and carry out this work, and would welcome your participation.

There are several ways we have approached this so far:

Using the media, ETAN has provided information and leads to sympathetic journalists. An article last fall in the Investor Responsibility Research Center’s “News for Investors” laid out the issues, we also helped with an article on Freeport McMoRan in The Nation magazine, and with another on Phillips Petroleum that was written for (but squelched by) Phillips’ hometown paper in Oklahoma.

Public exposure. In seeking to better their image with the US business community, the Indonesian government, together with groups like the US-Indonesia Society and the American-Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, organizes corporate-underwritten high-level conferences. ETAN people have attended these, raising uncomfortable facts at appropriate times. We have discussed East Timor with officials from the Foreign Minister on down, in front of hundreds of US corporate leaders.

Speaking truth to power. At Texaco’s annual shareholder meeting last May, Allan Nairn and I challenged their CEO about Texaco’s partnership in genocide, with 700 Texaco Directors, managers, and shareholders listening in. Many were unnerved to learn about “their company’s” unsavory activities, and asked for information packets. The Texaco action was supported by a demonstration outside the meeting, and organized by a coalition of activists working on Ecuador (Texaco has destroyed vast areas of rainforest), Burma (Texaco is one of the few multinationals trafficking with SLORC), and East Timor. It received extensive coverage in Texaco’s hometown (White Plains, NY) press. When annual meetings resume next spring, we should attend many more. Although recent S.E.C. rulings make it difficult to file shareholder resolutions on issues which involve less than 5% of a company’s business, East Timor can be raised under generic human rights resolutions (as was done with Texaco) or even without one.

Private persuasion. We plan to work with ICCR to arrange and attend meetings between concerned stockholders and corporate executives to discuss Indonesia-related activities. Some companies were persuaded to withdraw from South Africa and Burma by such gentle tactics, which could be followed by more confrontation if necessary.

Indonesia’s Foreign Minister Ali Alatas calls East Timor a “pebble in Indonesia’s shoe.” We are trying to increase the aggravation caused by that pebble, so that Indonesia will decide it’s not worth the trouble. If American companies doing business with Indonesia realize that East Timor is a problem for their customers and shareholders, and communicate that problem to Jakarta, it will increase the pressure on Indonesia to do the right thing.

Contact the ETAN national office if you want to work on our corporate campaign or if you have information that would be helpful. We sell the International Trade Information Service’s new 30-page “Real Trade” profile “A Day in the Life of US-Indonesia Trade” for $7.50.

Suharto’s visit comes to town

Report by John Miller, ETAN/New York.

While New York’s mayor worked overtime to make Fidel Castro and Yassar Arafat feel unwelcome during the 50th anniversary celebrations of the United Nations, Mayor Giuliani had no problem hosting President Suharto of Indonesia. Neither did the Asia Society or the relief organization CARE. However, supporters of East Timor made it clear that many Americans did not welcome the Indonesian dictator.

As corporate bigwigs praised him at fundraising dinners in New York and Washington, the East Timor Action Network protested outside. On October 25, over 50 demonstrators chanted and leafleted at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in New York City where Suharto was a featured speaker for the Asia Society. Carrying signs in English and Indonesian, the demonstrators called on Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor and allow a UN-supervised referendum on self-determination. The following day, chanting protesters greeted Suharto on his arrival at a fund-raiser for CARE in Washington where he was the guest of honor.

José Ramos Horta, chief spokesperson for the East Timorese resistance, personally greeted the demonstrations in both New York and Washington. When he learned that CARE was honoring Suharto, he said “I am stunned. It is extraordinary that CARE, supposedly a humanitarian organization, should honor a dictator who presides over a prison state, who is responsible for the genocide in East Timor.”

“President Suharto contradicts everything CARE says it stands for. His invasion of East Timor brought starvation, death and torture to hundreds of thousands,” said Sally K. Levison of DC ETAN.

Suharto’s visit to the U.S. came as his troops were in the midst of a crackdown in East Timor. Hundreds have been arrested and several killed as Indonesian troops and police conducted door-to-door searches aimed at quelling ongoing protests and rioting. Fueled mainly by religious and economic grievances, the underlying cause of the unrest is a demand for self-determination, a right denied when Indonesia invaded twenty years ago on December 7, 1975. Since then over 200,000 East Timorese, one-third of the population, have been killed.

Jakarta’s sensitivity over the issue was clear in mid-November when they blocked an international delegation of religious leaders, human rights activists and members of parliament from holding a commemoration at the site of the November 1991 massacre of over 250 peaceful protesters. While eight entered East Timor, they were deported back to Bali 24 hours later. Others including several Indonesians, were prevented from boarding planes to Dili, East Timor’s capital.

While in Washington, Suharto met with President Clinton. A White House press statement said that the meeting primarily focused on economic issues, but Clinton did raise the need to respect human rights in East Timor. Even so, the two presidents discussed the sale of F-16 fighter jets to Indonesia.

In several letters sent to President Clinton before the meeting, members of Congress urged him to discuss East Timor with the Indonesian dictator. A letter signed by 28 Senators noted that Suharto’s visit came during the 50th anniversary celebration of Indonesia’s declaration of independence. It said “On this historic occasion, we take pride in the fact that actions taken by the United States Senate in the late 1940’s probably hastened Indonesia’s independence from the Netherlands. It certainly would seem appropriate that the U.S. take the same principled stance in opposition to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.”

The heavy hand of Indonesian security was evident during Suharto’s visit who monitored and photographed the demonstrations. In New York, journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman were barred from covering the Asia Society event.

Nairn was also asked to leave a UN ceremony involving Suharto by his chief of security. UN-spokesperson Joe Sills later
said that Nairn had every right to be at the event. As an accredited journalist, he was allowed to cover all UN events that were open to the press and that Suharto’s security had violated UN rules.


A reporter for The Nation [Allan Nairn] said that he had been thrown out of a hearing in the Trusteeship Council chamber (at the Ceremony of World Leaders on population stabilization), where President Soeharto of Indonesia had been speaking earlier this morning; he had apparently been identified by an Indonesian official who had asked for him to leave. Did the United Nations know the details and did Indonesia have the right to do that? A correspondent [from Inter Press Service] asked.

Mr. Sills said that there was a staff member of the Spokesman’s office there, who intervened with the United Nations Security Service. There was an effort made by a person who had identification as a representative of the Government of Indonesia to prohibit the journalist from entering [actually Nairn was escorted out of the room]. He was told that this violated United Nations rules, that the person was an accredited journalist and had every right to enter the room. Mr. Sills said that the journalist was admitted to the room. Referring to the second question, it was not proper for any Member State to tell the United Nations that an accredited journalist could not go into a function that the press had been invited to.

SUPPORTERS OF EAST TIMOR PROTEST INDONESIA’S OCCUPATION OF REGION


Manhattan – A group of about 50 East Timor supporters gathered near Grand Central Station here Oct. 25 to protest the appearance of Indonesian President Suharto and his government’s alleged genocide against East Timor.

“It’s a disgrace that a humanitarian agency like the Asia Society would honor a dictator like Suharto,” José Ramos Horta, a special representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, told the Long Island Catholic.

No representative of the Asia Society, a non-profit education group working to foster understanding between Americans and Asians, could be reached for comment.

Mr. Ramos Horta, who represents the council – an umbrella organization of armed and peaceful resistance to Indonesia’s presence and reported human rights abuses there – said that as this protest was going on here, East Timor was “seeing a crackdown in the last few weeks.

“People are being rounded up. Torture in East Timor is routine. If you are interrogated, you are tortured,” he said.

“Many have been killed, and there has been a move to bring Indonesians in and force Timorese out,” Mr. Ramos Horta said.

Mr. Ramos Horta called it ironic that Mr. Suharto, who was in New York to speak before the U.N. as part of the world body’s 50th anniversary, himself is no respecter of international law.

In addition to protesting Mr. Suharto’s being honored by the Asia Society and reported human rights violations in East Timor, the protesters called for on the U.S., a military ally and benefactor of Indonesia, to put pressure on the Indonesian government, John Miller of the East Timor Action Network told TLIC.

Protesters carried a variety of signs and posters protesting alleged human rights violations and genocide in East Timor.

Placards in English and [Indonesian] proclaimed: “End Genocide,” “Free East Timor,” “No Arms to Indonesia.”

One banner, which showed a bullet, read: “This is what the Indonesian Army used for birth control in East Timor.”

Protesters included Constâncio Pinto, a former leader in the East Timorese resistance and now a student at Brown University, Providence, and a score of Brown students.

“I had to escape from jail and flee East Timor.” Mr. Pinto told TLIC.

Richard Lani of Cold Spring Harbor, a senior at Brown, told TLIC that Mr. Pinto’s witness has awakened many of his fellow students to the plight of East Timor.

“The U.S. can’t just stand by,” he said.

IS IT SAFE YET? PROMOTING THE SUHARTO REGIME IN AMERICA TODAY


Meeting sponsored by the Indonesian Student Association and Pacific Affairs Study Society of the George Washington University and the US-Indonesia Society (Edward Masters, President)

Held at the Carnegie International Center, Washington DC

This report summarizes my impressions of this meeting and describes a number of the remarks made. I took extensive notes about everything that was said. A video tape was made of the proceedings which, hopefully, will soon be available to provide exact transcripts of statements made by panelists and members of the audience.

Main speakers:

Ambassador Ronald Palmer, Diplomat Consultant in Residence, Elliot School of International Affairs, the George Washington University (he introduced the meeting but left immediately for another event at the Malaysian Embassy)

Karl Jackson, Director of Southeast Asian Studies Program, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University (former Defense Department official)

James Clad, Research Professor of Southeast Asian Studies, Georgetown University (former correspondent for the “Far Eastern Economic Review”)

Ambassador Edward Masters, former US ambassador to Indonesia (during the Carter Administration), president of the US-Indonesia Society

Also present and speaking at length was Reagan Administration Ambassador to Indonesia John Holdridge.

In the audience (and sitting next to me so I had a good opportunity to observe his reactions) was US ambassador-designate J. Stapleton Roy (former ambassador to China). He did not speak but seemed to be quite at home among many of his friends and acquaintances.

Overall impression: The main theme of all speakers and most of the audience comments was that the US government, the US Congress, and the US media were all anti-Indonesia and that the tremendous accomplishments of President Suharto had not been understood or appreciated. And something should be done about this tragic situation. Not one word of criticism was stated by either the speakers or the audience about Suharto. The continuous stream of criticism was directed at the United States, American institutions, and American organizations. A number of speakers agreed that much to much attention was being paid to noisy human rights groups (and their 1000s of faxes to the Congress). It would be much better if human rights groups would be quiet. The one ray of hope (identified by Ambassador Holdridge) was that American businesses involved in Indonesia might be able to help overcome the existing anti-Indonesia climate in the US. I had a sense that the organizers of the meeting and the participants viewed this meeting as a very important milestone in testing the waters to see how far it might be possible to go in coming out in public in support of the Suharto regime.

