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Tel: 914-428-7299 Fax: 914-428-7383 E-mail PeaceNet:CSCHEINER or CSCHEINER@IGC.APC.ORG

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HISTORICAL ISSUES

**THE BALIBO DECLARATIONS
 - HOW MANY ARE THERE
 AND WHO WROTE THEM?**

Publico, 28 March 1995. By J. Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon – There is no statement from Ali Alatas concerning Timor in which the Indonesian Foreign Minister omits reference to the Balibo Declaration. The request for integration made by leaders of four Timorese parties has always been one of Jakarta’s main arguments to justify the occupation of East Timor. But the document may not be quite what it appears to be.

Balibo, Timor, 30 November 1975. One day after Fretilin declared the independence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, six leaders from four Timorese parties - Apodeti, UDT, Kota and Labour - formally declared the integration of the territory in Indonesia. That is the official Indonesian version of what has become known as the Balibo Declaration, and which has since become the cornerstone of all Jakarta’s arguments to justify its presence in East Timor.

It was this document that the Japanese researcher Akihisa Matsuno, Professor of Indonesian Language and Culture at Osaka University decided to investigate. The results of his research, which Matsuno has described as “more conjectures than definitive conclusions,” were presented during the VI Days for Timor, which came to an end this weekend in Lisbon. The doubts raised call into question Indonesia’s justification for the invasion and compromise the constant references by Ali Alatas and Francisco Lopes da Cruz (himself a signatory to the Declaration, and since promoted to Suharto’s ambassador).

Matsuno, who in addition to being a specialist in Indonesian affairs is also a pro-Timor activist, based his arguments on the comparative study of two versions (both written in English - there is said to be a Portuguese version, but the researcher did not find it) of the Balibo Declaration. The first is the “corrected” version of the original manuscript, in which the most blatant spelling and grammatical mistakes have been

corrected. The second is the so-called UN version, the same as the one published by the Department of Information of the Republic of Indonesia, and registered as an official document at the UN. It is this version which Ali Alatas and Lopes da Cruz have in mind when they make their customary references to the Balibo Declaration.

As well as being written in perfect English, the UN version reveals some substantial alterations in relation to the original text. “In a way,” argued Matsuno, “it is a completely new document.” Here are his reasons.

OMISSIONS

Firstly, the Japanese researcher pointed out two important omissions. While the original version contained criticisms of Portugal for having “consented to” the independence declared by Fretilin, the revised text only vaguely refers to the “attitude of the Portuguese Government on this matter” and focuses accusations on “Fretilin’s unilateral action.” This omission takes on important significance when we recall that the Jakarta Government criticised Fretilin at the UN for having ignored the efforts made by Indonesia and, note, by Portugal.

Indonesia’s “hand” in the drafting of the UN’s text - the theory to which Akihisa Matsuno’s study points - has started to appear. It can be seen again in the second big omission. While the original text attributes the reason for Timor being divided into two parts to two colonial powers, Portugal and Holland, the UN version omits references to Holland and speaks only of the separation of East Timor and Indonesia, attributing this to Portugal. The reasons for this are clear: the revised version attempts to avoid Indonesia and East Timor appearing “historically” on the same plane, through opposition to Holland and Portugal.

“ADDITIONS”

In terms of “additions,” Matsuno pointed out two significant passages. He noted that the reference to “independence” is not in the original text and appears in the UN version - “(...) we solemnly declare the independence and integration of the entire former colonial territory Portuguese Timor in the Republic of Indonesia.” Apparently, this alteration was meant to make the document more consistent.

Further on, the UN version includes a reference to “our statement to the Portuguese Government” which does not appear in the original text and is added to the list of good will gestures made in an attempt to avoid the conflict for which Fretilin is blamed. Matsuno pointed out that without this reference, all the efforts towards conciliation would be associated with non-Timorese - Australia, Portugal, Indonesia itself - which would make the signatories of the Declaration appear to have been mere bystanders.

From that point on, the researcher turns to the original text to search for clues that might reveal how it had been drafted. The variety in the choice of synonyms seems to indicate that the document was written by various people. Throughout the text, for example, the following expressions have been used: “the People of Portuguese Timor,” “Portuguese Timor People,” “the Timor Portuguese People.”

Some recurrent mistakes (for example, “Democratíco” instead of “Democrático” - i.e. accents placed on the wrong vowels) would suggest that the text was typed by a non-Timorese. However, the strongest clues are to be found in the grammatical patterns.

Akihisa Matsuno demonstrated that the grammatical patterns underlying non-English constructions are characteristically Portuguese in some cases, and characteristically Indonesian in others. This occurs almost throughout the text. The only exception to this appears in the essential part, the part in which integration is requested. There, said Matsuno, the presence of the Indonesian pattern clearly dominates, especially in the crucial sentence in which the Jakarta Government is asked to protect the lives of those who, from that moment on, consider themselves to be part of the Indonesian people.

The grammatical formula chosen (use of the passive voice) - “(...) The Government and the people of Indonesia are requested to take the necessary steps (...)” - is difficult to reproduce in Portuguese. ... If the Portuguese pattern had been used, Matsuno argued, the construction model used is likely to have been “(...) We ask the Government and the People of Indonesia (...)”

It was with observations such as these that the Japanese researcher wanted to “demonstrate the possibility and the impor-

tance” of investigating the text which Indonesia “has tried to pass off as a historic document that reflects the real aspirations of the people of East Timor.” It is “an invalid pretence,” concluded Akihisa Matsuno, “but one which will continue to be used until the truth about the Declaration is exposed.”

THE BALIBO DECLARATION

Paper by Akihisa Matsuno prepared for the Closing Sessions of the 2nd Course on Indonesia and East Timor Lisbon, March 1995

The following is a paper I read at the 6th Symposium on Indonesia and East Timor held in Lisbon, 21-26 March 1995. In this paper I intentionally did not refer to accounts of those involved and I confined the scope of the paper only to what can be said through an analysis of the texts. Now I have the Portuguese version. Some new findings are likely to come out if we read it carefully. I want to remind the readers that what I'm saying in this paper are not “definitive conclusions.”

I also want to stress that I do not intend to accuse those involved in this event. On the contrary, I'm trying to say that this declaration is just another example of the Indonesia's meddling in Timorese affairs. The irregularities and inconsistencies we find in the declaration are results of Indonesia's meddling in Timorese “thoughts.” The declaration is, therefore, hardly the manifestation of the genuine wishes of the people of East Timor, as Indonesia claims. This is the most important point I want the readers to understand.

— Aki Matsuno

1. Introduction

On November 29, 1975, the day after Fretilin declared the independence of East Timor, according to Indonesia, four political parties declared East Timor's integration with Indonesia. This integration declaration is said to have been signed the following day in Balibo by six leaders of these parties and since then it has been called the “Balibo Declaration.” This declaration, although later repudiated by some of those who signed it, continues to be referred to by Indonesia as a document which “constitutes a manifestation of the genuine wish of the people of East Timor in general” (Lahirnya Propinsi Timor Timur, p. 18). Indonesia's official national history even describes it in terms that suggest something that goes beyond a mere statement.

This Proclamation in Balibo, besides constituting a reaction against Fretilin, can also be interpreted as the moment of the emergence of a new legal-order space in the for-

mer Portuguese colony. In other words, the Balibo proclamation became a new legal source and base established by the joint forces of Apodeti, UDT, Kota and Tralabista. (Sejarah Nasional Indonesia VI, the fourth edition, p. 492) (my translation)

According to James Dunn, the integration declaration of November 29 was proclaimed in Atambua and in reality it “had been drawn up by Sugiyanto and Taolin” (Dunn, p. 277). (Sugiyanto was an Indonesian colonel and Taolin Bakin agent. Both were involved in Operasi Komodo.) Indeed little is known about the circumstances in which the declaration was drawn up and announced. It is difficult even to confirm that it was really signed in Balibo. The lack of evidence has made it difficult to take up the declaration as a subject of serious discussion.

As a modest starting point for discussion, this paper looks into several versions of the declaration and makes a brief survey of what are found in them. What follows below is necessarily more in the nature of conjectures than of definite conclusions.

2. The Texts

The CSIS (Centre for Strategic International Studies, the Indonesian think tank that has played a central role in the planning and execution of East Timor's integration) notes in its publication of the news clippings that the declaration was written in both English and Portuguese (Dokumentasi Kliping ttg Pra-integrasi Timor Timur 1975, p. 73). I have not been able to find the Portuguese text. The texts I have seen are:

a. original English version and re-typed version b. English UN version c. CSIS Indonesian translation d. Tomodok's Indonesian translation

a. A photocopy of the original version is found in the CSIS's Dokumentasi (p. 72) and a re-typed text in Lahirnya Propinsi Timor Timur (pp. 23-24). These are not exactly alike. While the photocopy would seem to retain every feature of the original text, the re-typed text omitted most accent signs and corrected the spelling errors of the original. The English in the original is indeed very poor, sometimes incomprehensible.

b. The UN version can be found in Decolonization in East Timor, a publication of the Department of Information of the Republic of Indonesia (pp. 73-74). This is a completely revised text in perfect English and without the signatures of the six leaders. The revision here is not limited to grammatical adjustments but goes to the extent of making substantial changes.

c. This translation is found on the reverse side of the photocopy of the original English version (p. 73), but it is not clear when and by whom it was made. I call this the “CSIS translation” simply because it is found in

Dokumentasi. The translation is adequate, though some parts could have been more precise.

d. This translation is found in E. M. Tomodok's memoir, Hari-hari Akhir Timor Portugis (pp. 307-309). Tomodok is a former Indonesian consul in Dili between 1972 and 1976 and wrote the book “to try to counter opinions of the international community and ceaseless intrigues and attacks of Fretilin and the Portuguese government which without stopping continue to raise the problem of the integration of East Timor.” The translation is generally accurate though not completely free from misinterpretations.

3. Why A UN Version?

It is obvious that the original English version was hastily made. It is full of spelling errors, grammatical mistakes, inappropriate or incomprehensible word choices and internal inconsistencies. These irregularities invite speculation about the circumstances of the document's creation. Indonesia may have wanted to avoid such speculation by removing problematic sections of the original in the document meant for the eyes of the international community. The UN version in a sense is a completely new document and it is indeed surprising to find it registered as an official document at the UN.

Two omissions in the UN version are worth noting.

The first is a criticism of the Portuguese “consent” to Fretilin's action. The original version, in the very first paragraph, criticizes Portugal for giving its consent to the unilateral declaration of independence by Fretilin, although Portugal did not in fact do so. The UN version does not mention “consent,” but only vaguely refers to “the attitude of the Portuguese Government concerning it.” Then, the UN version continues, what “contradicts the real wish of the people of Portuguese Timor” is the unilateral action by Fretilin” alone.

The Indonesian news agency Antara reported on November 29 that the Indonesian government, in a press release, had criticized the Portuguese government for “clearly signaling an approval of the Fretilin's action of unilateral proclamation of independence.” Apparently the Balibo declaration echoed this view. On December 1 Antara reported that “the unilateral declaration of independence by Fretilin which was approved by Portugal is a clear violation of the Memorandum of Understanding in Rome,” and quoted UDT leader Francisco Lopes da Cruz as saying “therefore, we too regard ourselves not bound anymore by the Rome agreement.”

This is important, because the disappointment supposedly felt by the drafters

of the declaration originates in the actions of two parties, Fretilin and the Portuguese government, and this perception appears to be what led the drafters to conclude that there was no longer any possibility for negotiations. After this Antara report, however, the Indonesian government never described the Portuguese attitude as one that expressed or implied approval of Fretilin's action. At the UN Indonesia condemned only Fretilin for ignoring efforts by both Indonesia and Portugal.

The omission of this reference to the Portuguese "consent" in the UN version, therefore, is significant. It allows Indonesia to conceal the fact that one of the two grounds on which the basic arguments of the declaration were built was misinformation. This misinformation is highly likely to have come from the Indonesian side.

The second omission to note is that of any mention of "Holland." The original version attributes the separation of East Timor and West Timor (!) to two colonial powers, Portugal and Holland, and it says that the two parts of Timor had been separated for almost 500 years. The UN version, however, speaks in terms of a 400-year separation of East Timor from Indonesia, a separation it attributes solely to Portugal.

The danger to Indonesia of trying to defend the former line of argument is clear, for it is a line that could also be used to justify the unification of East and West Timor without any reference to Indonesia at all. Moreover, from Indonesia's point of view, it is logically dangerous to place Portugal and the Netherlands on an equal footing in any historical discussion, for to do so would invite the logical next step, juxtaposition of Indonesia and East Timor on an equal footing. Thus for Indonesia's purposes, only Portugal should be singled out for mention. This allows Indonesia to prepare the most congenial theoretical grounds for arguing East Timor's "return to the fatherland," i.e., integration with Indonesia.

So much for the omissions; now let us look at the additions in the later document. The first is mention of "independence" (in para. 5). In the original version the four parties simply declare integration straight off, but in the UN version the drafters declare "the independence and integration of the whole former colonial Territory of Portuguese Timor with the Republic of Indonesia." Perhaps Indonesia felt that, for formality's sake, it looked better to declare independence before declaring integration.

The other significant addition is the phrase, "our statement to the Portuguese Government" (in para. 3). It is not clear what this refers to, but without is, the phrase that follows, "all these good efforts" (which had "again been sabotaged by

FRETILIN") would refer solely to the efforts of non-Timorese (i.e., the governments of Portugal, Australia and Indonesia). While the actions of FRETILIN, despicable as they may be portrayed to be, are very prominent in both versions of the declaration, in the original version there is no suggestion whatsoever of any active involvement in events by the pro-integrationists. Indonesia must have sensed the vital weakness of an integration declaration purporting to be that of pro-integration Timorese asserting their right to act on behalf of their entire nation that spoke only of the "efforts" of outsiders, non-Timorese.

4. Who Wrote the Original Version?

The original version gives us many hints about how it was made.