Very important point: There was quite a bit of discussion about how Southeast Asian studies in the Washington DC area was be-
ing greatly expanded, to the extent that Washington could become the center of Southeast Asian studies “in the world.” (Palmer) There’s something called the Capital Partnership for Southeast Asia studies. The importance of top former Defense Department officials Karl Jackson and Paul Wolfowitz (now also at Johns Hopkins) in this regard was mentioned several times. (David Newsome and Harry Harding were also mentioned.) In my view, however, the apparent domination of this academic subject in Washington by national security bureaucrats with such an overt ax to grind does not bode well for true academic studies. The sources of funding for Southeast Asian studies in the Washington area deserves closer examination. The role of the US-Indonesia Society, as well as other individuals and organizations linked to the Suharto government, and oil companies and other investors in Indonesia needs to be carefully examined.

More background on the meeting: Although this meeting was billed as an event organized by students at George Washington University, it was clear that the actual group behind the meeting was the US-Indonesia Society. (Although at one point Masters thanked the students “for putting this together.”) This Society was founded in 1994 with money from US businesses. It’s president is Edward Masters, former US-Ambassador to Indonesia (and head of the political section in the US Embassy at the time of the 1965 events). At the meeting it was announced that the US-Indonesia Society had paid for the dinner served to participants. The panel of speakers was made up entirely of outspoken supporters of the Suharto regime. The audience, with only one or two exceptions, appeared to be also made up of Suharto advocates and people associated with the US-Indonesia Society. There were just a few students present. The only critical comment made from the floor was by David Johnson, who suggested that the next time the students at George Washington University organize a meeting on Indonesia they might invite a broader range of speakers. (In the course of the meeting Edward Masters offered to “help” students arrange future meetings on Indonesia. At the end of the meeting he choose to talk at some length, giving the appearance of hosting the event. No students from George Washington University spoke during the whole proceedings. This use of students to front a pro-Suharto agenda reminded me of the past success in this regard of both the US Embassy in Jakarta and Suharto himself.)

**Individual speakers:**

1. Karl Jackson probably won the night’s prize for most obsequious Suharto flacking. He referred to Suharto as a “one of the most experienced men in world affairs” and “one of the best politicians in the world.” “He took over when that country was in disastrous condition and he has built it” with his tremendous “legitimacy” and political skills. This legitimacy, and the associated “deference” of Indonesians toward President Suharto, was said to be linked with Suharto’s accomplishments during the “traumatic” 1965-66 events.

   In communicating his message that human rights groups should be quiet, Jackson related an incident that occurred when he was “in the White House.” A representative of a human rights group came to him for help in saving the lives of two Indonesians (unidentified) who were under threat of execution. Jackson said he told the man that he would help if the man’s group would be quiet about Indonesia. Jackson said that’s what happened “and the two people are alive today.” “Did I get the impression that Jackson would have done nothing if he had not been able to achieve this nifty feat of blackmail? Did he ever save lives when not prompted?”

   Regarding East Timor (“the Tim Tim problem”), “which seems like it will never go away,” Jackson’s advice was “to hunker down and take it.”

2. James Clad was a disappointment. I had thought he had a more balanced approach (perhaps rooted in his journalistic background) but he seemed quite willing to join in enthusiastically in praising Suharto and criticizing Americans. He articulated the prevailing arrogant spirit in his reference to “the occasional grumpy NGO snapping over a human rights issue.” He did at several points describe the growing middle class in Indonesia and its aspirations to take part in the political system. But, upon some worried queries from the audience, he stowe to describe the capacity of the Suharto regime to cope with whatever problems might arise. Clad informed the audience that President (all speakers invariably used the word “President” when referring to Suharto) Suharto could stay in power “as long as he wants.” (Jackson put off the influence of the middle class on the “transition” for five-to ten years in the future. He did make the astute observation that “the government in Indonesia does not have an exit strategy built into it and that is a problem.”)

   At one point Clad told a joke, the point of which seemed to be to reassure the audience about the inherent passivity of the Indonesian citizen in Suharto’s political system. A peasant is walking through the countryside and someone jumps out of the bushes and points a gun at his head, saying, “Who do you follow?” The peasant quickly ponders who this might be: a robber, a PKI person, an Army person, etc.? But then the peasant figures out what to say: “I follow you boss!” (Ambassador Roy found this very amusing.) For me, this was the low point of an evening filled with low points.

   Clad expanded on the theme of American deflect as a “hectoring country” by citing what an Indonesia general had told him about how the US was “a cranky uncle.”

3. Ambassador John Holdridge. Although Holdridge was not one of the designated speakers, he was the first to speak from the floor and spoke at length and a number of times. (Thank heavens for garrulous old men!) He was the bluntest of all participants in his pro-Suharto, anti-American comments. His most extreme contribution came when the subject of the “secret” killings of criminals in Indonesia was discussed. Holdridge said that what happened was that President Suharto told General Murdani “to solve the problem of criminals and Murdani took care of it. And nothing much came of it.” His approval of this approach to the crime problem was unmistakable. (James Clad later confirmed that, yes, nothing much came of it. Only the “Far Eastern Economic Review” paid any attention.) As the topic of successors to Suharto came up, Holdridge suggested that Benny Murdani, “sitting staring at the wall in his office at the Center for Strategic and International Studies,” might be someone to think about.

   The evening’s big theme of the anti-Indonesian American press occasioned an anecdote from Holdridge. When he was in Indonesia A.M. Rosenthal of the New York Times came for a visit to the Embassy. The floor in the entrance way was very slippery and Rosenthal fell, hurting himself. “And I have never since seen a balanced editorial in the New York Times.” (Ambassador Roy burst out laughing.) (This crowd of Suharto supporters seem oblivious to the fact that Suharto has benefitted enormously by the almost complete inattention of Americans, including the press, to Indonesia over the past 30 years. It has only been on the rare occasion of extreme misbehavior that Americans have paid attention to the Suharto regime.)

   Holdridge, as other speakers, stressed the importance of preserving and expanding US-Indonesian military relations, including the IMET training program and use of Indonesian ports by the US Navy. This is all part of the overall security service that the US has performed for Indonesia which earlier occasioned thanks from Suharto and Murdani to Holdridge: “You people are taking care of that.” Holdridge mentioned how US F-16s had been provided to Indonesia, not because of real security needs, but because “Murdani wanted his boys to have some experience with top-of-the-line technology.” Masters also stressed the importance of the
security relationship between the US and Indonesia in terms of persuading Americans of Indonesia’s importance. (In the post-Cold War, post-Communist era this seems a particularly weak argument.)

Holdridge said he did not envy Ambassador Roy’s new job which involved having to cope with human rights issues and East Timor and “a Congress so loaded with people who are hyper critical and so willing to pick on Indonesia, harping on Indonesia as a villain.”

4. Edward Masters’ prepared talk was about the various cultural and educational exchanges that have been taking place between Indonesia and the US. At several points he nodded in the direction of human rights issues, but always added a “but” to stress the importance of other matters. Under the theme of the successes of quiet diplomacy (rather than noisy human rights advocacy) he mentioned that when he was ambassador to Indonesia there were still some 30,000 Indonesia left over from the 1965-66 period being kept prisoner on an island. “We did not think that was desirable” and steps were taken to get people released. (I should also report that Masters said that Subandrio and Dhani should have been released from prison before 1995.)

Masters said the US-Indonesia Society was started after he had talked with members of Congress about Indonesia and been informed by the members that the only mail they got about Indonesia was negative and only about human rights. The Society seeks “a better informed public.”

REPORT ON US-INDONESIA SOCIETY LAUNCHING IN JAKARTA

From a protected source. Nov. 12.

I saw David Johnson’s excellent report on a recent US-Indo Society in DC and thought I’d offer my impressions of the gala event at the Hyatt Aryaduta Hotel (Nov 1, 1995, by invitation only) to launch the organization in Jakarta.

Held in the grand ballroom, the event began with the standard check point and sign in at all such Indonesian events. The receiving line started with Edward Masters (referred to by several US embassy staff as a CIA agent) and wife, followed by Paul Wolfowitz. As I shook slick Paul’s hand he said “Hi, I’m Paul Wolfowitz.” He looked like he’d been rushed straight from the airport, somehow getting no sleep in his cushy first-class seat. I introduced myself. When he realized I was a professor of Southeast Asia political economy, he says “send me your CV” with that “let’s make shit happen” sort of arrogance so common to Washington types. He adds, “we’re building quite a Southeast Asia program at SAIS.”

Oh yeah, right. Had I not been clogging the receiving line, I would have offered that hiring a reactionary, intellectual light-weight like Karl Jackson is hardly an auspicious start.

People schmoozed around the ballroom mainly seeing who was there. Richard Borsuk from the Wall Street Journal showed up, as did the new guy replacing Adam Schwartz of the Far Eastern Economic Review. He seemed particularly disoriented, maybe because police had shown up at his office earlier in the day “demanding my files” because of some piece he had written. Another CIA agent now under cover as a businessman was also hanging around nibbling on finger food.

The first Indonesian bigshot to arrive was Joop Ave, the minister for tourism. After I was introduced to him I felt a little rejected because he did not bother to pinch my fanny (you may recall Joop got into trouble in New Zealand for making advances to a room boy in his hotel and had to be emergency airlifted out of the country before the police could get to him).

Also present were Marie Muhammad (minister of finance) and Sudrajat Djiwandalono (governor of the central bank). The latter spoke, but apparently nobody told him he was expected to, and so he just rambled aimlessly for about ten minutes until the chattering in the room nearly drowned him out.

Also speaking for the Indonesians was Emil Salim, who held several ministerial posts under Suharto. Hearing him yet again, I must admit that Heinz Arndt, the old Australian economist, got it right when he described Emil as the “Goebbels of the Suharto regime.” In an apparent effort to wax philosophical, he kept saying over and over, “who are we Indonesians??!” The idea apparently was that the New Order and indeed the entire Indonesian people had been badly misconstrued. US-Indo would help fix this.

The real guts of the evening were the speeches by Masters and Wolfowitz. Masters thanked Freeport McMoran for their support, but did not mention that a huge chunk of US-Indo’s budget comes from that company. Also, he probably pointed out these important parallels to the Wolfer.

Meanwhile, people from the cultural section of the embassy were fretting about whether taking money being offered from US-Indo would compromise their programs. I politely suggested that it could do nothing but.

In most other regards, the evening was much like the session Johnson described in his posting. Not a word of criticism. There was less harping on human rights organizations and movements and tactics. Wolfowitz said that while surely the two cultures were different, some common ground could probably be found on the rights issue. Not a word about Timor. And given we were in Jakarta, certainly not a mention of Suharto and succession.

People came, chatted a bit, ate, got talked at, and left. On balance it was a pretty boring evening.

INTERFAITH SERVICE TO COMMEMORATE EAST TIMOR MASSACRE VICTIMS


An interfaith service will commemorate the 1991 massacre Indonesian troops in Dili, East Timor. The service, organized by East Timor Religious Outreach, will take place on Thursday, November 9 at 4 pm in the Chapel of the Church Center for the United Nations at 777 UN Plaza (1st Ave. and 44th St.), across from the UN.

The service will tell the story of the November 12, 1991 massacre through the eyes of two witnesses, journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman. Nairn and Goodman
were beaten as Indonesian troops opened fire on a funeral procession that turned into a peaceful demonstration for independence. At least 271 were killed in the massacre and its immediate aftermath.

The service will include readings from the Koran, Hebrew and Christian scripture and Buddhist texts. In addition to Nair and Goodman, participants in the service will include Iman Wahid Abdul Rasheed, Mosque of Islamic Brotherhood; Rev. Eric A Gass, Southern Asia Secretary of the United Church of Christ; Rev. Robert McClean, United Methodist Church; Father Ronald Kelso, Society of St. Columbans; and Ms. Gerry Puelle, Director, UN Center, Lutheran World Federation.


December 7 will mark the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. Over 200,000 East Timorese have been killed in the invasion and occupation of the former Portuguese colony. The military assault came after a year of covert destabilization by Indonesia. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

ETAN/US was founded following the November 1991 massacre of over 271 people in Dili, East Timor’s capital. ETAN/US supports genuine self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor in accordance with the UN Charter and resolutions.

**UPCOMING EAST TIMOR EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES**

*From ETAN/US, Nov. 8 1995*

**Boston, MA**

Dec. 7. Showings of Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Contact: ETAN/Boston area Mark Salzer 16 Ames Street, Somerville, MA 02145-3602. 617-776-3791 etan-bost@libbs.org

**White Plains, NY**

Nov. 16. Amy Goodman (News Director, WBAI/Pacific Radio) and Charles Scheiner (National Coordinator, ETAN) will present an update: East Timor: The Struggle Continues. 8:00 pm at WESPARC, 255 Grove Street. For info: WESPARC 914-682-0488.

**New York, NY**

Nov. 9. Interfaith prayer service of remembrance and solidarity with the people of East Timor. Chapel, UN Church Center, 777 UN Plaza. Sponsored by East Timor Religious Outreach.

Dec. 7. Walk from the Indonesian Mission to the UN (325 E. 38 St.) to the US Mission (799 UN Plaza at 45th St.) at 4 pm, gather at Indonesian Mission. 5:15 pm, candlelight vigil at US Mission.

Dec. 9. Talk by Noam Chomsky: “Ending 20 Years of Occupation: East Timor & US Foreign Policy” with Constâncio Pinto (US representative of the CNRM) and Amy Goodman (News Director, WBAI/Pacific Radio). 2:30 pm. Miller Theater, Columbia University (Broadway at 116 St.). $12/$6 low-income. Reception at 1 pm, $30. For tickets to talk: (212)854-7799. For info and reception tickets contact: ETAN/NY.

**Princeton, NJ**

Dec. 4, 7:30 pm. Film: “Death of a Nation - The Timor Conspiracy.” McCosh 28, Princeton University. Near the P.U. Chapel, in the corner of campus framed by Washington Road and Nassau Street.

Dec. 7, 8:00 pm: “The Tragedy of Timor: 20 Years Later” with Constâncio Pinto (U.S. representative of the East Timorese resistance) and Roger Clark (international law expert, professor at Rutgers Law School). Dodds Auditorium, Robertson Hall, Woodrow Wilson School, at the intersection of Washington Road and Prospect Avenue.

For both events, contact Gillian Webster at 609-258-7305, gwebster@phoenix.princeton.edu

**Philadelphia, PA**


**Cleveland, OH**

Dec. 3. Event with East Timor journalist/activist Allan Nairn, to memorialize the four North American churchwomen killed in El Salvador. For info: Tony Vento, Religious Task Force on Central America, 216-325-4986 wseaman@hpvclh.vcd.hp.com

**Chicago, IL**

Nov. 13. Vigil at Indonesian Consulate, Two Illinois Center, 233 North Michigan Ave. 5pm.

Nov. 29. Program on East Timor with Allan Nairn, Northwestern University, plus other events.

Dec. 7, 3:00 pm. Demo at Indonesian consulate, Two Illinois Center, 233 North Michigan Ave.

Contact: ETAN/Chicago Bradley Simpson 2533 Jackson St. #2W, Evanston, IL 60201 708-475-6963. simpsonb@nwu.edu

**Madison, WI**

Nov. 30. Program with Amy Goodman and Constâncio Pinto at Memorial Union (TITU), Univ. of Wisconsin, 9 pm. Other events are scheduled with them through Dec. 2.

Dec. 7, 10:00 am. Carpools leave from Memorial Union on the UW-Madison campus to go to Chicago to demonstrate in front of the Indonesian Consulate; return in time for the 6 pm vigil.

Dec. 7, 6:00 pm. Candlelight vigil at the Capitol on the State Street side to commemorate 20 years of occupation & genocide, 20 years of resistance.

Contact: ETAN/Madison c/o Equal Justice Foundation 122 State Street, Suite 608, Madison, WI 53703 608-257-8437 egustafs@students.wisc.edu

**Los Angeles, CA**

Nov. 12. Memorial candlelight procession from the Indonesian Consulate (3457 Wilshire Blvd.) at 6 pm to the home of the Consul-General.

Nov. 7. Anniversary procession and leafletting, Santa Monica. Meet at Third Street Promenade northern end (Arizona St.) at 7 pm. At 7:30, there will be a showing of Cold Blood: Massacre in East Timor at the Midnight Special Bookstore (1318 Third St. Promenade), followed by discussion and book-signing. Contact: ETAN/Los Angeles Matthew Jardine 1102 Marco Place, Venice, CA 90291-3938 phone/fax: 310-450-5375 etanla@igc.apc.org

**Portland, OR**

Dec. 7, 4:00 - 6:30 pm. Candlelight vigil at S.W. Salmon and Front Streets in downtown Portland, near World Trade Center.

Contact: ETAN/Portland Will Seaman 2105 SE Taylor, Portland, OR 97214 503-235-4986 wseaman@hpvclh.vcd.hp.com

**Seattle, WA**

Nov. 12. Ahí Naklakan (East Timorese for light) vigil in front of Westlake Mall, downtown. 1-4 pm. This is part of a worldwide event calling for UN intervention to protect human rights in East Timor and ensure Indonesian withdrawal.

Dec. 7. Leafletting at the University of Washington, also letter-writing.

Contact: ETAN/Seattle Mariza Cabral P.O. Box 95284. Seattle, WA 98145 206-547-7802 fax:206-685-3836 marizac@u.washington.edu

**San Francisco, CA**

Nov. 13. Vigil at the Indonesian consulate, 1111 Columbus Avenue, plus other activities.


Dec. 7. Vigil at the Indonesian consulate, 1111 Columbus Avenue.

Contact: ETAN/San Francisco Bay Area P.O. Box 420832 San Francisco, CA 94142 415-285-1971 gknheans@mercury.sfsu.edu
**Washington, DC**

Nov. 10. Picket at Indonesian Embassy, 2020 Massachusetts Ave. NW, 5 pm.


Dec. 7, 7:45 pm. “It’s time to go! How we can end two decades of U.S.-supported Indonesian Genocide in East Timor” Talk by ETAN National Coordinator Charles Scheiner, at Luna Books.

Contact: DC ETAN Sally K. Levison 723 Thayer Avenue, Silver Spring, MD 20910 phone/fax: 301-589-9071 sklevison@igc.apc.org


**National**

ETAN National Conference and Steering Committee meeting, January or February 1996.

National Speaking Tour with José Ramos-Horta and others, February-March 1996.

Lobby Days in Washington, Spring 1996.

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**SIXTEEN ARRESTED AT INDONESIAN CONSULATE IN SAN FRANCISCO**


In what is perhaps the largest demonstration in support of East Timor ever in the US, nearly 100 peaceful protestors converged on the Indonesian consulate in San Francisco yesterday, Nov. 13. The protestors were there to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre and to honor the continuing bravery and courage of the East Timorese. The demonstration was organized by the East Timor Religious Outreach, with assistance from the San Francisco chapter of the East Timor Action Network.

Along with ETRO and ETAN people, participants included representatives from the local Muslim and Buddhist communities, the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopalian churches, as well as many different orders of the Catholic Church and members of various peace and human rights organizations.

Rev. Chamberlin and ETRO brought to the demonstration a letter to present to the Consul General. The Indonesians, however, refused to come meet with the delegation or even to answer the door. Clearly very angry, they stood inside the building and glared impotently at the demonstrators, obviously at a loss at what to do when outnumbered by peaceful demonstrators and prevented from using violence. At one point, two officials from the US State Department showed up at the demonstration. They did not speak with the demonstrators but instead went straight into the consulate building to meet with the Indonesians.

The protestors, dressed in black clothes of mourning and led by two stilt-walkers carrying large banners, staged a funeral march around the building in solidarity with the attempted pilgrimage to Dili by international human rights and solidarity activists. As the march proceeded, the names of the more than 270 people killed at the Santa Cruz massacre were read over a loudspeaker to a slow drumbeat. The names of the martyrs were also written on the sidewalk around the building, as was the recent poem by U2’s Bono and other slogans.

(The Indonesians later called the authorities of San Francisco to have them send someone to wash the names off the sidewalks, just as they have called upon their friends in the US State Department and the Pentagon to help erase understanding about East Timor. This time, however, they were not successful. An ETAN member who stayed at the consulate talked with the person sent to clean the sidewalks. When told of what the names signified and what the Indonesians have done in East Timor, he became quite angry and refused to wipe them out. Indonesian intimidation fails again.)

At the end of the march, sixteen people climbed over the fence surrounding the consulate grounds in an attempt to deliver the letter to the consul general. They were quickly arrested by San Francisco police, who had been on the scene from the beginning. The persons arrested included two Catholic priests, two United Methodist ministers, instructors from local theology schools, and members of ETRO and ETAN. The sixteen were released shortly afterward.

The demonstration, which also featured the lighting of a candle and prayers led by the organizers, was an important escalation in the growth of the solidarity movement here. Long-time activists had their commitment redoubled by the moving and emotional atmosphere of the event, while dozens of new individuals were introduced to the struggle and learned exactly how important are the actions of people here, not only to the East Timorese, but for ourselves as well. As Rev. John Chamberlin, the principal organizer of the event, said, “This is a clear indication that awareness of East Timor is spreading in the US. The growth in solidarity for East Timor is definitely gathering strong momentum here.”

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**Letter from ETRO:**

Mr. Ahmad Fauzie Gani

Consul General

Consulate of the Republic of Indonesia

1111 Columbus Avenue

San Francisco, CA 94133-1707

Dear Mr. Ahmad Fauzie Gani:

We are gathered here today to remember not only the over 250 nonviolent mourners murdered in the Santa Cruz Massacre on November 12, 1991, but also the more than 200,000 East Timorese killed since the Indonesian military launched its genocidal aggression against the tiny nation of East Timor some twenty years ago. We are here to honor the East Timorese, living and dead, who cannot speak for themselves. We are here to bear witness to their suffering, resist the evil of Indonesia’s ongoing oppression, and proclaim God’s demand for justice.