The text may have been typed by a non-Timorese or Indonesian who was not familiar with Portuguese. The acute accent (acento agudo) in "Democrática" is placed in the wrong position. ("Democrática" is correct.) We find the same error twice, so the typist was being consistent. It is hard to believe that the Timorese political leaders who signed the declaration could have made this kind of error, particularly because it occurs in the names of their own parties.

Inconsistencies in choosing words suggest that the declaration may have been composed by more than one person. The question of Timor is written in one place as "the timorese question" and in the other place as "the Timor question." The people of Portuguese Timor is referred to as "the People of Portuguese Timor," "Portuguese Timor People," "the Timor Portuguese people" and "The Portuguese Timor people." In grammatical patterns and choice of words the text shows traces of both Portuguese and Indonesian.

The relative pronoun "which" of line 16 should be "whose." But Portuguese speakers rarely make this kind of mistake since Portuguese has "cujo" (here, cuja) which stands for "whose." Indonesian does not have a declension of the relative pronoun "yang."

The words "materialized" (Indonesian 'terwujud') of line 4, "Dated" (Indonesian 'tertanggal') and the passive construction of the last sentence may also be interpreted as Indonesian traces.

But the text as a whole shows more Portuguese traces. The frequent use of the gerund (-ing), the preposed verb (being) in a gerund construction such as "being such attitude considered," "being such facts in full contradiction" and "being achieved the conclusion that ...," and the post-verbal positioning of adverbs are signs of Portuguese influence. The word "during" (Portuguese 'durante') of line 29 and the uncapital

country name adjectives like "timorese" and "ex-Portuguese" are mistakes of the kind Portuguese speakers often make.

However, the part about the four initiatives has a slightly different touch both in style and content. While the rest of the text is full of elementary mistakes, this part contains only a few such elementary mistakes other than the use of "which" already pointed out above. With respect to content, this part is more an Indonesian argument than a Timorese one, because no mention is made of the position of the pro-integration forces in relation to the four initiatives.

The fourth initiative is particularly strangely laid out on the page. Does this suggest that this part was too hastily added, for the dispatch of Adam Malik was an event of the very same day as the proclamation signing, November 30.

The last sentence raises questions. A native speaker of Portuguese told me that a Portuguese speaker would start this sentence with something like "we request...," thus not using the passive. This sentence is the most essential part for Indonesia in justifying its military intervention. If this sentence was not composed by a Timorese but added by Indonesia, it dramatically changes the meaning of the declaration.

5. Final Remarks

I have tried to show the possibility, and the importance of doing research on the Balibo Declaration. Indonesia has attempted to pass this off as an historical document which reflects the genuine wishes of the people of East Timor. This claim is, I believe, invalid, but it will continue to be used as long as the truth about the declaration is not exposed.

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- Tomodok, E. M., *Hari-hari Akhir Timor Portugis*, Pustaka Jaya, 1994.

Appendix I / Original English version from Berita Yudha, 4 December 1975

PROCLAMATION

We, the People of Portuguese Timor and its Dependencies, herein represented by APODETI-Associação Popular Democrática de Timor, UDT-União Democrática de Timor, KOTA-Klibur Oan Timur Aswain and Partido Trabalhista after a carefully analyse has been made after the unilateral action of Fretilin materialized through the "proclamation of independence" concerning the territory of Portuguese Timor, being such attitude considered consented under the role of the Government of Portugal, being such facts by their meanings in full contradiction to the real interest of Portuguese Timor people; Considering that the conditions for self-determination of

Portuguese Timor people regarding to choose freely its own destiny were not carried out in execution; Having in mind the fact that several initiatives have been evidenced as a proof towards to meet a just and peaceful political solution on the timorese question, mainly

- The Macao Meeting to which Fretilin was voluntarily absent although the Government of Portugal did invite their representatives to be present.

- Readiness of the Government of Australia in order to provide conditions for a dialogue concerning the Timor question at its own territory.

- The Rome Meeting for mutual consultations held between the Foreign Affairs Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia which final conclusion was the issue of the Memorandum of Understanding between the two countries. Efforts carried out by the Indonesian Government in sending over the bordering area the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Adam Malik in order to implement the spirit of the Rome Meeting.

Consequently, being achieved the conclusion that the Fretilin deliberately ignored all the mentioned efforts; Adding yet the fact that Fretilin has assumed illness attitudes that criminally avoid the Timor Portuguese people to express its legitimate aspirations;

Attending the situation build up by Fretilin when declaring unilaterally the independence of Portuguese Timor draining out completely at the possibilities towards a peaceful solution of this problem according to the wishes of the people;

Feeling that owing the colonialist action of Portugal and Holland which during almost 500 years has deeply separated the blood links, ethnical affinities moral and cultural with the Indonesian People of the island of Timor;

Attending that this moment is to be considered quite opportune to re-establish the strong traditional links with the Indonesian Nation;

In the name of the All Mighty, and by the reasons previously referred, we do pro-

claim solemnly the Integration of the whole territory of the ex-Portuguese colony of Timor with the Indonesian Nation, as this proclamation means the most highly expression of the Portuguese Timor people feelings. In accordance with the contents of the present Proclamation of Integration the Government of Indonesia and the People of Indonesia are requested to take the necessary steps in order to protect people's lives who themselves now are considering part of the Indonesian People yet living under the terror and fascist practices of Fretilin allowed by the Government of Portugal.

Dated at Balibo, November 30, 1975

Appendix II / UN version

A/C.4/808, English Annex
BALIBO DECLARATION
Enclosure

PROCLAMATION

After having carefully studied the unilateral action by FRETILIN in issuing its so-called "Proclamation of Independence," of Portuguese Timor and the attitude of the Portuguese Government concerning it, which clearly contradicts the real wish of the people of Portuguese Timor to exercise an act of self-determination on the future of Portuguese Timor, we the peoples of Portuguese Timor represented in APODETI, UDT, KOTA and the Partido Trabalhista, hereby state the following:

1. We are strongly against the unilateral action by FRETILIN as it clearly violates the principles of decolonisation agreed upon by the Portuguese Government and the three political parties of Portuguese Timor.

2. It has been evident so far that FRETILIN has not shown a genuine desire for a peaceful solution of the problem of Portuguese Timor. For example, FRETILIN refused to participate in the Macao meeting. Precisely at this stage, during which all peace loving parties are doing their best to bring about the holding of negotiations such as the Rome meeting between Portugal and Indonesia recently which produced a Memorandum of Understanding, the readiness of the Australian Government to provide a venue for the talks subsequently, efforts by the Indonesian Government to send specially its Foreign Minister, Mr. Adam Malik, to Atambua within the framework of implementing the spirit of the Rome meeting, and our statement to the Portuguese Government, all these good efforts have again been sabotaged by FRETILIN with its unilateral action. This ill-intentioned attitude on the part of FRETILIN has forced us, the people of Portuguese Timor, to act.

3. The new situation created by the unilateral action of FRETILIN has excluded the possibility of finding a way out through a

peaceful solution to determine the future of Portuguese Timor in accordance with the real wishes of Portuguese Timor.

4. After having been forcibly separated from the strongest links of blood, identity, ethnic and moral culture with the people of Indonesia by the colonial power of Portugal for more than 400 years, we deem it is now the right moment for the people of Portuguese Timor to re-establish formally these strong ties with the Indonesian nation.

5. In the name of God the Almighty, we therefore solemnly declare the independence and integration of the whole former colonial Territory of Portuguese Timor with the Republic of Indonesia, which is in accordance with the real wishes of the entire people of Portuguese Timor.

6. We also urge the Indonesian Government and people to take steps immediately to protect the lives of the people who now regard themselves as Indonesians, yet are still suffering due to the terror and fascist practices of the FRETILIN gang, armed and supported by the Portuguese Government.

Done at Balibo, 30 November 1975

Appendix III / Indonesian translation from CSIS, Dokumentasi Kliping ttg Pra-integrasi Timor Timur 1975, p. 73

PROKLAMASI

Kami, rakyat Timor Portugis, yang diwakili oleh APODETI - Associação Popular Democrática de Timor, UDT - União Democrática de Timor, KOTA - Klibur Oan Timur Aswain and Partido Trabalhista, setelah mempertimbangkan dengan seksama aksi sepihak Fretilin yang terwujud melalui "proklamasi kemerdekaan" mengenai wilayah Timor Portugis, yang dinyatakan disetujui oleh pemerintah Portugis: kenyataan semacam itu bertentangan dengan keinginan nyata dari rakyat Timor Portugis.

Menimbang, bahwa persyaratan untuk menentukan nasib sendiri secara bebas dari rakyat Timor Portugis tidak sesuai dengan tindakan tersebut.

Mengingat kenyataan, bahwa beberapa inisiatif telah ditempuh untuk memperoleh penyelesaian politik secara damai dalam masalah Timor, terutama:

-- Pertemuan Makkao, dimana dengan sengaja Fretilin tidak hadir walaupun Pemerintah Portugis mengundang wakil mereka.

-- Kesiediaan Pemerintah Australia untuk mengusahakan keadaan yang memungkinkan bagi pembicaraan tentang masalah Timor di wilayahnya.

-- Pertemuan Roma untuk saling konsultasi antara para Menteri2 Luar Negeri Portugis dan Indonesia, yang telah menghasilkan Memorandum Saling Pengertian di antara kedua negara.

-- Usaha yang dilakukan oleh Pemerintah Indonesia dengan kedatangan Menlu Adam

Malik ke daerah perbatasan untuk menyampaikannya semangat Pertemuan Roma. Akibatnya tercapailah kesimpulan, bahwa Fretilin dengan sengaja tidak mau tahu semua usaha-usaha tersebut;

Tambahan lagi Fretilin telah mempertunjukkan sikap salah, bahwa dengan tindakan kriminalitasnya telah menghalangi rakyat Timor Portugis untuk menyatakan kehendak berdasarkan hukum yang syah;

Mengingat situasi yang disebabkan oleh Fretilin dengan pernyataan sepihak kemerdekaan Timor Portugis telah menggagalkan segala kemungkinan kearah pemecahan damai seperti yang diinginkan oleh rakyat;

Merasakan, bahwa aksi kolonialis Portugis dan Belanda yang selama hampir 500 tahun telah memisahkan hubungan darah, ikatan moral bangsa dan kebudayaan antara Bangsa Indonesia dan Timor Portugis;

Mengingat, bahwa saat ini adalah kesempatan yang paling baik menyambungkan secara kokoh hubungan tradisi dengan Bangsa Indonesia;

Atas nama Tuhan Yang Maha Esa, dan dengan alasan2 di atas, kami dengan khidmat menyatakan penyatuan seluruh wilayah bekas koloni Portugis di Timor dengan Negara Indonesia; Proklamasi ini adalah pernyataan paling sungguh dari keinginan rakyat Timor Portugis.

Berhubung dengan isi dari Proklamasi Penyatuan ini, Pemerintah Indonesia dan rakyat Indonesia diminta untuk mengambil langkah-langkah yang perlu untuk melindungi kehidupan rakyat, yang kini merupakan bagian Bangsa Indonesia, yang berada di bawah terror dan fasis yang dilakukan oleh Fretilin dan direstui oleh Portugis.

Balibo, 30 Nopember 1975.

Appendix IV / Indonesian translation by E.M. Tomodok

PROKLAMASI

Kami, rakyat dan jajahan Timor Portugis, dalam hal ini diwakili oleh Apodeti, UDT, KOTA dan Partido Trabalhista, setelah mengadakan analisis yang seksama sesudah aksi sepihak Fretilin yang diwujudkan melalui 'proklamasi kemerdekaan' wilayah Timor Portugis, yang menempatkan diri di bawah kekuasaan Pemerintah Portugal, dan yang dalam segala hal bertentangan dengan kepentingan nyata rakyat Timor Portugis.

Mengingat bahwa kondisi untuk pelaksanaan hak penentuan nasib sendiri rakyat Timor Portugis tidaklah disiapkan secara sah;

Mempertimbangkan fakta bahwa sejumlah prakarsa sudah diusahakan sebagai bukti adanya kehendak untuk memperoleh penyelesaian politik yang adil dan damai sesuai dengan tuntutan orang Timor, misalnya;

Pertemuan Makao yang tidak dihadiri oleh wakil Fretilin meskipun Pemerintah Portugal sudah mengundang mereka untuk hadir.

Kesiapsediaan Pemerintah Australia menyiapkan kondisi untuk menyelenggarakan dialog tentang masalah Timor di wilayahnya sendiri.

Pertemuan Roma untuk konsultasi-konsultasi timbal balik antara Menteri Luar Negeri Portugal dan Indonesia yang kesimpulan akhirnya adalah Memorandum of Understanding antara kedua negara.

Usaha-usaha yang diupayakan oleh Menteri Luar Negeri Indonesia di dalam mengosongkan daerah perbatasan untuk mengimplementasikan semangat Pertemuan Roma.

Secara bertanggungjawab mengambil kesimpulan bahwa Fretilin dengan sengaja mengabaikan semua upaya yang diuraikan di atas;

Lagipula fakta menunjukkan bahwa cara-cara perjuangan Fretilin yang keliru dan bersifat kriminal, menjauhkan rakyat Timor Portugis dari perjuangannya untuk mewujudkan aspirasi-aspirasinya yang sah;

Memperhatikan situasi yang dipaksakan oleh Fretilin ketika memaklumkan secara sepihak kemerdekaan Timor Portugis yang menutup semua kemungkinan ke arah penyelesaian secara damai permasalahan yang berkaitan dengan keinginan rakyat;

Merasakan bahwa warisan kolonialis Portugal dan Belanda yang selama hampir 500 tahun memisahkan hubungan-hubungan darah, afintities etnis, nilai-nilai moral dan kebudayaan rakyat Indonesia di Pulau Timor;

Memperhatikan bahwa pada saat ini dapat diharapkan suatu kesempatan untuk memantapkan kembali hubungan-hubungan tradisional yang kuat dengan bangsa Indonesia;

Dengan nama Allah dan demi alasan-alasan yang telah dikemukakan, kami memprokamasikan dengan sesungguhnya integrasi seluruh wilayah bekas koloni Timor Portugis dengan bangsa Indonesia; pernyataan ini merupakan perwujudan nilai-nilai paling dalam rakyat Timor Portugis.