Therefore, we call on the Indonesian government to comply with United Nations Security Council resolutions 384 and 389, to withdraw its military occupation forces immediately from East Timor, and to allow a United Nations sponsored plebiscite in East Timor to occur so that the East Timorese can determine their own future and genuine decolonization can take place. We also call on the Indonesian government to end all forms of inhuman treatment in East Timor, including extra-judicial killings, systematic rape, torture, and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. The climate of terror and oppression in East Timor is a degrading insult to the humanity of us all.

We also acknowledge with sadness that our own government has been an accomplice in the crimes committed against the East Timorese people, even though our State Department admits that the repression in East Timor is worsening. Therefore, we call on the United States to halt all military aid (including IMET training), economic aid, and weapons sales to Indonesia as long as it continues its illegal military occupation of East Timor. It is with deep shame that we contemplate our own government’s support of one of the world’s worst human rights abusers. Such complicity to cruelty must stop. It is not too late for the governments of the United States and Indonesia to know justice for East Timor.

Finally, the silence in the US media regarding the mass murder in East Timor must be broken. We pledge today to break that silence. The poor and forgotten of East Timor will remain in our hearts and prayers forever. They will never be forgotten. We will not go away until justice is achieved and East Timor is free.

We ask you to join us in this task of liberation. Stand with us is solidarity with the oppressed in East Timor.
We ask this with all our hearts. If you lack the courage to resist the evil being perpetuated by your government, we offer you our hand. Together we can be strong, together we can end the bloody tragedy in East Timor.

The blood of 200,000 murdered East Timorese cries out for an answer. We await your response.

Respectfully yours,

Rev. John Chamberlin
National Coordinator - East Timor Religious Outreach

Here is the response from the Consul General to the East Timor Religious Outreach letter clergy and supporters tried to deliver personally to the Indonesian Consulate in San Francisco on November 13, 1995. The letter is printed as received.

Dear Rev. Chamberlin,

I acknowledge that your letter dated November 13, 1995, has been received. I would like to express my deep concern over your letter which can cause misunderstanding among Americans regarding East Timor.

A brief history about East Timor will give you an idea on how the decolonization takes place.

Since Portugal was still in East Timor back in early 1970’s, Indonesia supported the process of decolonizing the area. It can be seen from a series of talks between the foreign ministers of the two countries which was held in New York and Lisbon beginning in September 1974 to discuss the decolonization process of East Timor. History shows that Portuguese government, as the administering power in East Timor, abandoned the area in the wake of civil war. It also shows that Portugal was in fact guilty of instigating civil war by secretly turning over its arms and ammunition to particular minority group, FRETILIN causing a chaotic situation. Facing with such a situation in which it appeared to be the irresponsible act of Portugal leaving the region as late as November 1975, Indonesia still urged Portugal to return to East Timor in order to complete the process of decolonization in a just and orderly manner. However, Portugal failed to do so.

As a result of civil war in East Timor, which mainly caused by unilateral decision of FRETILIN to declare independence, the situation had worsened. Thousands of refugees fled East Timor and crossed into Indonesia since FRETILIN tried to impose its decision toward other parties and East Timorese. That civil war which happened across the border of Indonesia also threatened the lives of Indonesian who lived in Western part of the island. With the flood of refugees, armed skirmishes, and prospect of prolonged political strife, economic upheaval and unclear future of East Timor, Indonesia was explicitly asked by the majority of East Timorese who preferred to integrate with Indonesia to help restore the order. Therefore, Indonesia’s involvement in East Timor was one of contributing to the process of decolonization of the territory, inter alia, by helping to ensure that the democratically expressed will of the majority of the people not be overruled by the armed terror and unilateral imposition of a ruthless minority.

Those who do not like Indonesia always accused that more than 200,000 of East Timorese died since the civil war erupted in 1975. This figure is really misleading and if it continues to be believed it might distort people’s mind. It is true that the civil war in East Timor has caused people’s lives. The exact number of casualties was not known. However, careful examination of facts by several observers, journalists and scholars suggested that war-related death numbered around 5,000 and another 25,000 victims of malnutrition and disease brought about by war-navigated economy and lack of health care services. From the number estimated above (5,000) we can see that those lives were lost as a result of armed struggle from the two opposing forces, FRETILIN and UDT, APODETI, TRABALHISTA and KOTA.

I also would like to argue that you have exaggerated the number of casualties in the Dili Incident of November 12, 1991. Such incident was deeply regrettable, as was immediately and repeatedly expressed the Indonesian Government at the Highest level. It is also important to acknowledge that the demonstration was not entirely peaceful and indeed displayed premeditated provocation and belligerence. It triggered a spontaneous reaction by some security personnel, acting outside the control or command of senior officers. Therefore, that incident was not an act of ordered by or reflecting the policy of the Government or the Armed Forces.

I would like to ask you that if you concern with East Timorese, it would be appreciated if you join the Government of Indonesia developing East Timor and try to increase the welfare of the people. Your contributing idea about developing East Timor is welcome. I believe that by making a continuous baseless accusation and acting on behalf of East Timorese without knowing the real situation there is a kind of irresponsible act.

I hope with this explanation you will have a better idea of what and how East Timor history is all about.

Truthfully yours,

Ahmad Fauzie Gani, Consul General
To the Indonesian Consul-General in Los Angeles:

One of the readings from today’s Mass was from Maccabees and told of the Jewish mother and her seven sons who were arrested and subjected to torture by an invading country. Because they would not declare allegiance to the invaders’ king but only to their God, the king of the universe, the sons were killed one by one in front of the mother, after which she was killed.

It seems that for the last 20 years, that is what the brave Christians of East Timor have done: given their lives rather than be subjected to an invading aggressor.

It is ironic that Indonesia was the first colonial territory in the Pacific region to gain their independence after World War II. Too soon, a nation forgets their struggles for independence. Too soon greed and power become the marks of a free nation.

This is true of Indonesia. It is no less true of our own country. I’m sad to say. Our country has supplied vital arms to Indonesia to allow this 20-year bloodbath to continue.

On behalf of all members of Pax Christi, the international Catholic peace movement, I call on the government of Indonesia to relinquish control of this country of courageous people. I call on our government to renounce its hypocrisy and recognize the human rights transgressions occurring in East Timor. Finally, tonight we mourn those who died four years ago this day at Santa Cruz cemetery and all the holy martyrs of East Timor.

May the candles lit in other parts of the world tonight be the light of hope for these brave people.

Sincerely,

Curt Grove, Pax Christi of Southern California

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REPORT ON NOV. 12 COMMEMORATION IN SEATTLE

From Mariza Cabral, ETAN/Seattle

The commemoration of the 4th anniversary of Santa Cruz in Seattle unfortunately coincided with the largest workers rally in the city’s history (and probably one of the largest in the country) – the Boeing workers rally. We had already mailed out our event flyers when we learned the Boeing workers rally was being scheduled for the same day. We got many several calls from our mailing list from people who regretted not being able to be both places at once. And so our turnout was small – about 15 people. We were also ignored by the local media, although a “Pacific Rim” Australian journalist came talk to us and take a few pictures. (The Seattle Times did however publish a

note on the many asylum requests in foreign embassies in Jakarta.)

As there is no Indonesian consulate in Seattle, we chose a location for the commemoration that would be seen by the most people. The commemoration was held downtown across from the city’s largest shopping mall, very well attended on Sundays. We had built a large sign reading “Fourth Anniversary of the November 12, 1991, Massacre in East Timor. In memory of the 271 unarmed young men, women and children killed by the Indonesian occupation army.” and which also summarized basic information on East Timor. The sign was surrounded by lit candles. Most passers-by stopped to read the sign, and we passed out flyers to those interested. Five people who were relatively well informed on the issue expressed interest in becoming active. Despite the small turnout we considered this event to be an effective public outreach action.

DERCO INDUSTRIES TO SUPPLY C-130 PARTS TO INDONESIA


“PT Garuda Indonesia/Konsorsium Dirgantara has awarded Derco Industries Inc. Milwaukee, a 49.27 million contract for supply of C-130 parts, materials and component overhaul services. Derco also will provide logistical support to the consortium for the in-country maintenance and modification of seven Indonesian Air Force C-130s.

“This is a big contract for us,” said Michele Williamson, Derco spokeswoman. “We worked long and hard to obtain it. C-130 parts are really our core business.” The Konsorsium Dirgantara consists of the Indonesian Air Force, Jakarta based PT Garuda Indonesia and Industri Pesawat Terbang Nusantara [IPTN], Bandung. It will perform the maintenance and modifications of three Indonesian Air Force bases in Bandung, Malang and Halim over the next six months.”

SEN. ROBB ON EAST TIMOR

Bangkok Post: Burma-China Relationship ‘Significant Interest’ to US. November 12, 1995 (Perspective), Excerpt

Assistant Editor RALPH BACHOE spoke with a Republican and a Democratic in Washington recently about the Burmese situation and its relationship with the US and finds out there’s more to the issue than meets the eye.

[Interview with Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) edited out, as are responses from Sen. Charles Robb (D-VA) not related to East Timor. Robb is former Chair of the Senate Asia-Pacific Subcommittee, and should know better than what he says here. He also visited Xanana during his trip, but apparently didn’t listen much. – Charlie Scheiner]

Q: How do you compare the situation between Burma and East Timor?

Robb: An interesting question because we were to stop only in Jakarta. I went directly from Burma to East Timor. There are vexing problems in both areas. But in Burma you have the government officially sanctioning and sponsoring a lot of the activity that troubles the international community.

Whereas in East Timor the Indonesian government have six or seven battalions there, only one of which is a military battalion, the others are construction battalions. The only battalion that has been involved in any significant way in trouble though is the one that is made up predominantly of East Timorese.

So if you look at the situation a little more carefully, you’ll find that in discussions with the governor, with the bishop, with the president of the university there, they have a very serious economic challenge. They had a problem where they had an insurgent guerrilla group which is no longer a serious problems, and they now have a government force that exceeds the requirements to keep the peace in East Timor.

I think they have withdraw one or two battalions already. At least the Indonesian ambassador told me they read my report and he was overly generous in suggesting that might have influenced their action.

But in any event I think they would eventually draw down even beyond that and then they need to find a way to provide some employment opportunities for the Timorese and not bring in people from elsewhere in Indonesia to take the limited number of jobs that are available on that small island. I think that’s a manageable question.

But it [the Timorese situation] had been much more of a civil strife where you had combatants on both sides, and most of that
had been resolved, so you are now dealing with the residue and most of the problems seem to be centered on the East Timorese, including the big massacre in Dili and the other killings that had taken place.

They all seemed to point to the same butulation, which is the one that had a disproportionate number of Timorese in it. So you got the feeling that it wasn’t necessarily a problem of the Timorese versus the Indonesian nationals but it was more of a domestic Timorese problem that clearly was a serious problem.

And there had been serious abuses. I walked through the cemetery where the massacre had taken place. It was one the Indonesian Government seemed to be capable of dealing with and I got the feeling they could and would make some progress in that area over a course of time.

The situation in Burma is far more widespread. Particularly with drugs and heroin what I view is a problem of a whole different magnitude and of course that effects the cross border operations with Thailand which are going to be a problem for sometime to come.