Berkenaan dengan isi Proklamasi Integrasi ini, pemerintah dan rakyat Indonesia diharapkan untuk mengambil langkah-langkah yang diperlukan akan melindungi kehidupan rakyat yang sekarang menempatkan dirinya sebagai bagian dari rakyat Indonesia, namun yang masih hidup di bawah terror dan praktek-praktek fasis Fretilin yang dibenarkan oleh Pemerintah Portugal.

Dibuat di Balibo, 30 November 1975

INDONESIAN TERMS DILI KILLINGS AN "ACCIDENT"

Sydney, May 30 (Reuter) – Indonesian Technology Minister Jusuf Habibie, a close confidant of President Suharto, said on Tuesday that the 1991 killing of protesters in the East Timor capital of Dili was an "accident."

"It was an accident, it was an accident," Habibie said in an interview with Australian Broadcasting Corp. television.

Human rights groups say some 200 unarmed people were killed by Indonesian troops in the Santa Cruz cemetery in November 1991, but Indonesia disputes the figure, claiming about 50 people died.

Habibie said Indonesians were "disappointed" that the killings had occurred.

"Something like that in Timor could happen in any place in the world, including in any province in Indonesia," Habibie said, comparing it to the recent Oklahoma bombing.

"But it will not happen again because we are not going to tolerate something like that," Habibie said.

INVASION OF TIMOR: THE US "ANTENNA"

Expresso, 10 June 1995. By Serafim Lobato Abridged Translated from Portuguese.

LUSA, Lisbon – The US had "their man" within sight of Dili on 7 December 1975, watching Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, using a Portuguese warship, anchored off the island of Atauro, as a logistical base.

This fact is recorded in the log-book of the corvette "Afonso Cerqueira," made available to the LUSA news agency. It is noted in the log that a US yacht, not identified, was anchored that day to the stern of the warship.

In answer to questions, officers serving on the Portuguese ship recalled that the yacht, with a crew of two on board (a man and a woman), arrived unexpectedly to the island of Atauro the day before, and asked if they could tie up to one of the ships. "The American, accompanied by a woman, was in a powerful yacht that had sophisticated communications equipment. We were intrigued by its presence there, but it was only when the invasion started, that it dawned on us - what we had there was the USA's antenna," remembered one of the officers.

In the ship's log, no reason is recorded as to why the yacht - a foreign civil vessel - was tied up to one of the two Portuguese corvettes (which were watching and recording all visible Indonesian troop move-

ments in the region of Dili on that day). The same source said "I think everything was transmitted through the hierarchy of command."

The log of the corvette, moored with its fellow ship, the "João Roby," off Atauro island, only records the presence of "the American yacht tied to the stern" during the first three watches of 7 December. After that, there is no further mention of it in the log. "They left without any explanation," according to one of the ship's officers, who added "The way it left reinforced our suspicions about the nature of its mission. Twenty-four hours before, the President of the US had been meeting in Jakarta with Suharto."

According to the log, the invasion started "at 04h30," when "seven slow aircraft (helicopters) were seen in the distance." At 04h45 ships, "with lights hidden," were detected. They "initiated bombardments" in the direction of Dili, which lasted "until 05h30."

"At 04h40, the seven aircraft which had been flying eastwards, turned south" and then continued "towards Dili." "At 06h00, a reconnaissance plane and an LBT (large landing craft) were spotted" and the ships "headed towards Ponte Tibar, where they anchored." The log-book still notes continuous sighting of aircraft. In view of the Indonesian activity, the corvette was put on "level five alert," at anchor, and reveille was at 07h30.

From the following watch onwards, there is no recording in the ship's log of the US yacht's presence. The Indonesian troops had by then landed and there was fighting.

An interesting entry in the log appears for one of the watches: "At 05h10, weak sonar contact was made." In other words, submarines - Indonesians ...or of a different nationality - may have been keeping watch on the Portuguese vessels.

"Of course, we were under the distinct impression that submarines were in the area, ready to attack," as one of the officers on watch at the time told LUSA. He was inclined to believe they had been Indonesian submarines.

This realisation had occurred some time before, when a submarine support vessel (an Indonesian vessel, Don type, Soviet origin, whose radiotelegraphic reference was "Raterlangi") had been spotted at the mouth of the river that separates the two territories of the island of Timor.

What transpired, with the Portuguese naval presence in the Atauro zone, was "a tacit agreement of non-aggression."

Straight after the start of the invasion, the news was transmitted to the Naval Chief of Staff, the Governor of Macao and the President of the (Portuguese) Republic. The re-

ply received advised them to respond only if attacked.

At midday on the same day, the authorities in Lisbon ordered the two corvettes to withdraw from the territory's waters and keep outside a 12 mile limit. The Portuguese forces watched the landings without intervening, and the Indonesians did not attack them.

"The differences between resources present were considerable," clarified a Portuguese officer, adding that in addition to the aeroplanes and helicopters, Jakarta used various Soviet made, Riga-type frigates, as well as other Italian made, Alcrone-type vessels.

EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

JOURNALIST EXPELLED FROM EAST TIMOR

AP March 13, 95, Abridged

Lisbon, Portugal - A journalist working for a Portuguese television station was expelled from Indonesia Monday after being detained at Jakarta airport en route for the troubled former Portuguese colony of East Timor, the station said.

TVI, Televisao Independente, reported that reporter João Gabriel had been detained overnight at the airport, put on a plane early Monday and was currently headed back to Europe.

Traveling alone and armed with a small video camera, Gabriel had planned to visit the Timorese capital of Dili but never left Jakarta airport, TVI news said.

Family members said Gabriel, a Venezuelan citizen of Portuguese origin and resident in Portugal, had called from the airport to say he would be expelled. He said he was being well-treated by Indonesian authorities.

There was some confusion over whether Gabriel was traveling on a Venezuelan or Portuguese passport. Indonesian authorities denied they had arrested a Portuguese journalist.

"It is not true, I haven't even got any information that there is a Portuguese journalist here," East Timor's military commander, Maj. Gen. Laeden Simbolon, told Japan's Kyodo News Service by telephone.

"The information we have is a little confused and so we are erring toward caution in our comments," said José Ribeiro de Castro, the station's news director.

Indonesia has limited access to East Timor for foreign reporters, and in particular Portuguese journalists, for years.

ALL SEEING ARMY HOLDS FORT IN EAST TIMOR

The Australian, Monday March 13 1995. By Patrick Walters in Dili

ABC reporter Michael Maher also reported on ABC Radio that church, NGO and diplomatic observers put the total army, police & intelligence presence at 17,000. They are accompanying Australian embassy team visiting Dili & Australian aid projects outside of Dili for 4-5 days

Four hours drive from Dili along the rugged north-east coast of East Timor, you begin to understand better the nature and impact of Indonesia's 17,000 strong security presence in East Timor.

The all-weather road from Bacau up to Los Palos winds in and out of the hills that run down to the sea. Strategically located on high ground, army observation and communication posts dot the landscape. Between the few small towns and numerous villages that lie along the 90-odd km from Bacau to Los Palos, small sections of heavily armed Indonesian troops regularly roam the countryside. Army trucks carrying troops engaged in military operations and civil construction are commonplace.

While the Indonesian armed forces claim correctly that the Fretilin guerilla resistance has been broken in East Timor and that they are steadily reducing troop numbers, the armies all-pervasive presence in the province tells another story.

Patrolling soldiers who are surprised by two Australian journalists in the hill country out of Bacau resent being photographed and scurry off the road and into maize fields to avoid further scrutiny. The plain-clothes 'intel' alternatively run ahead or behind the battered purple mini-bus carrying the media.

Out here in the backblocks of East Timor, traffic on the excellent sealed road is extraordinarily light. There are no cars. Just trucks and buses, jeeps and 4 wheel drives, the majority belonging to the army or the Government.

Further inland the high mountains of Timor lie shrouded in mist. The wet season has wrought a miraculous transformation in what is normally a parched landscape. The steep hills are painted a bright green and for a few weeks the grass grows luxuriantly. Along the broad valleys fanning out to the coast, rainwater floods a normally dry gravelly riverbed. We wend our way up to the Fuiloro plateau, 500m above sea level terraces of 'sawah' or wet rice cultivation and small subsistence plantations of bananas and maize.

Along the well-wooded hill country towards Los Palos are some of the poorest villages in Indonesia - a disconsolate, under-

nourished population that lives in tiny huts, thatched with palm leaves. These dwellings with their bamboo walls and stone floors have no electricity or running water. With malnutrition have come malaria and tuberculosis. Average life expectancy for men is 45 to 50 years and women about 60 years.

Unlike the Portuguese who ruled East Timor for more than 400 years with no more than a few hundred troops and a handful of 'chefes de posto' or district administrators, these villages and hamlets now live alongside a very different kind of military presence.

As well as the local military posts which are part of every major village across all of Indonesia, the eastern part of East Timor has seen the establishment of large and expansive military bases.

The military and police cantonments are well-built with modern cottages. Their commanders now occupy the faded rose coloured terra-cotta roofed bungalows once lived in by more benign rulers.

After years of civil war and intermittent unrest the people of Los Palos have lost heart. The intrusive presence of the military continues to traumatize the population. Productive land is left fallow and people are reluctant to travel far from their village. A trip to the forest could mean a sentence of death.

'People here are very tense and very afraid. Everyone is scared. It has become the church's task to protect the community,' says a local resident.

The Catholic faith remains a beacon of hope for this sullen and disaffected community. On Friday afternoon the church in Los Palos is packed. As evening falls in surrounding villages, people kneel on the road and pray during the Lenten Stations of the Cross procession. At Fuiloro, a tall lean quietly spoken Salesian priest from Southern India, Father José Vataparambil, presides over a flourishing school and small farm. Closed soon after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975 and badly damaged as a result of the ensuing conflict, the school was re-opened by the Salesians in 1988. It now has 400 pupils with senior boys specializing in agricultural studies.

UPDATE ON INTERNAL SITUATION OF EAST TIMOR

ABC - RADIO NATIONAL (Australia), 13 March 1995. Peter Thompson. Transcribed by Matebian News.

Indonesia shows no sign of reducing its troops in East Timor despite growing world pressure. As you may heard on AM previously our correspondent Michael Maher has been isolated parts of the troubled province.

Here he reports that church, aid agencies and diplomats sources all say, that the military remains entrenched on the island, creating a constant source of fear among the East Timorese.

Michael Maher: (church music background) – In the town of Lospalos, East Timorese Catholics celebrate mass. Though large the Portuguese-style cathedral still try to accommodate the entire congregation leaving many to worship on the front steps. Explaining the religious so evident here, one local priest told me the East Timorese regard the church as their mother. A parent has been able to trust during the trouble times of the past twenty years. Evidence of that trouble is clear to see on the roads to Lospalos, from the capital Dili some 230 Kms away. Driving along the Indonesian lay bitumen we past a number of heavily armed foot patrols, some of the soldiers startled at the unusual sight of western reports sought cover in nearby cornfield. Trucks carrying troops also past us along the way. The military has giving regular undertakings to cut its numbers in East Timor, but there is little to evidence to suggest such reduction have taken place. Whilst soldiers keep a relatively low profile in the major towns, church, aid agencies and diplomatic sources all say that there is a strong military presence throughout the countryside. Some reliable observers are saying that the total number of soldiers, police and intelligence agents in East Timor could be as high as 17,000. The views of these foreign resident, whose name I was advised not to disclose for reasons of safety, are in line with those of a range of independent sources on current conditions here.

Foreign resident: Very tense and very afraid. I don't think anyone is going to want to speak out because they are afraid of the repercussions, but basically there is an underground feeling of apprehension. Everyone is scared. They are tensed. The church here seem to be the only people protecting the people. And I think once they go all hell will probably break out loose.

MM: What is happening to make the people feel tense? Because you don't a strong military presence in the streets of the towns. So is scaring the people?

FR: You don't see a strong military, in a sense. There is no one in uniform. But there is a lot people that are walking around in civilian clothes. Currently, there is an outbreak of this so called 'ninjas.' People going around at night, scaring, basically harassing and beating people up. Now that from I have seen is an evidence, is not mystery, it is happening. That is just making the people scared of what's happening.

MM: Have you been able to gleam why there is so called 'ninja' activity is taking place?

FR: No, I don't know why its occurring, but it just seems to be another effort by the military presence here to keep the people in checked, to keep them scared. I think if they're scared, they're afraid to do anything.

MM: Whilst few observers denied that during the past decade the material well being the East Timorese has improved, it's just as clear that roads, bridges and schools haven't won Jakarta many hearts and minds. The hostility that exists towards Indonesian rule especially prevalent among the youths of major towns like Dili, Baucau and Lospalos. So long as the military maintain such a strong presence here its hard to see that hostility waning.

Michael Maher, Dili.

INTERVIEW WITH AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR ALLAN TAYLOR

ABC - Radio National (Australia) March 14, 1995

Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia has appealed to the military to reduce its troop strength in East Timor. A wide range of church workers, aid agencies and diplomats are now saying that conditions in East Timor are the worst they have been in years. Ambassador Alan Taylor emphasised the need for a troop reduction in talks with senior military and government officials in the trouble province as Michael Maher reports from Dili.

MM: A short time ago Foreign Minister Gareth Evans described Indonesia's military presence in East Timor as 'oppressive to the point of being almost intolerable.' Senator Evans public statements on the former Portuguese colony have noticeably toughened over the past few months - a month no doubt of deteriorating conditions here as well as growing domestic pressure on the Federal Government to hardened its line on East Timor. The visit of Australian Ambassador Alan Taylor, has coincided with a period of increased tension in the former Portuguese colony following the slaying of 6 civilians by soldiers in a village last January, and a series of violent incidents in urban centres such as Dili and Baucau. After his meeting with a range of military, Government, church, and aid organisations I asked Ambassador Taylor for his assessment on current conditions in East Timor.

Alan Taylor: There is obviously, more tension than there was some months ago following the events in Baucau and Dili, in the

last few months. I have to say that I found that the issues which the Australian Government has been raising in its policy, a) for a reduction in the military presence, b) the need for a greater scope for East Timorese to express their culture and to have the role in the economy of the province; and, in the human rights areas that you mentioned, has been underlined.

MM: how much of a difference you think a troop reduction here would make?

AT: I think it would be important to give East Timorese a greater sense of space, if you like, a sense that they were doing their own thing. When the Portuguese were here there was a very limited administration. The Indonesian administration is a different form of administration, throughout Indonesia. And I think with the number of troops as well, that creates a heavier presence. If it were reduced, it would allow much greater scope for the East Timorese to express their own culture.

MM: The talks that you had, the talks with military officials here, are you confident that some troop reductions are being considered, some troop reduction to take place?

AT: I have been told that that's the intention, yes.

(presenter's closing note: Australia's ambassador to Indonesia, Alan Taylor)

NINJA JUSTICE

JAKARTA NEEDS A MORE HONEST APPROACH TO EAST TIMOR

Editorial, Far Eastern Economic Review, March 2, 1995

Not least of East Timor's predicament today is that virtually all proposed solutions rest on one of two contradictory fictions. According to Indonesia, East Timor is simply the republic's 27th province, though an admittedly troublesome one. According to the UN, Portugal is still the legitimate ruler. The truth is that neither really have it right, and therein lies the problem.

This month's attacks on East Timorese by carloads of hooded night-riders should dispel any idea that East Timor is under Indonesian control. Dubbed "ninjas," the gangs are suspected of having links with the Indonesian military. Coming on the heels of the admission by State Secretary Moerdiono that four of the six people killed by Indonesian troops last month were civilians and not Timorese rebels - as the local commander originally claimed - it matters little whether the ninjas act with or without official compliance. If Indonesia cannot control its own troops, how can it claim to control East Timor?

The point is that East Timor still bears more resemblance to an occupied territory than it does to an Indonesian province. This is not to suggest that Portugal has any higher moral claim, or that Indonesia has not made efforts at a peaceful solution. Since it annexed the territory in 1976, Indonesia has spent millions of dollars building homes, bridges, roads, hospitals and even churches in what bears an eerie resemblance to a previous effort by an outside power at winning the hearts and minds of a local Asian population. It has also cost Indonesia the lives of 2,000 soldiers. Despite this, the government in Jakarta remains as unpopular as ever and the area far from any solution. This should not be surprising: welfare seldom creates gratitude - or wealth.

In East Timor's case, the problems have been exacerbated by an army that combines an inability to preserve law and order with appalling acts of insensitivity. The killings may receive the headlines, but the day-to-day callousness of troops may do more to stiffen Timorese resistance than anything else. Worst of all, many of these actions are premeditated and occur far from the heat of battle. Last June, for example, soldiers disrupted a Mass by receiving communion and then spitting out and trampling the sacramental hosts, an offence obviously calculated to outrage a predominantly Catholic province.

Although there have been punishments, there has also been a disparity that only serves to keep resentment high. While an activist found guilty of insulting President Suharto was given a five-year jail sentence, for example, the two soldiers who disrupted the June church service received only half that. There are even more pronounced disparities between the sentences meted out to those who organized the 1991 protests outside a Dili cemetery and those who then killed 50 of them (unofficial estimates put it at four times that amount). Trust begins with honesty, and both have been early casualties in Timor.

None of this has been helped by outside activists stoking the flames of the Timorese independence movement. But if Indonesia wishes to be regarded as the rightful power it must prove at least as capable of hunting down and bringing to justice ninja night-riders as it has pro-independence Timorese. So long as Jakarta fails in this task, Timorese are going to respond with their most powerful weapon: international embarrassments such as the demonstration on U.S. Embassy grounds in Jakarta at the opening of the recent APEC forum meeting. Make no mistake, none of this will bring East Timor closer to independence or relieve its suffering. But it will continue to deny Indonesia legitimacy and prevent it from

assuming a position of leadership that its size and development suggest. Is existing policy really worth this price?

DEJA VU

Violence returns to troubled East Timor. By John McBeth in Jakarta

The following news article appears in the "regional" section under "Indonesia" on page 18.

Killings by soldiers in remote rural areas. Unexplained disappearances. Mysterious masked gangs roaming darkened streets attacking houses and passers-by. A frightened and resentful populace. The last time things got this bad in the East Timor capital, Dili, was in 1991, just before scores demonstrators were gunned down by Indonesian soldiers.

No one is yet predicting another bloody clash between Timorese and the military. But after three years of uneasy calm, there is little doubt that the former Portuguese colony has entered a new period of confrontation and violence. "The situation has deteriorated drastically," says a diplomat grimly.

With rumours, accusations and counter-accusations filling the air, however, it remains unclear what - or who - is behind this latest breakdown in relations between the army and civilians. Some analysts pin the blame on infighting within the armed forces. Others caution against conspiracy theories. They see a mix of heightened Timorese militancy, harsher military tactics and closer international attention as the reasons for the latest upsurge in tension. A comparison made more and more in recent weeks is to the intifada, the Palestinian uprising that pushed the Israelis to the negotiating table.

Things first began to go downhill during November's Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit, which Indonesia hosted. Rioting broke out in the former Portuguese enclave and 29 Timorese spent a fortnight camped in the grounds of the United States Embassy in Jakarta. Some weeks later, a senior officer told the REVIEW he believed elements in the security forces had known of the planned occupation but allowed it to go ahead in order to embarrass President Suharto.

Perhaps the most compelling sign of anonymous attempts to provoke unrest in Dili came in early January with the appearance of bands of black-garbed masked men - "ninjas" as they have been called locally - on the city's streets. They threw rocks at houses, slaughtered pet animals and backyard chickens and assaulted night-time strollers, turning Dili into a ghost town after dark. The last occurrence of this pattern of

intimidation was in the period leading up to the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre.

On February 8, in probably the most serious of the recent incidents, as many as 60 vigilantes attacked and damaged a store owned by the sister of jailed Fretilin resistance leader Xanana Gusmão. Timorese anger was exacerbated when police, arriving late at the scene, allegedly beat neighbours who complained of the authorities' failure to prevent the incident.

By mid-February, amid mounting international news coverage of the situation in Dili, the intimidation campaign appeared to be tapering off. Police captured 12 alleged troublemakers (whom they accused of acting on behalf of the anti-Indonesian resistance), while troops set up checkpoints and began patrolling the streets. Since then, the mood in the city has remained tense and apprehensive; there have been reports of vigilante attacks spreading to outlying towns and villages. Foreign journalists have been denied permission to visit East Timor for several weeks.

Military and civilian officials have sought to characterize the "ninja" scare as part of rivalry between pro- and anti-Indonesian factions. But local politicians claim the vigilantes are in the pay of army, intelligence operatives who are under orders to end civil unrest.

Timorese and diplomatic sources believe those behind the campaign hope to divide and conquer, creating a climate of contusion and mutual suspicion in the local population in which the authorities can reassert control. But there is no concrete evidence as to who controlled the hooded raiders, and there are indications that even the military may be divided on how to handle the attacks.

Attention has now focused on a January 12 incident in which soldiers allegedly murdered six unarmed Timorese civilians in Liquiça regency, in the west of the province.

The Indonesian military moved with uncharacteristic haste to investigate the killings, sending a seven-man team from the army, inspector-general's office. A delegation from the National Commission on Human Rights, a government-appointed watchdog, is carrying out a separate investigation. It isn't clear who will adjudicate if the two panels differ on whether the military has a case to answer.

State Secretary Moerdiono has publicly acknowledged that the military may have "violated procedures" in the incident. But in a parliamentary hearing on February 20, armed-forces chief Gen. Feisal Tanjung repeated the version of events given by Dili's military chief, Col. Kiki Syahnakri, soon after the incident.

According to that account, a patrol went to the village of Letolah on January 9 after

reported sightings of two bands of Fretilin rebels. The next day, the soldiers arrested four suspected Fretilin supporters, who acknowledged the presence of a 45-man resistance force in the area. Then on January 12, the patrol clashed with about 10 armed guerrillas. Two were killed outright and four prisoners were shot trying to escape, the military version says.

Brig.-Gen. T. Sumarna and his team of army investigators were dispatched to Dili on February 7, four days after Feisal says he was instructed by President Suharto to mount an inquiry into the killings. The military has announced it will convene a special review board to examine Sumarna's report.

Western embassies played a significant role in getting the army to focus on the incident. Diplomats say senior officers "didn't seem to have a clue they had a problem" when the issue was first broached in late January.

According to diplomats and human-rights groups, the six Timorese were killed in reprisal for an incident the day before in which a soldier searching a house was wounded in the arm by a man wielding a machete. Four of the villagers died from close-range shots to the head, these sources say, and the other two suffered similar wounds to the neck and abdomen.

The most common account given by the sources is that the victims were taken from two adjoining hamlets and ordered to lead the patrol to a suspected Fretilin camp. Whether the villagers stalled or whether they were unable to carry out the order is unclear, but the sources allege they were shot about two to three kilometres away from Letolah. The army later allowed relatives to recover the bodies, which have now been exhumed on the orders of the human-rights commission and are being examined by a forensic specialist.

Human-rights groups suspect that soldiers may also have been responsible for the deaths of a village teacher and another civilian in neighbouring Ermera regency on January 26. In addition, human-rights groups fear for the safety, of five youths picked up off a Dili street on January 9, the day of a pro-independence rally at the University of East Timor. At least 14 other people have been reported missing since that date.

Timorese parliamentarian Salvador Ximenes Soares is convinced that as long as nothing is done to settle the East Timor issue, the situation will steadily worsen. He says a new breed of young Timorese who are better educated than their elders and much more critical of government actions are swelling the ranks of the resistance.

Other Timor watchers assert that many of today's young Timorese are not motivated by memories of Indonesia's 1976

annexation and may not even be directly involved with Fretilin. "It's more related to current living conditions," says one. Legislator Soares tends to agree: "Anti-integration will just get stronger and stronger. There'll be more street violence and these young people will provoke the military into shooting them."

Suharto's son-in-law, Col. Prabowo Subianto, has apparently backed away from the leading role he played last year in trying to win special status for the province. Apart from the opposition put up by more senior officers, military sources say one of the main reasons for his retreat was a letter that Timorese ambassador-at-large Lopez da Cruz sent to Suharto counselling against the idea. The sources say Prabowo has told Timorese contacts that if they can't agree among themselves what they want, he isn't going to stick his neck out further.

NEW APPROACH IN EAST TIMOR NEEDED

Jakarta Post, March 15, 1995

Dili, East Timor (JP): Security problems in this youngest province of Indonesia cannot be solved by military operations alone, a local military officer has acknowledged.

Col. Kiki Syahnakri told visiting Australian Ambassador, Allan R. Taylor, on Monday that the Armed Forces has for some time started to employ "legal and cultural approaches" to handling security problems in the territory.

The chief of the East Timor military command also expressed optimism that the various security problems in the former Portuguese colony would eventually subside, and that Jakarta has been taking steps to find prompt solutions.

"The (ABRI) headquarters is now preparing a new concept to deal with security problems," Syahnakri told Taylor, who was asking him about East Timorese campaigns for independence.

Among the solutions which Jakarta has been mulling over is the designation of a "special status" for the troubled territory.

He did not explain the "special status" in detail but said that it should be in line with the 1945 Constitution and should heed the aspirations of the majority of the East Timorese who consider themselves part of Indonesia.

"Security problems still occur here because the local residents are still easily influenced by the pro-independence campaign of the Fretilin rebels," Syahnakri said.

He listed a number of steps that the authorities should take in dealing with the East Timor issue, the first of which is ensuring that "peace and security" prevails.

Second is ensuring that any financial assistance allocated by the government to improve the welfare and boost the development here be used effectively, he said.

"Only then can we proceed to the political question of East Timor's integration into Indonesia at international forums such as United Nations," he said.

The commander said it is too early for Jakarta to set up any major industries in the province, such as a cement factory planned for the Baucau regency, given the host of related problems it would entail.

Considering the inadequate number of skilled people in the region, Syahnakri said it is likely that major industry owners would eventually choose to import skilled workers from other regions.

This condition was among the reasons for ABRI to start employing alternative approaches to development here. "We will intensify development efforts focusing on agriculture, which is more suitable for the local people," he said.

Better incomes would automatically improve stability in the region, and, in turn, its image in the international community, he said.

Syahnakri rejected the suggestion that the authorities have been ignoring the Catholic church's offer to help deal with security problems.

But he acknowledged that there are "elements" from the church who are against the territory's 1976 integration into Indonesia.

He said the authorities have detained 36 people in connection with the "ninja" terror perpetrated by hooded men against local residents. Sixteen of the men will soon be tried.

INDONESIA STEPS UP MILITARY PRESENCE IN DILI

Jornal de Noticias. 8 March 1995. Translated from Portuguese.

According to a Timorese Resistance source, two battalions of Indonesian troops disembarked last Sunday in Dili, where they will remain until May, in an attempt to prevent further protests against Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

According to intelligence gathered by the Underground Front (Frente Clandestina) of the Resistance movement, the additional units are Battalion 643, which will be operating in the west of the capital, and Battalion 521 which will cover the east side of the city. Their mission is to prevent any demonstrations of opposition to the annexation of East Timor that could be staged before the next meeting between the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers, scheduled for 19 May in New York.