And both your government and the SLORC or some successor government in Burma are going to have to deal with a lot of those questions. Those are not as much as within the problems of the international community as some other where we think we can have an effect.

But the US is going to continue to be a presence in the area, going to continue to have a bilateral relationship. We have security arrangements with Thailand, Korea, Japan, Australia and the Philippines. Those areas are going to continue to be an important part for the security relationships for the whole region.

WHEREAS Indonesia’s brutal invasion of East Timor in 1975 and subsequent occupation caused the deaths of approximately 200,000 people, fully a third of the population; and

WHEREAS neither the United Nations nor the international community has recognized East Timor as being an integral part of Indonesia; and

WHEREAS through its program of “transmigration” the Indonesian government has encouraged thousands of Indonesians to settle in East Timor, resulting in a gradual, yet alarming marginalization of the indigenous East Timorese by taking away jobs and land; and

WHEREAS the physical development which has taken place under Indonesian rule has done little to benefit the East Timorese and is resulting in the destruction of their culture; and

WHEREAS human rights organizations and independent observers have documented a continued pattern of severe human rights abuses against the East Timorese including beatings, torture, rape, abductions and extra-judicial executions; and

WHEREAS in January 1995 a delegation from the National Council of Churches visited East Timor and concluded that the situation there had not improved over the past decade but was, in fact, getting worse; and

WHEREAS in March 1995 the United Nations Commission on Human Rights expressed its “deep concern over the continuing reports of violations of human rights in East Timor”;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the General Board of the NCCC/USA DEPLORES the continuing occupation of East Timor and the resultant abuse of human rights and climate of oppression;

SUPPORTS the rights of the East Timorese to self-determination and calls for the full participation of the East Timorese people in the just resolution of the political status of East Timor;

URGES the United Nations Secretariat to intensify efforts to resolve the political status of East Timor;

SUPPORTS the East Timorese people and the East Timorese churches who struggle for justice, dignity, and freedom from fear and the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity;

CELEBRATES the membership of the Christian Church (East Timor) (GKTT) in the World Council of Churches and its participation in ecumenical bodies in order that the East Timorese church may have an independent voice;

ENCOURAGES, in the spirit of partnership, the Indonesian churches and the

Communion of Churches in Indonesia to stand in solidarity with those who are oppressed in East Timor and to support the East Timorese in the globally recognized right of all people to self-determination;

CALLS on the United States government to cease military aid, including military training, and the sale of arms to Indonesia as long as it continues its de facto military occupation of East Timor.

COOPERATES with other religious bodies and concerned groups to increase the awareness of the on-going crisis in East Timor among U.S. policy-makers, the general public and local congregations.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the General Secretary of the NCCC/USA be requested to send copies of this resolution to the Secretary General of the United Nations, the President of the UN General Assembly, the President of the United States, all U.S. Senators and Representatives and all appropriate ecumenical colleagues.


SEND CLINTON A MESSAGE

Send Clinton a Message: Twenty Years of Arms Sales Are Enough

Call to Action from East Timor Action Network/US

The military assault on East Timor, its subsequent “annexation” and the ongoing abuses of human rights are made possible, in part, by US-supplied weapons. Tell President Clinton to send the Indonesian military and President Suharto a message by canceling the proposed sale of F-16 fighter jets and all arms sales to Indonesia.

On December 7, phone, fax or e-mail the White House. Urge Clinton to support East Timor’s right to self-determination by:

• Pressing Indonesia to allow a UN-supervised vote by the East Timorese on their future status, as called for by the UN Security Council;

• Announcing a cutoff of all arms sales to Indonesia including the recently announced sale of F-16s and urging all nations to do the same;

• Calling on Indonesia to fully respect the human rights of all its citizens and of the people of East Timor. It can begin by withdrawing its troops from East Timor under international supervision and freeing all political prisoners, including East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão.

Call the White House comment line: 202-456-1111; fax: 202-456-2883; e-mail: president@whitehouse.gov; or write: President
Clinton, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC 20500. Include your name and postal address if you want a response. Please let ETAN/US know if you have sent a message.

**U.S. CAN HELP EAST TIMOR**

*Letter to the Editor in Newsday, Dec. 6, 1995.*

Dec. 7 is the 20th anniversary of the occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian military, which has killed approximately 200,000 people there - more than one-quarter of the population. This is especially tragic because there is probably no other atrocity in the world today that so easily could have been stopped by the U.S. government had it chosen to do so.

Today, for example, the U.S. government could simply stop arming the Indonesian military and pressure other governments to do the same. Not only are these arms sales immoral, but they are also illegal, according to the Foreign Assistance Act and a 1958 U.S.-Indonesia treaty. And, instead of rewarding the Indonesian government with enormous economic and political support, our government could use that same economic and political clout to pressure the Indonesian government to end its occupation, in compliance with UN Security Council Resolutions 384 and 389, as well as several General Assembly resolutions.

The U.S. government could also join the Portuguese government in opposing the 1989 Timor Gap treaty, between Indonesia and Australia, which allows oil corporations to profit from this occupation by extracting oil off the coast of East Timor.

If the majority of the U.S. public knew the facts about East Timor, there is no doubt that public opinion would pressure the government to take constructive action.

Eliot Hoffman, Oceanside

**DON’T ABET TIMOR WOES**


To the Editor:

Re “The Clinton Gamble” (column, Dec. 6):

Contrary to Thomas L. Friedman’s claims that the cold war fostered good works and nation-building, East Timor exemplifies cold war policies that led the United States to accept Indonesia’s invasion of its smaller neighbor.

Since 1975, according to the Roman Catholic Church, more than 200,000 East Timorese have died as a result of the Indonesian Governments occupation.

East Timor’s right to self-determination has been prevented by policies of the cold war that promoted arms sales by the United States to Indonesia, a policy that continues today.

Contrary to Mr. Friedman’s claim that President Clinton’s foreign policy is based on promoting American values, human rights abuses by the Indonesian Government have been ignored.

In 1992 Congress cut off military aid to Indonesia to protest the massacre of 200 Timorese. The Clinton Administration is working to resume that military aid and to sell F-16 jet fighters to Indonesia. Such actions reward the Indonesian military in the face of Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck’s observation of the worsening human rights situation in East Timor 20 years after the invasion.

DAVID GARTNER, Boston, Dec. 6, 1995

*The writer is a member of the East Timor Action Network.*

**EAST TIMOR HUMAN RIGHTS ACCOUNTABILITY ACT INTRODUCED IN U.S. CONGRESS**


The following bill was introduced into the U.S. House of Representatives on December 7, 1995. Please ask your Congressperson to add their name to the list of cosponsors. The only ones we know of to date are Patrick Kennedy (D-RI), Nita Lowey (D-NY), and Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), although there are undoubtedly more.

If you Representative wants to co-sponsor or needs more information, they can call Congressional aides Matthew Traub in Lowey’s office (202-225-6506) or Gary Bliss in Kennedy’s (202-225-4911). We’ll keep you posted as developments progress.

104th Congress, First Session
H.R. 2746
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island (for himself and Mrs. Lowey) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations.

A BILL To amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide for the restriction on assistance to the Government of Indonesia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “East Timor Human Rights Accountability Act.”

SEC. 2. RESTRICTION ON ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA.

(a) In General - Section 620 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2370) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(y) Assistance may not be provided under this or any other Act for a fiscal year to the Government of Indonesia unless the President determines and certifies to the Congress that -

“(1) assistance provided under this or any other Act for the preceding fiscal year to such Government has not been used to violate human rights in East Timor or to support the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia; and

“(2) such Government has provided assurances to the President that assistance to be provided for the current fiscal year will not be used to violate human rights in East Timor or to support the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia.”

(b) Effective date. - The restriction on assistance contained in section 620(y) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as added by subsection (a), shall apply only with respect to assistance provided in fiscal years beginning on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

From the Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Dec. 7:

**EAST TIMORESE SUBJECT TO WORST HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE WORLD**

PATRICK KENNEDY of Rhode Island.

Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago today the small emerging nation of East Timor was brutally invaded by the nation of Indonesia. Over the past 20 years, the people of East Timor have been subject to some of the worst abuses of human rights in the world. More than 200,000 East Timorese, almost one-third of their entire population, have been killed or have died from starvation after being forced from their villages by Indonesians.

Mr. Speaker, this attack cannot be countenanced. This violence must end. That is why today, with my colleague from New York, Mrs. Lowey, I am introducing the East Timor Human Rights Accountability Act. This bill simply says that no United States aid to Indonesia can be used to further the occupation of East Timor or to violate the human rights of the people of East Timor. If it is, this aid will end.
Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from New York for joining me and I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to join me in sponsoring this legislation.

NITA M. LOWEY of New York.

Mr. Speaker, today marks the 20th anniversary of Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor. The people of East Timor have lived for two decades under a cruel and repressive regime that has killed and starved almost one-third of their population.

Violent crackdowns on peaceful demonstrations in East Timor have continued throughout this occupation. First, innocent protesters are massacred and then the military rounds up and jails the witnesses so that the world will never know what happens.

Indonesia’s policy in East Timor is about the oppression of those who oppose Indonesia’s right to torture, kill, and repress the people of East Timor. It is about genocide.

Today, Congressman Patrick Kennedy and I are introducing the East Timor Human Rights Accountability Act, which will prohibit United States aid to Indonesia from being used to further the occupation of East Timor or to violate the human rights of the East Timorese people.

Mr. Speaker, it is time for this repression and violence to end.

JACK REED of Rhode Island.

Mr. Speaker, on December 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded the small country of East Timor and began two decades of violent occupation and repression. More than 200,000 East Timorese have been killed or have died of starvation since the invasion of the Indonesian Government. Portugal continues to protest Indonesia’s invasion, and the United Nations has never recognized Indonesia’s claim on East Timor. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have issued numerous resolutions reaffirming East Timor’s right to self-determination. However, these actions have been ineffective.

Tragically, we are still witnessing the harsh reality of this invasion. Massacres, disappearances, suppression of free speech, and human rights abuses have consistently been reported since the invasion. In November 1991, the world was outraged by the Santa Cruz massacre where Indonesian soldiers opened fire into an unarmed crowd, killing more than 250 people; in June of 1994, Indonesian troops committed acts of sacrilege against the East Timorese Church and clergy; in July 1994, a clash between East Timorese students and Indonesian troops in response to this incident left 18 students injured; and in January of this year, Indonesian soldiers kidnapped, tortured, and murdered six civilians.

At a joint hearing before the International Relations Subcommittees on Asia and the Pacific and International Operations and Human Rights on March 16, the Director of the Human Rights Watch stated: ‘In East Timor, violations of fundamental rights have been especially severe, and have worsened dramatically since the APEC summit meeting in Jakarta last November.’

Congress has acted on behalf of the people of East Timor, but I believe we must do more. The United States must not tolerate continued human rights abuses by the military in East Timor. We must not turn our backs on the East Timorese, who, against great odds, have resisted the Indonesian invasion for 20 years. The U.S. should not let another 20 years of human rights abuses and oppression pass. I commend my colleagues Representatives Kennedy and Lowey for their efforts to recognize this anniversary on behalf of the people of East Timor, and for introducing the East Timor Human Rights Accountability Act of 1995. I urge my colleagues to continue to condemn acts of violence by the Indonesian Government against the people of East Timor.