The number of Indonesian battalions in East Timor has thus been raised to ten. The Jakarta regime stated some months ago that seven of the battalions in the territory carry out exclusively civilian tasks. However, a series of maps and documents seized by Timorese guerrillas last September, and recently published in the (Portuguese) newspaper "Publico," contradicts Indonesia's statements.

Meanwhile, Indonesian troops under the orders of Colonel Prabowo, President Suharto's son-in-law, have transformed a house in Dili, situated in a strategic location on the beach, into a fortress. According to the Resistance, the building, which cost 200 million Rupees to convert, is to be used as a command centre for military operations in the Timorese capital.

The Underground Front has also received reports that the military have drawn up a list of 180 Timorese civil servants living in Dili to be arrested over the coming weeks for their alleged membership of, or support for the Resistance movement.

The same source reports that Abilio Osorio Soares, the Governor of East Timor appointed by Indonesia, was urged to sign the arrest warrants, but refused to do so. His refusal is said to have been one of the reasons behind his transfer to Jakarta, where he is currently staying. According to the official version, the Governor went to Jakarta to attend a four-month course.

1995 MAY BE TIMOR WATERSHED

Asahi Evening News, Point of View/Jeremy Wagstaff, Reuters. March 31, 1995. Abridged

Indonesia, into its 20th year of ruling a restive East Timor, appears no closer to solving the riddle of absorbing several hundred thousand impoverished but vocal Timorese apparently uncowed by years of coercion.

When Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans last month blasted Indonesia's own description of East Timor as a "pebble in the shoe," saying it was more like a "rock in the road," he was illustrating the scale of Jakarta's headache.

Now, academics say, the irony of commemorating 50 years of independence from Dutch colonial rule, alongside two decades of Indonesian colonialism in East Timor, may be too much for many to stomach.

"1995 could well be a watershed for the Timorese," said James Dunn, Australia's former consul in Dili and author of a book on East Timor. "Again and again Jakarta is being reminded that the Timor question is

casting a shadow on the regime's international image.

"Clearly some officials, especially in the Foreign Ministry, would like to give the issue a decent burial, even if it means making an embarrassing concession," he added.

Indonesia publicly denies there has been any serious problem.

Diplomats, however, confirm that the Foreign Ministry, which has borne the brunt of continued international concern, has pushed for Jakarta's mainly military authorities to ease up on its security apparatus and to allow greater self-rule.

This does not seem likely.

The Indonesia-appointed governor, Abilio Soares, has been summoned to Jakarta for five months after seeking special status for East Timor, while locals report continuing harassment of opponents of Indonesian control.

Gerry van Klinken of Australia's Griffith University in Brisbane said: "Political games in Jakarta are played out on the backs of the East Timorese."

Indonesia's recent heavy-handed tactics, diplomats say, may merely speed up a process of uniting disparate factions of East Timorese at home, abroad and in jail to push for a political solution that a few years ago seemed unthinkable.

But others say Suharto himself appears implacably opposed to any concession, and concede that granting independence to East Timor seems impossible, whoever rules in Jakarta.

Instead, they say, East Timorese will continue to exploit Indonesia's efforts to present a sophisticated public front to remind the world of their plight and embarrass their overlords. And 1995 will offer plenty of such opportunities.

ABRI SETS UP GUARD TO DEFEND INTEGRASI

Jakarta Post, 25 March 1995. Abridged

The main part of this article reports on the political rally in Dili on 24 March convened by the army to reject UN plans to organise an intra-East Timorese meeting 'over their heads.'

The last few paragraphs read as follows:

The Timorese leaders (who signed a petition at the rally) also gave their wholehearted support to the Indonesian armed forces and their efforts to maintain stability and safeguard development in the province.

They said they would set up a new organisation to maintain and strengthen integration and its noble causes.

"The organisation, to be called Garda Muda Penegak Integrasi (Young Guards for

the Defence of Integration) will be a venue in which East Timorese youth will be educated and trained to maintain and defend integration.”

Note: A recent visitor to East Timor reports that the army are training East Timorese in pencak, the name for Javanese martial arts, which is helping to create a culture of violence in the territory.

TENSION RISES AFTER UN RESCHEDULES TIMORESE TALKS

The Irish Times, 13 April 1995. By Hugh O'Shaughnessy

London – Tension is rising in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, now occupied by Indonesian forces, after the postponement by the United Nations of talks due to be held among various East Timorese groups in the Australian city of Salzburg on April 24th.

The talks, encouraged by the UN, are a sequel to meetings in Ludlow and London last year and part of an effort to reach a settlement of Indonesia's 20 year illegal presence in East Timor. The meeting is being rescheduled for June.

“Our hopes are pinned on the UN,” said one leading Timorese activist. The tension is rising amid increasing signs that East Timor has large quantities of oil. A new productive well has been drilled on the south coast, and in the seas of East Timor large oil finds have been made by Australian oil companies.

A verdict is expected soon on the challenge by the Portuguese government in the international court of justice against Indonesian and Australia, which signed a treaty in 1990 purporting to carve up the mineral riches which the Timorese claim in the sea between the two countries.

Mr. José Ramos Horta, the principal international spokesman for the East Timorese resistance, called for the rapid deployment of a UN peacekeeping force and human rights office to prevent further bloodshed. A dozen East Timorese have been killed this year during confrontation with occupation forces in the towns of Baucau and Liquica; since the Indonesian invasion in 1975 Amnesty International estimates that 200,000 Timorese have been killed or died from the military intervention.

Mr. Horta's call for a UN presence is echoed within the territory. Indonesia maintains some 20 battalions of troops in East Timor. Despite this, a nucleus of several hundred guerrillas in the mountainous interior keeps up an armed resistance against the occupation, while civilian resistance grows in the towns and villages. Latest reports from Dili, the capital, tell of increasing ef-

forts by the Indonesians to infiltrate the civilian resistance.

Meanwhile, there is worry among the East Timorese about the future of Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, whose denunciation of Indonesian atrocities and repression has been vital in sustaining local morale. He has been called to Rome by the Vatican “for training.” Despite much Timorese lobbying, Rome has not appointed Dr. Belo, formerly the apostolic administrator of the diocese of Dili, titular bishop of the diocese but merely resident bishop, which means that the pope retains in his own hands direct responsibility for the area. Indonesian clerics have been appointed to senior positions in the diocese.

Critics of Vatican policy have constantly claimed that Rome is much more concerned with the fate of the five million-strong catholic minority among 150 million Indonesians than with the 600,000-strong population of East Timor. One prominent Catholic declared last week in Dili; “Our concerns are better addressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and the Dalai Lama of Tibet.”

The Timorese are eagerly awaiting the arrival of Mr. José Ayala Lasso, the UN Commissioner for Human Rights, who is expected in Dili in the next few weeks.

CIVILIANS TO RECEIVE MILITARY TRAINING

Dili, April 24 (LUSA) - abridged

The Indonesian authorities have concentrated over 900 civilian men who are to receive military training so that in the future they can intervene against the Timorese resistance, a source of the resistance told LUSA today.

The civilians include East Timorese nationals as well as Indonesian citizens, namely from Kupang (West Timor) and from Ujungpandang (former Makassar, in the island of Sulawesi). The civilians are at the installations of Company C of Battalion 744, in the area of Kaikoli, close to the University, and are under orders of a Timorese, João Pião [or João Pico].

Training of these civilians should start in the next few days. Some of these civilians allegedly have integrated the “ninjas.”

The Indonesian authorities have also gathered, at the same location, nearly 200 prostitutes who are to be trained to act as informants, alleged the same source from the resistance.

REPORT OF US PROTESTANT DELEGATION TO TIMOR

From January 24-29, 1995, a delegation from the National Council of Churches of Christ (NCC) and Church World Service and Witness (CWS) visited East Timor. The purpose of the delegation was to “express solidarity with the Church and people of East Timor”; “to express ecumenical support for the Protestant Church in East Timor and encourage cooperation with their Roman Catholic brothers and sisters”; and “to experience the context of life and ministry in East Timor giving particular attention to human rights issues.” They visited CWS development projects, Protestant churches, Bishop Belo, the provincial military commander and Vice Governor, and Indonesian Protestant officials in Jakarta. Below are their overall impressions and recommendations.

OVERALL IMPRESSIONS:

1.) We were struck with the visibility of the Indonesian military and the level of their combat readiness. In the areas of both Los Palos and Viqueque we saw several truck loads of heavily armed and combat ready troops as well as two platoons of troops on foot patrol. This high level of combat readiness was in sharp contrast to the rationale expressed by the provincial military commander who stressed that while the military maintains peace and order, the resistance to Indonesian annexation has been reduced to a very small number of persons. The principal justification of the large military presence in East Timor at present, therefore, is to assist with development. In fact, 6 of 11 military battalions are assigned to development work.

2.) We were impressed by the sharply differing views of military and civil officers on the one hand, and the views of the East Timorese people on the other hand. Government officials tend to see the needs in terms of economic development, security, jobs and education. They think of themselves as benevolent administrators doing what is necessary “for the good of the Timorese.”

The East Timorese we talked to, without exception, strongly felt that the most basic issues relate to the integration of East Timor into Indonesia without a process in which the people participated and agreed.

3.) We were impressed by the courage of Bishop Belo and other Roman Catholic leaders who fearlessly give voice to the aspirations of the people of East Timor. We were, likewise impressed with the courage of Rev. Arlindo Marcal and other leaders of

the GKTT [Christian Church of East Timor (Protestant)] who also speak for the rights of the East Timorese for within a structure which includes many powerful voices of high military and Indonesian government officials.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

A.) That the Southern Asia Committee [of the National Council of Churches] support and encourage the Protestant Community of East Timor and particularly the GKTT in strengthening their solidarity with the indigenous people of East Timor. One key to such solidarity will be to communicate and cooperate with the Roman Catholic Church.

B.) That the Southern Asia Committee support and encourage the indigenous (East Timorese) leadership of the GKTT. One form of such support will be to provide funding for experiences outside of Indonesia for Rev. Marcal and other GKTT leaders.

C.) That the Southern Asia Committee encourage creative dialogue with the PGI and churches of Indonesia concerning East Timor stressing that East Timorese should be allowed to speak for East Timor in the WCC and other ecumenical fora. Specifically, we support the application of GKTT for membership in the World Council of Churches.

D.) That the Southern Asia Committee initiate an advocacy effort which calls for the demilitarization of East Timor and supports a process which would lead to the determination of the political status of East Timor, with the full participation of the E. Timorese people

INDONESIA'S "CLANDESTINE" LISTS

Reuter, 4 May 1995. Abridged

Dili – Indonesian army chief Raden Hartono has said the military would compile a list of people involved in clandestine groups in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

"The inventory will aim at helping local governments to find people classified as those belonging to clandestine groups," Hartono told reporters in Dili late on Wednesday.

He said clandestine activities in East Timor, Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra island, and in Irian, Indonesia's remote province bordering Papua New Guinea, were well organised.

Hartono said last month the military was hunting members of clandestine groups, some armed and operating throughout the sprawling archipelago.

The official Antara news agency quoted him as saying the total number of clandes-

tine group members was between 150 and 170, with about 50 of them armed.

Hartono was in Dili to discuss security issues, including separatists seeking independence in East Timor.

TWO EAST TIMOR REBELS KILLED IN SHOOT-OUT

DILI, East Timor, May 11 (Reuter) - Two members of East Timor's separatist Fretilin (sic) group were killed during a shoot-out with Indonesian soldiers, the territory's military commander Colonel Kiki Syahnakri said on Thursday.

Syahnakri told reporters the two rebels, identified only as Benjamin and Julio, were killed on Wednesday during a clash in Kailaku village, 95 km (59 miles) west of the capital, Dili.

"The men died at the scene while another called Aprisio surrendered, along with a gun and grenade," he said.

He said the army launched an attack against the rebels after being tipped off by local residents about the presence of Fretilin members in their area.

It was not clear how many members of Fretilin – a ragged band of rebels fighting for East Timor's independence from Indonesia – were involved in the clash.

The Kailaku incident is the first reported attack on Fretilin since January 12, when six East Timorese were killed by soldiers in Liquica, west of Dili.

Human rights groups, East Timor exiles and local residents have said the six were villagers but the military has insisted they were Fretilin members.

In an unrelated case on Wednesday, two Fretilin members surrendered to the military in the Manatuto regency, some 75 km (47 miles) east of Dili, Syahnakri said.

He said one other member gave himself up last week.

Syahnakri said there were around 176 Fretilin members still operating in East Timor with some 102 guns of various types. He said about 3,000 East Timorese were classified by the military as secretly supporting the group.

EARTHQUAKE IN EAST TIMOR

AFP and Reuter, 15 May 1995. Abridged

DILI, East Timor, May 15 - Tidal waves triggered by a strong earthquake left one person dead and up to 26 injured around the East Timor capital of Dili. There were conflicting reports about the size of the quake, which struck on Sunday evening, May 14, 150 kilometres (90 miles) southeast of Dili in the Timor Sea. Doctors at Dili Hospital

said 26 people were injured, including eight fishermen previously listed as missing. The eight were among 11 fishermen mending nets on a beach at Ailiu (near Dili) when they were swallowed up by sand, which collapsed by up to seven metres when the quake struck. The fishermen were later rescued. Another eight people listed as missing had fled during the night in fear of aftershocks and tidal waves and had returned to their families. Three people were seriously injured, the rest were suffering from cuts and broken bones.

Residents in Dili seemed unfazed by the quake and were going about their business, somewhat slowed by a public holiday in Indonesia on Monday.

Another report states that huge waves set off by an earthquake registering 9 on the Richter scale slammed into the edge of East Timor's main town, Dili, leaving 10 people dead or missing, with a further 19 sustaining minor injuries. An elderly lady died after a roof beam fell on her.

The quake, centered in the Ombai Strait 70 kilometres west of Dili, struck at 6 33 pm on Sunday, with its epicenter 47 kilometers under the seabed. The waves swept away five huts and 11 people in the village of Kampung Marinir near Dili, but three of the victims were later found alive.

The quake damaged around 30 houses in the capital and destroyed a number of homes on the coast in nearby villages. The tremor caused damage to several buildings - the local parliament building; both an old passenger terminal building at the port as well as a newly built one were now leaning over and cracks have appeared in their walls. Although tidal waves had not hit the seaside Turismo hotel near Dili, the tremor had cracked many of the hotel's floor tiles.

The town's harbour was very badly damaged and the quake caused a new extension to shear away and lean towards the sea. The port would be inoperable until further notice.

A local geophysical official in Dili was quoted as saying it was fortunate the tide was low when the quake struck - "Luckily, the tide was going out which meant that the number of victims was not that high." The casualties and damage from this quake are not as high as those from the tremor and devastating tidal waves which struck Flores in December 1992 and left 2,000 dead in its wake.

Many residents, fearing aftershocks which might cause buildings to collapse, spent Sunday night out in the open.

The sprawling Indonesian archipelago lies on a major earthquake belt, known as the Pacific Rim of Fire. The quake had also been felt in Kalabahi, the main town of Alor, an island separated from Timor by the Ombai

Strait. There were, however, no reports of casualties or damage.

NURSE FEARED FOR LIFE IN EAST TIMOR

The Age, 16 May 1995. By Gary Hughes

Less than a month after Simon de Faux, a Melbourne male nurse, arrived in East Timor as a volunteer health worker, he was living in constant fear, being watched around the clock and counting the days until he could get out.

In two months working there for the Catholic Church, Mr. de Faux said, he treated locals who had been tortured, raped and bashed by Indonesian soldiers.

He was bashed with a rifle butt when he tried to stop Indonesian troops beating an eight-year-old boy. He said the boy suffered serious head injuries that almost certainly would have led to the loss of his left eye.

On a second occasion, an Indonesian officer threatened to shoot Mr. de Faux, a former trauma nurse at the Alfred Hospital, after he took a photograph of a village market place with a soldier in the background. He believes his life was saved only when a local nun stepped in front of the gun and reasoned with the officer.

After his two-month visa expired, he risked jail in April when he smuggled three rolls of undeveloped film out of the country by hiding them in a body cavity.

Mr. de Faux, 24, was unprepared for what he described as the horrors of the military occupation of East Timor when he volunteered to work in a developing country for the Catholic church. When a posting to Brazil fell through at the last minute, he was sent to East Timor, a place knew little about.

After arriving in Dili on 9 February he was admitted as a health worker when Indonesian authorities refused to allow him to work as a qualified nurse.

"I found myself in the middle of a dirty war," Mr. de Faux said yesterday. "It was a war being fought on Australia's doorstep, but no one knew about it and I quickly found out the Australian Government didn't care."

Although not supposed to work as a nurse and lacking proper medical equipment, he secretly treated victims of Indonesian atrocities bought to him.

They included women who had been repeatedly raped, men tortured by being tied naked to a metal bed and having electric charges sent through their bodies, and youths almost drowned in barrels of water. There were also many bashing victims.

"Torture was fairly common," he said.

"I just did what I could to help them. You often saw men with burns to the inside of their noses, where one of the electric wires was attached during torture sessions. The other wire was attached to the penis."

Mr. de Faux was initially sent to the south, where he saw the results of large-scale trans-migration involving East Timorese being forced off their fertile farming land. The lad was then given to "boat loads" of Indonesian immigrants, who were also provided with modern housing.

The locals were left to scratch a living from areas with poor soil.

After his run-in with the Indonesian officer, East Timor's Catholic Bishop, Carlos Filipe Belo, decided he was "hot property." He was smuggled north at night, hiding in the back of a truck under a load of pig carcasses.

He spent the next seven weeks working in the mountainous north, where Fretilin guerrillas were most active. He was followed constantly by Indonesian secret police, who were becoming increasingly suspicious about his activities.

He said health conditions for the East Timorese were appalling with widespread tuberculosis and malaria. The Indonesians boasted of the medical clinics they had built, but the East Timorese were wary about using them and relied on crowded and poorly equipped church clinics.

On 8 March, Mr. de Faux met Australia's ambassador to Indonesia, Mr. Allan Taylor, who was on a tour of northern East Timor. He said a member of Mr. Taylor's staff warned him not to talk to the media about his experiences.

"The Australian team wasn't interested in what I had seen and told me to keep quiet," he said.

"But I decided I wanted to tell people what was happening."

Mr. de Faux has been left deeply disturbed by his experiences in East Timor. He said it took him a month to come to terms with what he had seen before he could speak publicly about them.

"Everyone has heard about the Dili massacre. But I was told that there had been six others since then," he said.

"The people of East Timor have been completely sold out by the Australian Government."

EYEWITNESS REPORT ON OCCUPIED EAST TIMOR

By Kim Linden, Green Left, June 5.

MELBOURNE - Simon de Faux, a Victorian nurse sent to East Timor as a volunteer for the Catholic Church, was warned by the Australian government not to go public with his first-hand experiences of human rights

abuses in East Timor. His story featured in some of the major dailies in May, but not others. He had since decided against giving any more interviews, but accepted Green Left Weekly's request because the paper campaigns publicly in support of East Timor's independence.

De Faux, 24, was initially going to Brazil as a volunteer health worker for the Salesian order, but at the last minute was sent to East Timor.

Once de Faux would have described himself as "a naive guy, who went to coffee shops at Bourke Street mall and lived in Prahran [one of Melbourne's more salubrious suburbs]." He said, "I only knew where East Timor was and that it is occupied by Indonesia. I didn't know much about what was really happening there ... I had a rosy life."

He left for East Timor on February 8. His view of the world was totally changed after two months of working there and "living in constant fear." At times he did not expect to make it back home.

Arriving in Dili, de Faux was met at the airport by a convoy of Indonesian officials: country police, secret police, military police and immigration officials. They made it clear that they didn't want a health care worker because, in their words, the health care system in East Timor was "adequate." The small amount of medical equipment and drugs de Faux took to East Timor were confiscated by the Indonesians - making it very clear, he said, that the Indonesians didn't want foreigners to help.

After staying in Dili with Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo, an active campaigner for East Timor's independence, he was sent to the island's south, to an area affected by the Indonesian government's transmigration program.

Transmigration

As de Faux explained, "The transmigration program involves shifting large numbers of Indonesians and people from Indonesian islands such as Sulawesi and Bali to East Timor. These people are given land and provided with housing and water. The East Timorese are forced off their land and rehoused in villages with no area for them to farm."

This program of dispossession has allowed the Indonesians to establish a strong hold over the southern part of East Timor.

While in the south, de Faux visited the church-run hospitals, which are very poorly serviced and have minimal supplies. In some cases single-use items, such as needles, were being used up to 50 times. But it is to these hospitals the East Timorese prefer to go for medical care.

The Indonesians have set up hospitals in the south, but de Faux said that the East Timorese were reluctant to go for fear of the treatment they would receive. De Faux had heard reports of East Timorese women being injected with the anti-fertility drug Depo Provera while in Indonesian-run hospitals. The East Timorese are very quick to discharge themselves if they have no choice but to go. De Faux also visited infant clinics that were never frequented by East Timorese.

De Faux was twice threatened at gunpoint by Indonesian soldiers. The first incident occurred when he tried to stop soldiers beating an 8-year-old boy. He was bashed with a rifle butt by a soldier in the shoulder, and the boy was taken away.

The second incident took place when de Faux was photographing a market. A soldier standing in the background took offence and held him at gunpoint. De Faux believes his life was saved only when a nun intervened.

Because of these run-ins, de Faux, with the help of Bishop Belo, went to the mountainous north of East Timor, where Fretilin resistance fighters have their stronghold. He was smuggled there on the back of a truck underneath pig carcasses. De Faux says the Indonesians would not have touched the carcasses because of the Islamic taboo on pork.

There de Faux started treating people, albeit illegally. There was such an extreme need for health care that, at times, up to 80 people would line up, many with tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy was also quite widespread.

Torture

It was there that de Faux first saw evidence that Indonesians were torturing East Timorese. He met people with burns in their noses and on their penises, the result of being tied up and having electrical wires attached. He also heard of another common torture method in which people's heads would be immersed in a barrel of water.

De Faux also treated women with tears in their vaginas from being repeatedly raped. He said that nearly every family had lost at least one member at the hands of the Indonesians.

Those most targeted for torture are the educated East Timorese, particularly university students, because, De Faux said, these people are most likely to lead the resistance against the Indonesians. He recalled when he asked a student in Dili if it was OK to talk, the student replied, "I don't care; I'm dead anyway."

De Faux's nursing work had to be done under cover. If he had helped the East Timorese openly, they would either be killed or he would have been "booted out" by the Indonesians.

De Faux met the Canadian ambassador and tried to off-load his story and film. He was told to talk to the Australian government and met Australia's ambassador to Indonesia, Allan Taylor, on March 8, while in northern East Timor.

Taylor's secretary, Alistair Cox, told de Faux not to talk to the media about what he had experienced. "Cox and I argued for three hours, and then Taylor and Cox drove off in their four-wheel drives and I was left standing there surrounded by Indonesian military with rifles hanging off their shoulders.

"The Australian government, telling me not to go to the media, was a cop-out. [Gareth] Evans' line since is that they [the Australian government] told me not to tell my story for fear of my safety. This is bullshit. Australia is not doing anything about East Timor because it signed the Timor Gap Treaty with Indonesia."

Despite the advice, de Faux did go public. He smuggled the films he had taken out of East Timor by "shoving them up" his arse. He approached the Melbourne Age and his story made front cover news on May 16.

Evans responded on the May 17 7:30 Report by commenting that there was "a lot of openness creeping into the Indonesian system" but that this needed to be extended to East Timor. In other words he was forced to admit that there is a problem in East Timor.

However De Faux has doubts about the resolve of any government, least of all Australia's, to bring pressure to bear on Indonesia. "Boutros-Ghali of the United Nations says they will look into the problem. The US has the bargaining power in the UN but it forces other countries to back down from doing anything about East Timor."

SOLDIER KILLED IN VIQUEQUE

Lisbon, May 17 (LUSA) - abridged - A source of the Timorese resistance told LUSA today that a group of Timorese guerrillas attacked a military position in Viqueque (90 Km Southeast of Dili) on Saturday. According to the resistance, the attack involved 20 to 25 guerrillas and the attack took place at a time when most soldiers were away from headquarters. While most soldiers present ran away, one soldier resisted, trying to prevent the guerrillas to take possession of the weaponry, and he was killed.

Indonesian Commander of the Viqueque district, Colonel Ketut Luncia was cited by AP confirming the information provided by the resistance. AP however also cites another Indonesian official in Dili who, anonymously, stated that the soldier's death

resulted from a confrontation between two groups of soldiers, one of East Timorese naturals, another of Indonesians.

GUERRILLA CAPTURED

Jakarta, May 17 (LUSA) - abridged - Indonesian soldiers captured Tuesday an armed Timorese guerrilla in the Ainaro region, according to Major Simbolon (in Dili). Simbolon told France Presse over the phone that the guerrilla captured is Mario José Guterres. Simbolon denied the report that an Indonesian soldier had been killed. Simbolon also denied the allegation made by a Portuguese TV station that Mahuno, who had been under surveillance after his capture, had been again arrested while attending the funeral of a family member in Dili.

KILLED IN JAIL UNDER TORTURE - RUMOR FALSE

Sydney, Australia, May 18 (LUSA) - abridged - A Timorese youth was tortured to death on May 14 by Intel agents, at the Becora prison in Dili, sources from the resistance told LUSA today.

Filomeno dos Santos, 26 years old, died in prison after being tortured for several hours by three Intel agents, indicated the same sources. According to these sources, family members of the victim were afterwards interrogated and subject to house searches, and were threatened they would be killed if they divulged the circumstances under which the youth's death occurred.

Filomeno dos Santos was detained together with 13 other students two days after the peaceful demonstration of January 9 at the University of East Timor in Dili, for allegedly having organized the demonstration.

FILOMENO DOS SANTOS IS NOT DEAD

TAPOL Report, 23 May 1995

Since items are still being posted about the death under torture of the detained East Timorese student, Filomeno dos Santos, we would like to point out that investigations into this report show that Filomeno did not die. He may well have been subjected to a beating but ICRC officials met him later and confirmed that he is alive.

The report that he died came originally from information from an official at Becora who passed it on to the family. The family then sought help to get his body out for burial. However, in the meantime, it became clear that he was not dead.

The prison official may have been making mischief by circulating an inaccurate report. The family were denied permission to visit

him in prison and assumed that the report was correct. If the families of prisoners in Dili had proper access, such rumours would not persist.

INDONESIA REPLACES EAST TIMOR MILITARY COMMANDER

JAKARTA, May 26 (Reuter) – Indonesia's security forces will replace its military commander in East Timor, five months after the controversial killing of six people in the troubled territory, a military spokesman said on Friday.

"Colonel Kiki Syahnakri will be replaced and the handing over ceremony is scheduled to be held tomorrow (Saturday)," Major Laedan Simbolon, military spokesman in East Timor, told Reuters by telephone from the East Timor capital Dili.

Simbolon said Syahnakri would be replaced by Colonel Mahidin Simbolon, an officer who played a key role in the 1992 capture of Xanana Gusmão, leader of East Timor's separatist Fretilin guerrilla movement.

Spokesman Simbolon said there was nothing special in the replacement of Syahnakri, who served as the former Portuguese colony's military commander for nine months, although he said the usual term for the local military chief was one year.

"It has nothing to do with the Liquica incident in January," he said.

Simbolon said Syahnakri would be posted to army headquarters in Jakarta.

NEW ARMY CHIEF IN EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post plus additional material. 28 May 1995. Abridged

Note from TAPOL: This is not the Simbolon who has been serving as intelligence chief in East Timor.

The armed forces installed Colonel Mahidin Simbolon, a rapidly rising star, as chief of the local military command in East Timor, to replace Col. Kiki Syahnakri.