TONY P. HALL of Ohio.

Mr. Speaker, today marks the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. It is sobering to reflect on the fact that responsible observers affirm that at least 100,000, and perhaps more than 200,000 of a population of less than 700,000, have perished from the combined effects of Indonesia’s December 1975 invasion of the territory. Proportionately, this is a death toll at least as great if not greater than Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. While the vast majority of these deaths took place between 1975 and 1980, harsh repression continues in East Timor and the tragedy there cries out for a solution.

East Timor has been the scene of numerous arrests, beatings, and torture in recent months, mainly of young people. Authoritative observers make it clear that these practices are routine. It is therefore of great importance that the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Jose Ayala Lasso, is visiting East Timor at this time. This makes it all the more important that concrete steps be taken to improve the human rights situation in East Timor.

President Clinton raised the issue of human rights in East Timor with President Suharto in a meeting in Washington in late October, one of several times that he has raised the issue with Indonesia’s leader.

I believe there should be increased international efforts to resolve the tragedy in East Timor, which continues to cause so much human suffering. After all, if we are able to do something about Bosnia, over time we can also do something about East Timor, and it probably would be a lot easier to do so in East Timor.

I would note that in recent years hundreds of Members of Congress from both parties have signed letters and appeals on the East Timor situation and that international concern over the issue has grown over time. In 1995, this growing international concern was exemplified by the nomination of the Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, 47-year-old Carlos Ximenes Belo, for the Nobel Peace Prize. The Associated Press and other news organizations listed Bishop Belo as a finalist in the days before the peace prize winner was announced in mid-October.

As one of those who nominated Bishop Belo for the Nobel Peace Prize, I firmly believe that the Congress and the Clinton administration and other governments and parliamentarians and world leaders should support Bishop Belo in his continuing efforts to ward off violence and find a just, peaceful solution to the East Timor tragedy under U.N. auspices.

It is crucial that Bishop Belo receive the maximum possible international support for his heroic efforts. In the year to come, I will work with my colleagues to help ensure that he gets it.

CHRISTOPHER SMITH of New Jersey.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to support my colleagues from Rhode Island and New York in their efforts to call attention to human rights abuses by Indonesia in its occupation of East Timor, and to prevent the use of United States military assistance to further Indonesia’s atrocities in East Timor.

Indonesia’s Armed Forces invaded East Timor in 1975, only weeks after East Timor had attained independence from Portugal. Since then, the Indonesian army has carried out a campaign of what amounts to ethnic cleansing against the Timorese through a program of forced migration. Persecution has been particularly harsh against the Christian population of East Timor.

More than 200,000 Timorese—out of a total population of 700,000—have been killed directly or by starvation in forced migrations from their villages since the Indonesian invasion.

There are recent reports of a renewed campaign of repression of Catholics in East Timor. These reports include atrocities such as the smashing of statues of the Blessed Mother. The campaign has also been directed personally against the Catholic Bishop of Diçó (DILLY), Bishop Belo. His phones are tapped, his fax machine is monitored, his visitors are watched, and his freedom of movement is restricted. But Bishop
Belo persists in his courageous efforts to defend justice, peace and the preservation of the dignity of his people. Recently, he has set up a church commission to monitor human rights abuses, and a radio station to disseminate information and news.

Mr. Speaker, the people of East Timor comprise a sovereign nation. They differ from most Indonesians in language, religion, ethnicity, history, and culture. They are entitled to independence and freedom. And in the meantime, they are entitled to fundamental human rights including the freedom of religion.

PORTLAND ACTIVITIES, DECEMBER 7

From Joseph Morris, ETAN/Portland

On the evening of the 7th East Timor Action Network/Portland, Oregon held a candle light vigil and demonstration in protest of the continued occupation of East Timor on the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion. The crowd included ETAN activists, people contacted through an ETAN mailing, and activists from other local progressive groups. About 30 folks total showed up on this very cold evening (temperature was down to about 40 degrees F) to stand with banners, signs, and candles at one of the busiest intersections in Portland, at the corner of SW Salmon and Front. The vigil lasted about 2 hours during the heaviest rush hour traffic, allowing ETAN activists to run up and down the lines of cars stopped at the traffic lights handing out brochures and explaining to passers-by the history of the US supported genocidal invasion and occupation of East Timor. The evening ended off with a local ETAN activist giving updates on the embassy occupations and reading off with a local ETAN activist giving updates of East Timor. The evening ended off with a letter of support sent by the office of one of the banners (one of the banners)...

“US and European corporations profit from genocide in East Timor and brutal oppression in Indonesia.”

FREEDOM HOUSE: EAST TIMOR AMONG WORST

Iraq, N. Korea, Sudan cited as ‘worst of the worst.’ abridged

WASHINGTON, Dec 18 (Reuters) - Iraq, North Korea and Sudan were cited on Monday as the “worst of the worst” nations with regard to freedom and human rights.

The annual rating by the New York-based human rights group Freedom House characterized the three nations as completely lacking in civil liberties and political rights.

They were among 18 nations at the bottom of the Freedom House list, along with Afghanistan, Burma, China, Libya, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Somalia and Syria. This was three fewer than the list a year ago as Algeria, Angola, Mauritania and Rwanda left the “worst” roster while Nigeria was added.

Freedom House rated East Timor, Kashmir, Kosovo and Tibet as the worst territories for human rights. Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 after its independence from Portugal the year before, predomi-

nately Moslem Kashmir separatists are demanding independence from mostly Hindu India. Tibet has been under Chinese rule since 1950 and Kosovo nationalists demand independence from Serbia.

US CONGRESS NOT VERY WELL INFORMED OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDONESIA

Antara, 9 January

Jakarta - The United States Congress only knew a little about East Timor, as well as on human rights in Indonesia, vice chairman of the National Commission for Human Rights Prof. Miriam Budiarjo said here after a meeting with a group of members of the US Congress in Jakarta Monday. [sic – they were actually Congressional staffers]

The guests were Elizabeth Lambird, Director of the Sub-Commission for East Asia and the Pacific, Bill Deere, Assistant to Congress for Overseas Problems and Operations, and Shirley J. Neff, economic staff member with the Commission on Energy and Natural Resources.

“They are playing an important role because they give recommendations to the US Congress on making decisions especially on Indonesia-America relations,” he said.

Bill Dere, for instance, played a very important role in decision making on US financial aid to Indonesia under the IMET program.

The members of the National Commission on Human Rights at the two-hour meeting between the Congress members were Aisyah Amini, Munawir Sjadzali, Bambang Suharto and Charles Himawan.

The subjects touched upon by the guests during the meeting, Charles Himawan said, included East Timor and religious tolerance in Indonesia.

INDONESIA PLANS TO LAUNCH ITS PASSENGER JET IN 2002

Jakarta Post, January 17, 1996

JAKARTA: The first Indonesia-designed passenger jet N-2130 will be rolled out in March 2002 and will make its maiden flight some five months later, State Minister of Research and Technology B.J. Habibie said yesterday.

“We will launch the N-2130 in March 2002 and between three to five months later it will be followed by its maiden flight,” he said after meeting President Soeharto.

He noted that the planned schedule for the design and construction of the N-2130, a 130-passenger jet with a maximum speed of 900 kilometers an hour, was on track.

“Its development is following our schedule,” said Habibie, who heads a number of state-owned industrial companies, including shipbuilding company PT PAL in Surabaya, East Java, and aerospace company PT IPTN in Bandung, which is developing the jet.

Habibie also reported to the President on the development of the IPTN-built N-250 turbo-prop airplane, which made its maiden flight last August.

“N-250 has completed a flying test up to an altitude of some 25,000 feet (8,000 meters) at the speed of 600 kilometers an hour,” he said, adding that in its class, it is the fastest and the latest in terms of technology.

He pointed out that with the progress, there would be no problem with the marketing of the aircraft.

“Negotiations for the marketing of the N-250 in the United States between IPTN, the American Regional Aircraft Industry and U.S. industrialists proceeded smoothly last week,” he said.

IPTN plans to assemble the N-250 in the Alabama city of Mobile in the United States to facilitate its marketing in the region.

The N-250 is designed to carry between 50 and 76 passengers and has a maximum speed of 330 knots (612 kilometers) an hour.

The turboprop aircraft uses the latest fly-by-wire computerized technology and also incorporates modern digital avionics and engine controls.

Comment from Charlie Scheiner – is it coincidence that Mobile is the heart of the Congressional District represented by Sonny Callahan (R-AL), who chairs the Congressional Subcommittee that has jurisdiction over IMET military aid?
TIME EXPLAINS NON-COVERAGE OF ET

The following email letter was received by an ETAN activist who wrote TIME Magazine to ask for more coverage of East Timor. I thought readers of reg et might get some insight into why Americans (and perhaps others) know so little about East Timor. I wonder if the “press of other scheduled stories” kept out much about the O.J. Simpson trial or the non-issues debated in Congress this year.

-- Charlie Scheiner

From: SFigueroa@aol.com, 25 Jan 1996
To: chihowa@ix.netcom.com
Your letter to TIME

Dear Dr. Cheney:

Thank you for your recent letter, and for registering your desire to see more coverage of the situation in East Timor. A number of extended articles, that deal with aspects of the problem that you may not have seen elsewhere, have appeared in our international editions over the past year or so. These include a September 11, 1995, article from our Australian edition that discusses the related topic of alleged abuses by Indonesian armed forces in Irian Jaya province. Regrettably, owing to the press of other scheduled stories, our editors were unable to include these articles in our domestic edition as well. However, if you let us know your mailing address, we would be happy to send you copies of a selection of these articles for your consideration.

We can appreciate that in light of your particular interest in this topic, you may feel frustrated not to have had access to this coverage as it appeared, and we can only hope you will understand that the process of deciding precisely what mix of news will best serve our various audiences is difficult and far from perfect. Be assured that we share your well-founded concern for the welfare of East Timor’s citizens, and that we are always looking for opportunities to increase our domestic readers’ exposure to developments in the international arena.

Your remarks have been brought to the attention of the appropriate editors, and they will certainly bear them in mind over the coming weeks and months.

We value your contribution to our discussions, and we send you our best wishes.

Sincerely,

Winston Hunter

NEW YORK DEMO PROTESTS AUSTRALIA’S EAST TIMOR POLICY

Report from ETAN/NY, Jan 29.

Ten activists from the East Timor Action Network/NY (ETAN) picketed and leafleted at the Australia Day Gala at the Pierre Hotel in Manhattan, Saturday evening, January 27.

ETAN displayed a large banner saying “East Timor – Australian for Betrayal.”

Several hundred leaflets were given out to passers-by and tuxedoed and evening-gowned gala attendees. One leaflet focused on Australia’s historic relationship to East Timor and its current role as the only Western nation to formally recognize the Indonesian annexation.

Many of those heading to the gala politely took leaflets, though few engaged in conversation.

The Australia Society was set up to strengthen the business relationship between the two countries.