Simbolon, a 1974 graduate of the National Military Academy, AMN, has spent virtually all his military years in the army's elite force, Kopassus.

He has served in East Timor several times. In 1992, he headed the unit that arrested Xanana Gusmão in Dili, an achievement that earned him a special promotion in rank. Before coming to East Timor, Simbolon was assistant for intelligence to the special forces' chief in Jakarta.

The appointment has raised some eyebrows because Syahnakri has served in the East Timor command for only eight months while such a post is normally held for two years. Major-General Adang Ruchiatna,

chief of the Udayana command in Bali, who installed Simbolon, denied that the removal of Syahnakri was in any way connected with the Liquiça incident. "Syahnakri is getting a promotion. He will in fact fill a position currently held by a brigadier-general," he said.

Adang also denied that Simbolon, with his special forces background, had been picked for the job because the army is changing its strategy in East Timor. "I think he deserves the post because his rise to the rank of colonel was extraordinarily rapid. He deserves it. We always value those with achievements," he said. He underlined that the new commander will take his orders from him, not from the special forces. He denied that the deputy commander, Col. Gleny Kairupan would be replaced because he comes from the military class of 1972, and is two years Simbolon's senior.

Additional material about Colonel Simbolon from TAPOL:

Simbolon has worked closely with Prabowo, Suharto's son-in-law, whose interest in army operations in East Timor is well known. Their careers in Kopassus have developed closely. He has served six times in East Timor, on several occasions during Prabowo's tours of duty there. They graduated together from AMN in 1974

Mahidin Simbolon

Tiras 8 June 1995 Translated from Indonesian Brief items

A little bit of biodata on the new military commander in East Timor <Korem 164>, Col. Mahidin Simbolon. He was born in North Sumatra 2/5/1951, has three children. First served in East Timor 1976. A 1974 graduate of the Military Academy. In 1979 he was involved with the suppression of anti-Chinese riots in Surakarta, Central Java. In 1981-82 he was deputy commander in a special unit to suppress the Paraku rebellion in West Kalimantan. In 1992 he was once more sent to East Timor, as commander of the intelligence unit SGI <Sat-Gas Intel>. He immediately captured Xanana Gusmão, and was rewarded with extraordinary promotion from Lt-Col to Col. Prior to the present appointment he was Intelligence Assistant <asintel> at Kopassus.

[Remark: frequent reports of extra-judicial methods such as torture at SGI have given rise to widespread fear in Dili that the new commander will have less compunction than Kiki Syahnakri did about using such methods; GvK].

COL. M. SIMBOLON PLEDGES TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS

The Jakarta Post, June 10, 1995

DILI (JP) East Timor's new military chief, Col. M Simbolon, vowed yesterday to improve respect for human rights in the former Portuguese colony.

Simbolon, who assumed his position on May 27, denied accusations that the government intended to maintain the domination of the local bureaucracy by Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) officers and officials from other provinces.

'ABRI is working to improve human rights conditions and law enforcement in East Timor,' he said in an interview with the Jakarta Post.

ABRI's heavy presence in the troubled territory has been a constant target of criticism in numerous international fora, where it has been claimed human rights violations are rampant in East Timor.

Simbolon said authorities in the province, which was integrated into Indonesia in 1976, were committed to upholding the law in order to minimize violations of basic rights.

He said that ABRI intended to bring three civil servants before a court for taking part in a raid on a military post last month in Viqueque, 200 kilometers east of here, in which a soldier was killed and another seriously wounded.

'This (legal action) is to prove that the Indonesian government and ABRI are law-abiding,' Simbolon said.

He denied accusations that the government discriminated against native East Timorese in the bureaucracy.

'Look,' he said, 'the government is a native. Of the 13 regents throughout the province, only two are not indigenous figures. What else. All subdistrict chiefs (camat) are natives.'

He acknowledged, however, that all the province's ministerial branch offices were headed by officials recruited from other provinces.

'Currently there are about 300 East Timorese who have college diplomas, but none of those in the bureaucracy are experienced enough to head a ministerial office,' he said. He added that their chance to move up would come in time.

Prostitutes

The situation was similar in the case of local military posts, he said. According to Simbolon, the highest rank held by indigenous officers is Second Lieutenant, District Military posts cannot be held by officers with a rank lower than that of Major.

Simbolon said another of his projects was to try to move about 1,000 prostitutes, who are mostly from Java, out of the province.

The prostitutes are employed by panderers on a contract basis.

The presence of prostitutes in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory has drawn protests, both from religious leaders and from the general public.

'We don't want to see prostitutes worsen social and health problems. I have heard that two prostitutes have tested positive for AIDS. They must be repatriated,' he said.

Statistics from the police and social affairs office show that currently about 1,000 prostitutes operate in the province's 13 regencies.

Since they began working in East Timor, in 1984, two prostitutes have been killed by local residents. Local rumor has it that prostitution in the province is backed by certain individual ABRI members.

Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo once petitioned the local provincial government for the expulsion of the prostitutes from the province.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS DOMINATE EAST TIMOR

New Zealand Herald, 31 May 1995

AFP – East Timorese MP Mr. Salvador Januario Ximenes Soares was quoted by Antara as dismayed at the rampant corruption plaguing development in the enclave, following his four-day fact-finding mission earlier this month.

"I have found that huge funds have been misappropriated by project managers and contractors" he said, with evidence of collusion between Government officials and businessmen to prevent reprisals over sub-standard projects.

Observers believe the new military commander, Colonel Simbolon, who last served in East Timor in 1992 as head of intelligence, would emphasise the use of force through military and police rather than adopting a "hearts and minds" strategy.

The recently transferred former commander, Colonel Syahnakri believes social problems such as unemployment among young people were more dominant than technical security problems.

EAST TIMOR'S REQUEST FOR RIGHTS BRANCH HAILED

Jakarta Post, March 9. abridged

[NOTE: This is a very worrying development. The establishment of a chapter of the KOMNAS HAM, in response to the alleged "request of the East Timorese people" (it is nowhere clearly explained who made such a request), is obviously intended to keep international human rights organisations out, and may have a very negative impact on the attempt to have a permanent UN presence in East Timor. – TAPOL]

East Timorese's [sic] request for a branch office of the National Commission on Human Rights shows that people in the territory mean to settle their problems without foreign intervention, a rights activist said yesterday.

Commission member Muladi said that the rights body would meet the East Timorese people's request for a branch so that citizens can air their grievances through it.

"I hope in future we will no longer monitor developments in East Timor through foreign media because we can obtain first-hand information," he told the Jakarta Post.

In a previous interview with the Post, Muladi expressed concern over the fact that people in East Timor often refer their problems to institutions like the UN, the International Red Cross and the church rather than to the government.

"Foreign intervention will only worsen the situation because outsiders involve their political interests," he said.

INDONESIA RIGHTS BODY TO OPEN OFFICE IN EAST TIMOR

JAKARTA, May 31 (Reuter) - Indonesia's human rights commission will open an office in troubled East Timor in an effort to give local people a chance to channel their views, the official Antara news agency said on Wednesday.

It quoted Marzuki Darusman, a member of the appointed commission, as telling Antara on Tuesday that the office in the East Timorese capital Dili would be a place, in addition to the church and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), where people could air problems

"The office will probably be like a guest house or a transit hotel in which members of the commission will in turn stay while in Dili to hear reports about human rights," he was quoted as saying.

Darusman did not say when the office would open but said the plan had been dis-

cussed between members of the commission, East Timor

PROTESTANT VOICE RAISED IN SUPPORT OF TIMOR

Publico, 26 May 1995. By Barbara Reis. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

New York – Pastor Arlindo Marcal lobbies in the US. It is not just Catholics who are defending the rights of East Timor. A Protestant Pastor, leader of his church in Timor, has joined the group. He does not directly speak out in favour of independence, but for the past 6 months, he has been travelling around the world saying that the Timorese have to be heard on what they want for their own future. This lobbying is precisely what Arlindo Marcal has been doing in New York recently, and in Washington.

The leader of the Protestant minority in East Timor, Arlindo Marcal, has been to the world's lobbying city - Washington - to do what thousands of people do every year: try to change the foreign policy of the world's greatest power. He has spent a week in the US, invited by the World Council for the Unity of Protestant Churches, talking to "both sides - those who support East Timor, and those who support Indonesia."

Arlindo Marcal is an excellent example of three phenomena: he is proof that, after 20 years of fighting to end Indonesian occupation, new voices speaking out in support of the Timorese are still emerging; he is proof that it is not just the Catholic Church that is involved in the struggle, and, finally, he is a reflection of the irony to be found in the results of the education. At 34, after having "lived as an Indonesian for 20 years," studied in Indonesian schools, married an Indonesian woman, and made Indonesian friends, this Timorese reverend, Arlindo Marcal, began to feel "more indignant than ever about what is happening in Timor." Although he is not directly advocating the end of occupation, six months ago he started to lobby for Timor. As a Church mediator, his strategy is to say they it has to be the Timorese themselves who should decide on their own future.

He spent 6 years studying Theology in Java. "When I returned to Dili, nobody believed I was Timorese. I dressed as an Indonesian, spoke like an Indonesian, and behaved like an Indonesian. Today, I feel prouder than ever to be Timorese," he told *Publico* before leaving New York.

"The Timorese people are not being included in the discussions. The people of Timor must be part of that dialogue - not just Fretilin, but all the groups. Those who

are on Indonesia's side, if they don't support Timor, then at least they should support the growing democratic faction in Indonesia. Those who support Indonesia have to understand the way the Timorese think. The only thing they see is that the Portuguese were there for 500 years and did nothing, and that in the past 20 years the Indonesians have built roads and houses."

An Indonesian city

Today, says the Pastor, Dili is just like an Indonesian city. "You see more Indonesians than Timorese there. There are good roads, a good airport, good port, new buildings, good schools and hospitals. 20 years ago, during the rainy season, it would take a week to reach my town. Same. Today, I can get there in five hours. I can go and come back the same day. However, while in Portuguese colonial times, ten houses out of every 100 were for Timorese, today the Indonesians might build two thousand houses and not one is for the Timorese. The Indonesians are doing a lot of construction in Timor, but none of it is for the Timorese. The Timorese are merely spectators to the spectacle of development."

"Anyway, development is not a priority problem," he says. "The problem is that the Timorese ought to be allowed to exercise the right to choose what they want. Then the rest can be sorted out afterwards."

Indonesia, says the Protestant Pastor, "ought to have more confidence ... Why is Indonesia afraid to hold a referendum? It should just go ahead, and get rid of the problem once and for all. I am neither for nor against. I belong to the Church. But I do see that we have been fighting for nearly 20 years, which means that the fight could go on for another 20 or 100 years, because the people are backing that fight." And the "people" now include many thousands of Protestants (25,000 out of a population of 700,000). The religion was brought to the island by the Indonesian army. "In my Church, I feel that the people are becoming increasingly concerned and active." According to the Pastor, this is, in part, due to one of Indonesia's major strategic errors - education.

"At present, people are talking to each other more than ever before. Things are changing. 20 years ago, the people who were fighting were mainly the poorest and often uneducated people. Nowadays, however, they are the youngsters who have been well educated in Indonesian schools. They are more aware. Today, everyone speaks out, not just Fretilin. The Indonesian Government ought to try and find out why this is. It means, at least, that something is wrong somewhere."

Just as for many Timorese, Arlindo Marcal's life and "conscience" radically changed after Santa Cruz ... "For years I lived thinking that the struggle was not my problem. Then I saw how Timorese, poorer than I, were giving their lives for Timor. I saw the discrimination, the massacre, and I began to realise something was very wrong. I decided to change my attitude. We must find a way of solving the problem of Timor. We cannot wait for the next massacre to say that there are human rights violations, and that that's the reason for the problems."

The first time Arlindo Marcal publicly spoke of his changed views was in December 1994 at the World Council of Churches meeting in Hong Kong. It was a shock. "I said to them: For the love of God, do not talk about Timor. Let it be the Timorese who speak about Timor. Stop treating Timor as if it were a book - who wants to buy it?, what is this? What is Timor?. My intervention frightened them. When I came across them (members of the National Council of Indonesian Churches) later in Jakarta, before coming to the US, they would not speak to me. They didn't even shake my hand."

In his intervention at the World Council of Churches, the reverend explained to the participants that East Timor had been discovered by a missionary in the XV Century, and later a Portuguese colony for 500 years, "which brought poverty, backwardness and ignorance to the island. The Timorese lived in terrible suffering. As a nation, they lost their identity, culture, language, economy and human rights. That experience ought to show developed countries, such as Indonesia, that colonisation, whatever kind it may be, should not exist."

STATEMENT OF THE REVEREND ARLINDO MARCAL

May 26, 1995

I am the Moderator of the Protestant Church in East Timor, a federation of Protestant congregations totaling 25,000 members. As a Protestant church, we are part of the Indonesian Council of Churches.

When the Indonesian government occupied East Timor in December 1975, my family fled to the mountains to join the resistance movement. I was fifteen years old at the time. We stayed in the mountains for four years, and lived under very difficult circumstances.

Four years later, after realizing that integration with Indonesia has become a reality in East Timor, we came down from our mountain hide-out and surrendered. We were immediately arrested and placed in labor camps. My parents were sent to an-

other camp and later disappeared, presumably killed.

Since my youth, I have always been attracted to the Protestant religion. This put me in a minority, because the majority of the people in Portuguese East Timor were members of the Roman Catholic church. While I was doing hard labor following our surrender, the commanding officer in charge, who was a Protestant, upon learning that I considered myself a Protestant, ordered me and nine other prisoners to work on building a Protestant church. After nine months of forced labor, when the building project was completed, I was also confirmed and baptized during the opening ceremonies of the church.

Following my release from prison, I decided not to become further involved in politics. I also decided to enter Christian service and full-time ministry. In preparation for this chosen vocation, I went to Java to study at Satya Wacana University and also attended theological school for six straight years. I did not return to East Timor until my studies were completed.