RESOURCES

XANANA ON CD

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Porto, Nov 8 (LUSA) - Radio stations in Portugal, France, Australia, Angola and Mozambique will air Friday a compact disk that is a recording of Xanana Gusmão. In Portugal, the CD, entitled “Xanana,” will be aired by Radio Nova of Porto, at 9:00 AM.

In France, Radio Alfa; in Angola, radio station Luanda Antena Comercial; and various radio stations in Mozambique and Australia. “Xanana” will soon be aired also in The Netherlands and England.

The CD was created by journalist Pedro Sousa Pereira, and is about 20 minutes long. It includes portions of the first interview by Xanana after his arrest. Xanana exhorts the guerrillas to fight always, and affirms that it is worthwhile to fight for independence.

The CD contains also traditional Timorese poems and songs recorded by the guerrillas in the mountains. CD sale proceeds will favor the Timorese resistance.

ORDERING INFORMATION

On 12 November a new CD relating to East Timor was released in Portugal by Tradison, Macao. The CD includes:

• Excerpts from a 1995 recorded interview with Xanana Gusmão, in which he responds to questions from Radio Macao journalist Pedro Sousa Pereira.

• Songs sung by Timorese political prisoners being held in Cipinang prison.

• A piece produced by Radio Nova (Oporto) in 1992, which includes prayers recorded at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

Proceeds form the 30-minute CD will go to the 12 November Association, based in Lisbon. For further details or orders, please contact:

TRADISON - José Mocas
PO BOX 1746, MACAO.
tel/fax: (853) 976255

“DEATH OF A NATION” AVAILABLE ON VIDEO

“DEATH OF A NATION: THE TIMOR CONSPIRACY” is now available on video from the East Timor Action Network.

These are legitimate copies of the award-winning 1994 film by John Pilger, David Munro and Max Stahl. “Death of a Nation” has been broadcast in more than 40 countries (not including the U.S.) and translated into a number of languages. It is the most moving, hard-hitting and comprehensive documentary on East Timor, and details the complicity of the U.S., U.K., and Australian governments with Indonesia’s 20-year invasion and genocide.

It is ideal for showing to a general audience to get them interested and involved in East Timor – order one now for the 20th anniversary next month!

There is a two-level price schedule for this 76-minute version:

$35 for home use only
$149 includes public performance rights (classrooms, theaters, lectures, closed-circuit TV, etc.)

Please add $4 for shipping in the US; $7 for international air mail.

We stock tapes in 1/2” VHS, NTSC (US/Canada) format only. However, PAL and other formats are available on special order.

For more information, or to place an order, contact East Timor Action Network, P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA. cscheiner@igc.apc.org tel. 1-914-428-7299 fax 1-914-428-7383.

ETAN/US also has a 16mm film copy of the 94-minute version of “Death of a Nation” that can be used for benefits for human rights and East Timor support groups by special arrangement.
December 1 Austin Chronicle (Texas) letters to the editor:

Editor:

The current issue of Forbes contains an advertising spread by the Republic of Indonesia seeking business development. The phone listed, 800/646-7382 (Dept. B-31) would be an appropriate means of letting the government know your feelings regarding the brutal occupation of East Timor and the difficulty of conducting business as usual with such a government.

Sincerely,
Donald Link

STOP THE HAWK DEAL
NEWSLETTER ON WWW

The latest issue of the newsletter of STOP THE HAWK DEAL is now on the World Wide Web at the following address: http://amadeus.inesc.pt/~jota/Timor/STH D/sthdnews.htm and contains news, information, photos and cartoons from the Manchester-based campaign to stop the sale of British Aerospace Hawks to Indonesia.

“20”: WWW INTERNATIONAL MUSIC FOR EAST TIMOR

Announcement from Alox, Dec. 7, 1995

Dear Friends of East Timor,

In recognition of 20 long years of resistance to genocide since the Indonesian government brutally invaded and continues to illegally occupy the country of East Timor...

We present for you... and for all of you music lovers too...

A musical WWW ‘HOPE’ PAGE with an international CD announcement!

Now available on the World Wide Web at the following address:
http://www.web.apc.org/~hands

with music, photos, graphics, information, links... and love from Alox to East Timor.

Please, join hands with our international friends who support this project and spread the word to further INSPIRE the ‘HOPE’ that PEACEFULLY we’ll work (and play)

TOGETHER to finally realize a FREE EAST TIMOR!!!

Peace for all,
alox

“EYWITNESS” LAUNCHED IN LONDON

Announcing the launch of the East Timor and Indonesia season at Bibliotech, London

“Seno Gumira Ajidarma describes himself as ‘just a small journalist from an entertainment magazine.’ This journalistic fact is true but omits the fuller truth that he has a strong persona as a writer. Eyewitness, a remarkable collection of macabre but humane stories he has written about East Timor, is evidence of the size of that glaring omission.”

If you want to read Seno Gumira Ajidarma’s title story, Eyewitness, point your browser at http://www.bookshop.co.uk/biblio/ and follow the link that says ‘It was twenty years ago today.’

Over the next month, BIBLIOTECH will be serving up features, interviews and reviews relating to East Timor and Indonesia.

Alex Robinson (alexsanja@gn.apc.org)

Where to get Eyewitness

Eyewitness
Seno Gumira Ajidarma
translated by Jan Lingard
144 pp, AU$ 14.95
Published by ETT Imprint
PO Box 157, Kings Cross NSW 2011, Australia (World rights, including translation)

Available in Europe from:
Bridges Books, Singel 450,1017 Av Amsterdam. Netherlands
Asian edition soon available from: Toppan Co (S) Pte Ltd
Box 22, Jurong Town Post Office, Jurong 2262, Singapore

From Web page

“Eyewitness by Seno Gumira Ajidarma”

‘When journalism is gagged, literature must speak. Because when journalism speaks with the facts, literature speaks with the truth.’

(Introduction, p36)

Seno Gumira Ajidarma describes himself as ‘just a small journalist from an entertainment magazine.’ This journalistic fact is true but omits the fuller truth that he has a strong persona as a writer. Eyewitness, a remarkable collection of macabre but humane stories he has written about East Timor, is evidence of the size of that glaring omission. Moreover, an Indonesian who writes about the suffering of the East Timorese can hardly be called just a journalist.

George Aditjondro the academic and ex-journalist who wrote truths about the economic and environmental development (or rather destruction) of East Timor that the regime found unpalatable, now lives and works in Australia, unable to be just an academic. Ajidarma has had confrontations enough of his own with yellow hi-lighter-wielding military men.

Eyewitness’ dominant motifs are blood - the red blood which never stops dripping and oozes from one story to the next - and the act of cleansing, which characters perform constantly, the smell of disinfectant never far away. The themes are oppression and loss, occupation and resistance, but his mixture of ironic imagination and brutal reality makes for a free-ranging free-wheeling style which prevents it all becoming too serious and didactic. In many of the stories he assembles oddly assorted but perfectly matched verbal trinkets onto a central narrative thread.

For example, in Electricity he relates how Man tamed electricity in cool scientific authorial tones, then moved on to experiments observing muscle contractions in animal and finally in humans. This seamlessly flows into a harsh, almost lurid security camera-style description of one of Man’s contemporary uses for electricity on his fellow man. He reveals the irritable listlessness of soldiers as they go with one thought on their minds - food - leaving their prisoner to his childhood memories of electric shocks which spark off childhood dreams. The casual mention of childhood friends leads to the reportage of their sad and brutal demise to the melodrama of a dream/surreality sequence ended by the prisoner’s sharp and violent awakening and a gag he cracks to himself about remembering to pay his electricity bill on time. The story finishes with a pampered UN official in New York reading an Amnesty International document about the incident and others like it, but preferring to think about his holiday. Along the way Ajidarma has described a series of torture techniques as horrific as any detailed in captured Indonesian military documents about East Timor, but with a deftness that avoids overwhelming heaviness and allows the painful twists to be all the more gut wrenching when they come.

Adijarma’s writing is terse rather than lyrical (except for The Flute of Loneliness which is more of a prose poem that he confesses is rather personal) but shot through with a skewed surrealism, the perfect setting for his ugly subject matter. It is this tinge of surrealism which has drawn comparisons with Garcia Marquez, but the magic realism that Adijarma portrays is rooted in the anti-mim tradition which still underpins much of everyday life in East Timor. In The Mystery of the Town of Ningi, a census taker is bemused by the dwindling numbers of living, visible people live side-by-side with the
ever increasing invisible, the dead and disappeared, who go about their daily routines as usual. The basis for this story is the Timorese belief that the souls of those who die unnaturally roam around amongst the living as spirits.

Moreover the story, like many of the others is grounded in fact, in this case the actual census figures of East Timor, chilling and horrific testaments in themselves to the scale of the genocide. Other factual starting points include the muzzling of eyewitnesses, the forced swallowing of rosary beads, rubber and iron truncheons, the cutting off of ears. But these are not just history lessons (although ironically there is a story called The History Lesson), rather they take place in the gaps that history and news reports cannot fill; the anguish of a mother waiting for the return of a missing son, a local’s distrust of the foreign doctor, the drunken loneliness of a young man who has known nothing but war and dislocation. The unstated but insistent question “What becomes of children brought up in such violent upheavals?” keeps popping up - Aji’darma’s lucid retelling in the introduction of these events, illustrating the ‘management of fear’ that Indonesian journalists work under, is an additional treat. However, the magazine did not close. Instead the senior management fed him and fired him.

Instantly he was transformed from a journalist covering the Santa Cruz massacre into a source of news on it. He had his 15 minutes in the international spotlight which meant acres of publicity and prolonged attention for articles which would have faded away without anyone noticing. His dismissal backfired in another way. It made him continue to write about East Timor - this time fiction rather than journalism - simply as an act of opposition. He had difficulty getting all of the stories published in various magazines, always because of the ‘East Timor problem,’ but carried on writing anyway.

Similarly, he sharply delineates Indonesian attitudes to the occupation of East Timor: the irascibility of the war-enriched general confronted with, what are to him, repeated and unnecessary mentions of the troublesome territory where he and his men had given their all; the overarching pride of a young woman as she waits at home for letters and ‘souvenirs’ from her boyfriend who is serving there.

It is this concentration on the personal which makes it possible to read and appreciate these tales without any understanding of events in East Timor. In fact, a peculiar quirk of this collection is that East Timor is never actually mentioned by name. There are, however, obvious clues: Portuguese names and football clubs, letters from Lisbon, invasion and continuing oppression, warships, fighter planes, and above all the shadow of a particular massacre of unarmed people burned into collective consciousness, fill the pages along side facts which he didn’t feel able to use in the magazine he edited at the time, Jakarta Jakarta. These unpublished details were the genesis for the magazine itself. Aji’darma’s lucid retelling in the introduction of these events, illustrating the ‘management of fear’ that Indonesian journalists work under, is an additional treat. However, the magazine did not close. Instead the senior management fed him and fired him.

REVIEW: GENERATIONS OF RESISTANCE


MAGGIE HELWIG writes: Steve Cox was at the Santa Cruz cemetery in East Timor on 12 November 1991, when Indonesian troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration organised by the civilian resistance. Photographs of that day appear in Generations of Resistance: East Timor (Cassell, GBP 19.95), along with many evocative images of everyday life under the military occupation; like this photo of a fisherman mending his net alongside the rusted remains of the landing craft used in the 1975 invasion. Peter Carey’s lengthy introductory essay is one of the best summaries of East Timor’s history that I have seen to date, with a clear grasp of not only the military events, but also the social issues involved, and the factors which led to the rise of the unarmed resistance.

This book is available from ETAN/US for $22.00.

CONTROVERSY OVER MICROSOFT ENCARTA ON EAST TIMOR

From Audrey Kahin, Dec. 14:

I was shocked to see Jim Dunn state that I had apparently written the paragraph on East Timor in the latest version of Microsoft’s Encarta that he cites in his message of December 10. According to Dunn, this read as follows: “...When Portugal withdrew from East Timor in 1975, Frente Revolucionaria do Timor Leste Independente (Fretilin), a Communist group seeking independence, held control of Dili, the capital. Indonesia considered Fretilin a threatening movement and invaded East Timor in December...”

I never wrote such a paragraph, do not know who did, and strongly disagree with the statements therein. I have only just become aware that Microsoft’s Encarta apparently took over much of what I had written in the “Indonesia History” section I contributed to the revised version of Funk and Wagnalls encyclopedia published in 1983. My original article included only the following brief mention of East Timor:

“A second crisis arose with Indonesia’s invasion in December 1975 of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which Indonesia then annexed despite the condemnation of Portugal and the UN.”

Apparently, without my knowledge, my name was still attached to Microsoft’s Encarta version of the Indonesia section and its updating.

I do not know who contributed the current version cited by Jim Dunn, and am writing to Funk & Wagnalls and to Microsoft’s Encarta to protest the entry and the attachment of my name to it, if, as Jim Dunn implies, the article does in fact appear over my name.

Audrey Kahin

Background from Mariza Cabral:

There are two versions of Encarta: an “American” and a “World English” version. The American version follows usual American mapping conventions, which mark East Timor as part of Indonesia (such as, e.g., in National Geographic Society maps). In the World English version, however, and according to director of Vendor Relations Anil Singh-Molares, “We have pretty strict editorial guidelines
on what is acceptable, especially with respect to maps and boundaries. We always use the official United Nations mapping.” I don’t know what constitutes “official UN mapping,” but unless it disagrees with official UN ruling on territory status, it shouldn’t include East Timor within Indonesia. The claim of “official UN mapping” doesn’t seem to be honored in the World English version of Encarta.

The brief mention of East Timor by Audrey Kahin appears only slightly edited at the start of the “World English” Encarta version (below). However, it is then expanded to give the official Indonesian version of History. It appears even worse than the American version, as it seems to suggest that the “massive bloodshed” is equally attributable to the Fretilin guerrillas as to the Indonesian army:

**WORLD ENGLISH VERSION:**

“A second crisis arose with Indonesia’s invasion in December 1975 of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which had first been granted independence. Indonesia subsequently annexed East Timor despite the opposition from Portugal and the condemnation by the UN. Opposition to Indonesian rule within East Timor has been led by the Marxist group Fretilin, which since 1975 has waged a spasmodic guerrilla campaign against the Indonesian army resulting in massive bloodshed. Fretilin’s leader, Xanana Gusmão was captured and imprisoned in 1993. In 1994 there were reports of talks between senior Indonesian government figures and some Timorese resistance leaders; talks between Indonesia and Portugal, which is still considered by the UN to exercise sovereignty over East Timor, also resumed in early 1994.”

**US VERSION:**

“A second crisis arose in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. When Portugal withdrew from East Timor in 1975, Frente Revolucionaria do Timor Leste Independente (Fretilin), a Communist group seeking independence, held control of Dili, the capital. Indonesia considered Fretilin a threatening movement and invaded East Timor in December. Despite condemnation by Portugal and the UN, Indonesia annexed the area as its 24th province. Human rights organizations claim that more than 100,000 people may have been killed by the Indonesian army during the annexation. Ongoing political tensions in the region led to a massacre of pro-independence demonstrators by Indonesian soldiers in November 1991. Fighting between Indonesian troops and Fretilin members continued into the mid-1990s, despite reconciliation talks between Indonesian officials and exiled Timorese leaders.”

**OTHER PORTIONS:**

**US VERSION:**

“[..] East Timor (status disputed).” (listing Indonesia provinces)

**WORLD ENGLISH VERSION:**

“The former Portuguese colony of East Timor was forcibly annexed by Indonesia in 1975 and became the country’s 27th province in July 1976.”

**WORLD ENGLISH VERSION:**

“On East Timor, the Marxist Fretilin has waged an armed campaign for independence since the former Portuguese colony was forcibly incorporated into Indonesia in 1976. The Timorese Democratic Union, a more moderate group advocating a gradual process of self-determination for the province, allied itself with Fretilin in 1986. The conflict with the central government has resulted in more than 200,000 deaths.”

**INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER PHOTOGRAPH ON POSTER**

**SYDNEY, Dec 11 AAP - A photograph of Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas is being used by East Timor activists to embarrass the minister and campaign against any move by him to run for the position of UN Secretary General.**

At a press conference in Sydney today, East Timorese leader-in-exile José Ramos Horta showed a poster containing the picture of Mr Alatas holding his finger up in anger, the shot allegedly taken on a diplomatic trip to Germany.

Mr Horta said the picture had been turned into a poster to embarrass Alatas who has been regarded as a potential UN secretary general candidate.

He said the diplomatic mission by President Suharto and Mr Alatas in April this year had turned into a major disaster for them.

“Weimar, a historic German area, declined Suharto as persona non grata,” Mr Horta said.

“Then artists of the opera in Hanover said they would observe a minute’s silence for the East Timorese so they (Suharto and Alatas) did not go.

“They then went to Dresden for a banquet and their bus was attacked by hundreds of demonstrators.

“They punched the bus and spat on it. Suharto was furious and a photo was taken of Alatas (holding up one finger) - he will be finished.

“This is the man who wanted to be the next secretary-general of the UN. Alatas is a very experienced Indonesian diplomat - he was very upset and did this non-diplomatic gesture.”

**“The photo has been superimposed over (an image of) the UN. The poster was offered to us from friends in Portugal. It is also on the Internet.”**

**INDONESIA DAILY NEWS DATABASE ONLINE**

**From John MacDougall, Dec. 15, 1995**

**Content of the Database**

This keyword-searchable database contains news and views on Indonesia dating from October 1990 till the present. It is updated every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. It is intended for your personal research. The database is privately owned by Indonesia Publications which is making it publicly available on an experimental basis.

It is a very flexible, user-friendly WAIS database configured to assist in tasks ranging from major projects (like books or professional papers) to simple jobs (like retrieving a particular document).

This database allows fast searching of thousands of documents about Indonesia available on the Institute for Global Communications (IGC) system. Principal sources include IGC’s reg.Indonesia (regional conference on Indonesia) newsgroup and the INDONESIA-L mailing list. Selections from other diverse sources are also included.

Almost any word (here called ‘keyword’) or combination of words may be used in conducting searches for relevant documents. English and/or Indonesian language keywords work best since these are the languages of almost all documents in the database.

At this point in time, no restrictions have been placed on access to the database. There are currently no charges to the user for accessing or retrieving documents.

**How to Use the Database**

The online address (‘URL’) to access the database is:
gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:2998/7REG-INDONESIA

The address is case-sensitive. It may be accessed by a Web browser or a gopher program installed on your host or personal computer.

After you type the address and the connection is made, the phrase ‘Enter query:’ appears. At this point, just type one or more keywords to do a search.

Boolean searching using AND, OR and NOT may be used to refine searches. You will achieve better results if you use Boolean searches. A search typically takes only a few seconds. Keywords typed in a sequence without any Boolean logical operator are interpreted to have OR connecting them.
The operator ADJ may be used to connect keywords when you want only documents with the keywords adjacent to each other. If you are uncertain of spelling, the wildcard * may be attached to the end of a word root. For those who know how to do it, parenthetical searching is supported.

What A Search Produces

When a keyword occurs in a document, you have made a 'hit.'

The software will usually return to you a title index of all possible hits in the database. Hits are listed and scored in order of the number of times the keyword appears in the document. Often – not always – this means the documents near the top of index are the most relevant ones.

The software has been set to allow a very high number of hits to be displayed in the index. If by chance you 'hit' more documents than may be displayed, you can work around this by refining your search with Boolean operators. One example of a simple workaround is the 'keyword AND year' search technique (e.g., Soehart* AND 95).

The number of 'pages' in each hit also appears in the index resulting from your search. This gives you an approximate measure of the size of each document you have 'hit.'

Depending on its capabilities, your Web browser or gopher program will then allow you to view, download, or even email to yourself from one to all the documents retrieved. Most Web browsers and gopher programs have built-in commands to accomplish these functions.

Please email any questions about the database to apakabar@igc.apc.org.

NEW WEB SITES ON EAST TIMOR

Darwin now has an East Timor Site up and going on the World Wide Web. I hope to maintain a high standard in content and design and your comments will be important to this end. Most of the material to be updated on the pages will be sourced from reg.easttimor but if you don't normally send your press releases to reg.easttimor, then email me. The site is:


Another new one is hosted by David Barts of the University of Washington at http://www.cc.washington.edu/~davidb/timor.html

THORN IN THE FLESH OF SOUTHEAST ASIA


Twenty years since Indonesia became involved in ET, the Timorese are said to be emerging as the Vietnamese of the South Pacific, resilient people relentless in their struggle for liberation. Bangkok-based journalist Sonny Inbaraj tells their story from their roots as a Portuguese colony to their current status as a colony of a different sort.

Inbaraj, a Malaysian who edits the opinion pages of Bangkok’s English-language The Nation newspaper, is not likely to get hired as a public relations officer for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. His book is a penetrating look at how diplomatic blackmail works within ASEAN. Business delegations and conferences are used as pawns in a chess game. Major investment plan are suddenly cancelled when a partner fails to toe the line in a game that ultimately backfires.

The author points out that while the UN fails to recognize Jakarta’s rule over the territory, ASEAN nations, on the other hand, have been careful to avoid confrontation with Indonesia, its largest member.

While many journalists hide behind “anonymous” or “diplomatic sources,” Inbaraj pulls no punches, naming people straight out. He also captures the high-spirited poetry of people’s power, injecting quotes from Solzhenitsyn and Timothy Mo to Domingos Sarmento Alvez. ... A musician in the Bangkok rock scene, Inbaraj has taken an alternative attitude to journalism by choosing a subject routinely ignored by most people, even inside Southeast Asia.

It is [Inbaraj’s] kind of notoriety that makes for inspired writing. With its raw voice, unpolished, uncommercial style and its wizened, hard-edged look at the facts, this book is a work of hardcore journalism.

The book plus the postage cost is Baht 400 (approx. US$16). They accept VISA cards (it would be charged by Suriwong Book Centre, Chiang Mai). The complete address is:

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