After completion of my studies, I returned to East Timor and was soon ordained as a pastor and entered pastoral ministry. As a pastor of the Protestant church of East Timor, I fully participated in the life of our Protestant church in East Timor and in the wider church federation of the Indonesian Council of Churches (Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia).

And in my own personal life, I also become more fully integrated as an Indonesian citizen. I married an Indonesian who is a lieutenant in the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI). We have one son.

However, in the course of events, particularly after the incident at Santa Cruz cemetery in November 12, 1991, I began to raise serious questions with myself. I began to ask these questions: "Who is really benefiting from this integration process? Why is East Timor still under military occupation? Why are East Timorese people still left out of the economic life of the region? Why is it that, in large measure, the economic sector is so overwhelmingly monopolized by Indonesians? Why do East Timorese people still feel segregated and why are we continually being denigrated by Indonesians?"

Furthermore, as a leader of the Protestant Church in East Timor, I began to feel strongly that our church is often considered to be a tool of the Indonesian government. Even Carlos Ximenes Belo, Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor, was very reluctant to deal with us. In addition, my Indonesian colleagues at the Indonesian Council of Churches often were silent on issues that affected the East Timorese people.

As a result of the continuing unresolved issues in East Timor, when I was elected as moderator of the Protestant Church of East Timor, I made the proposal to the Indonesian Council of Churches that our church should apply for separate membership within the World Council of Churches.

Consequently, last December, at a consultation in Hong Kong of the task force on East Timor, sponsored by the World Council of Churches with the Council of Churches in Asia and the Indonesian Council of Churches, I indicated to the task force members the need to provide an opportunity for the full participation of the East Timorese people in the present dialogue about the future of East Timor under way under the auspices of the United Nations.

Following a visit to the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland, in preparation for forthcoming reception of the Protestant Church in East Timor into full membership of the World Council of Churches, I visited the United States and Canada at the invitation of the Canadian Council of Churches and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA.

While in Canada, I visited with church and government officials in Toronto and Ottawa. In the U.S., I spoke with various denominational representatives in New York and Washington, where I also met with members and staff of the United States Congress, and with the United States - Indonesia Society and the U.S.-ASEAN Council.

The purpose of my trip, and of my visits with various religious, community, civic, business and government representatives, was to give a personal account of present developments in East Timor, and to plead for the full participation of the people of East Timor in seeking a speedy and just resolution to the present conflict in our region.

The Rev. Arlindo Marcal
Gereja Kristen di Timor Timur
P.O. Box 1186
Dili, Timor Timur

*Translated by the Rev. Max Surjadinata,
Mount Vernon Heights Congregational
Church, Mt. Vernon, New York, USA.*

POLICE WARN AGAINST PROTESTS DURING TALKS

JAKARTA, June 5 (Reuter) - East Timor's police chief said on Monday his force would not tolerate anti-government protests in East Timor during this week's U.N.-sponsored talks in Austria on the troubled territory.

Thirty East Timorese of different political shades, living in East Timor and in exile, opened four days of talks on Saturday in

Stadtschlaining, Austria, to discuss issues such as security and human rights.

"Everything is under control now but we will not tolerate any anti-integration protests here because it is against the law," Colonel Andreas Sugianto told Reuters by telephone from Dili, East Timor's capital.

"We will crush any move which leads to unrest or anti-integration protests," he said. Sugianto said about 500 police officers on duty in Dili, 2,000 km (1,250 miles) east of Jakarta, would be ready to counter any unrest.

Residents in Dili said on Monday that police had intensified patrols in the city and were checking identity papers.

INDONESIA PAPERS LOOK TO PAGE CUTS, PRICE RISES

by Lewa Pardomuan, abridged

Jakarta, June 12, Reuter - Many Indonesian newspapers may have to close or trim the size of their pages because of a critical shortage of newsprint, industry sources said on Monday.

A leading publisher predicted last week that about 100 newspapers and periodicals, nearly two-thirds of the number now in circulation, could be forced into bankruptcy by next year if newsprint prices continued to rise.

"We have reduced the number of pages from 12 to eight starting today and our newsprint stock will be enough only for the next four days," Yoseph Lema, managing editor of the Suara Timor daily tabloid in East Timor, told Reuters.

He said from East Timor's capital, Dili, 2,000 km (1,250 km) east of Jakarta, newsprint prices had increased 100 percent in East Timor and he might have to stop publishing if he failed to get newsprint from another newspaper.

Newsprint prices in Indonesia have risen to 1,700 rupiah (76 cents) a kg from 1,320 rupiah (59 cents) in April. The Indonesian Newspaper Publishers Organisation says newsprint has been in short supply since last month.

Some editors say they have sufficient stocks to last until near the end of this year. For others, such as Dili's Suara Timor Timur, the situation is critical.

TEACHING JOBS AT UNTIM

Announcement from Georgetown University, USA:

UNIQUE GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY ASSIGNMENT TWO EXPERIENCED PROFESSIONALS NEEDED IN INDONESIA

SUMMARY

Georgetown University seeks a 2-person technical assistance team to live in Dili, East Timor, and serve on the faculty of the University of East Timor (UNTIM) for up to two years. Principal responsibility of the GU team is to upgrade faculty in ESL, Biology, Environmental Studies, and Animal Husbandry. Other responsibilities are to provide project planning support and carry out other institutional strengthening objectives.

The Center for Intercultural Education & Development (CIED) at Georgetown University (GU) is seeking two experienced educators to volunteer as GU's on-site team in Dili, Indonesia. The team will work with University of East Timor (UNTIM) to upgrade faculty skills in ESL, Biology, Environmental Studies, and Animal Husbandry.

DUTIES

1. Design and implement short-term technical assistance program for faculty, Assess faculty upgrading needs in English, biology, animal husbandry, environmental science, and design and conduct short-term training courses of two-weeks to two months duration, over a two-year period, to improve teaching methodologies and practical teaching skills. Design upgrade courses and practicums for integration into current teaching schedules.
2. Create a long term faculty upgrading plan. Work with UNTIM administration and GU project manager to create a long-term faculty upgrading plan that identifies and prioritize curriculum needs, designs individual goals for faculty upgrading in ESL and academic fields needed for graduate study, and assesses current and projected teaching schedules, available release time per department, and options for obtaining substitute faculty.
3. Design and Conduct Intensive ESL faculty program. Work with the ESL department to offer a faculty ESL program to improve English skills among UNTIM faculty required for future graduate studies.
4. Prepare UNTIM faculty participation in training at other Indonesian Universities. Based on specific training opportunities available at other Indonesian universities,

work with UNTIM administration to devise and update a training schedule, prepare selected faculty, and assist newly trained faculty to share their new skills and knowledge upon return.

5. Recommend ESL and Biology Equipment. Assist UNTIM administration and faculty prioritize equipment needs and recommend specific equipment, textbooks, and supplies relevant to current and future curriculum.

REQUIREMENTS & QUALIFICATIONS

1. Lived and worked in a third world country
2. Minimum 10 years teaching/teacher training experience
3. Qualified to teach one or more of these subject areas - ESL, Biology, Environmental Studies, and Animal Husbandry
4. Demonstrated planning and financial management experience
5. Significant professional experience interacting with a wide range of people such as staff, faculty, deans, and rectors
6. Available to travel to and live in Dili, East Timor, Indonesia for up to 2 consecutive years (Desired project start-up is August 1995.)
7. Available to participate in a one-week orientation at Georgetown University prior to departure for Indonesia
8. Speak Bahasa Indonesian would be preferred

THE NEED

UNTIM, a private Catholic university founded in 1986, is the only university on the island of East Timor. There are 850 currently enrolled students and 149 have graduated. Seventy-one faculty members provide instruction through the faculties of Education and Teacher Training, Social and Political Sciences, and Agriculture. Development needs are many. A main concern of the faculty at this time is to prepare future graduates to find employment and make a positive contribution to the social and economic development of the Timorese and Indonesian economy. Faculty training, emphasizing practical skills, in ESL, Biology, Environmental Science and Animal Husbandry is GU's starting point to address this concern.

"Volunteers" will have the opportunity to contribute to a meaningful and important mission. Commitment, enthusiasm, and appreciation for the human spirit are qualities that characterize Father Bratasudarma, UNTIM's Rector, and his staff. The presence of an experienced U.S. team will strengthen and intensify the commitment

and dedication that already exists among UNTIM supporters for the young university's development.

Individuals who meet the requirements and are qualified to teach in one or more of the desired subject areas are encouraged to apply.

BENEFITS

1. Stipend of \$12,000 per year per person
2. Housing (donated by Government of Indonesia)
3. Air travel to and from Indonesia
4. Health Insurance, Disability, Life Insurance

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY CONTACT

Qualified candidates should indicate motivation for applying in one-page letter and send with resume to Elizabeth Robinson, UNTIM Project Manager, CIED, P.O. Box 579400, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20057-9400. Fax (202)338-0608. Phone (202)298-0230. Georgetown University is an EEOC employer.

Application deadline: July 15, 1995
Most East

ALATAS DEFENDS HUMAN-RIGHTS RECORD IN E. TIMOR

[abridged]

Dili, East Timor, June 14, Reuter – Foreign Minister Ali Alatas on Wednesday defended Indonesia's human-rights record in East Timor and said the territory was not the only place in the world where rights violations have occurred.

"We have acknowledged comments from people (abroad) about human-rights violations in this territory, but there is not a single country in the world which is free of human-rights violations," he told a meeting of the Golkar ruling party in Gleno, capital of Ermera regency, 65 km (40 miles) west of Dili, the East Timorese capital.

Alatas, on a three-day visit to the former Portuguese colony, told the meeting that rights violations did occur in East Timor and agreed the Indonesian government should pay attention to people's political and economic rights.

Alatas was quoted by the official Antara news agency as saying in Dili on Tuesday that settlement of the East Timor problem could only be reached by multilateral negotiations involving the United Nations.

He said a solution reached unilaterally or between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments without U.N. involvement would not be wise.

Alatas told the meeting in Gleno the East Timorese people should not fall victim to false campaigns about East Timor staged by certain groups abroad but did not elaborate.

EAST TIMOR SITUATION WILL HELP SETTLE PROBLEMS

[abridged]

Jakarta, June 15, UPI – Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Thursday that while the government needed to win the hearts and minds of East Timor residents, he knew of no single formula to end the crisis in the former Portuguese colony.

"We are still looking for such a formula," he told local media in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

He said that in order to find a solution, "the strategy of development programs should be in line with the aspirations of the local people."

He said that to succeed, such programs also needed the support of East Timorese youth. He said this was also essential to support Indonesian diplomatic efforts abroad.

On Wednesday, Alatas told East Timor residents Indonesia flatly opposed proposals by pro-independence leaders for a referendum on East Timor.

"This is impossible because it would mean that we do not appreciate all that the East Timorese did in order to integrate with Indonesia," he said.

INDONESIA SAYS EAST TIMORESE WANT FASTER SOLUTION

[abridged]

Dili, East Timor, June 15 (Reuter) – Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas ended a three-day visit to East Timor on Thursday, saying the people of the troubled territory wanted a faster solution to the hostilities surrounding its annexation in 1975.

"I am impressed by the various expressions by the East Timorese people who want the settlement of the problem regarding their territory to be accelerated in the United Nations," Alatas told a news conference.

Alatas said that during his visit as a representative of the ruling Golkar Party he had received many suggestions and planned to visit the territory more often in the future.

"The most important thing for me is we should create peaceful and secure conditions in this area, which can help the process of settlement of the East Timor problem, which has already taken up 20 years," he said.

"Indonesia is committed to the internationally accepted solution," Irawan Abidin, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, told Reuters in Jakarta.

ALATAS SEEKS EAST TIMORESE YOUTH'S SUPPORT IN DILI

Jakarta Post, June 15, 1995

DILI, East Timor (JP): Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas solicited 'constant and open support' for Indonesia's diplomatic efforts to resolve the East Timor problem from local youths yesterday.

'I expected the young people of East Timor the help me deal with the East Timor problem.' Alatas said when meeting with the local cadres of the nation's dominant political organization, Golkar a, in Ermera, yesterday.

Alatas said that a number of young people, who took part at a recent meeting on East Timor in Austria, advocated the government's development programs and explained the positive aspects of the territory's integration with Indonesia.

'Such support causes all of those lies spread by a few individuals like Ramos Horta to go unheeded because people can begin to listen to East Timor residents,' Alatas said.

East Timorese figures from Indonesia and abroad, some opposed to and some in support of the former Portuguese colony's integration into Indonesia in 1976, held a reconciliatory meeting in Austria earlier this month to seek a common perception on East Timor.

They agreed that such a meeting – which did not discuss the political status of East Timor – be held again in the future.

In response to a question posed by a local youth, Alatas said that from the Indonesian point of view, the East Timor integration problem was resolved long ago because most of the people have supported integration.

'But to foreign organizations, especially the United Nations, the problem is still there,' he said.

The UN still considers Portugal, which colonized the territory for about 450 years, the legitimate administrator of East Timor.

He added that what Indonesian government should do is to accelerate development to help East Timor catch up with the other provinces of Indonesia.

Alatas said that the East Timor problem will be resolved through trilateral talks involving Indonesia, Portugal and the UN Secretary-General.

What each party seeks at present is a solution that satisfies all three parties. But the one thing that Indonesia will flatly reject is any proposal that a referendum be held, as has been demanded by anti-integration leaders, Alatas said.

'Referendum would mean to wind back the clock. This is impossible because it would mean that we do not appreciate all that the East Timorese did in order to integrate with Indonesia,' he said.

In Jakarta, Indonesia's ambassador-at-large, overseeing the East Timorese, F.X. Lopez da Cruz, said yesterday that Indonesia has not decided on a proposal that next reconciliatory meeting be held in Dili.

The proposal was made by a number of participants at this month's reconciliatory meeting in Austria.

This possibility has yet to be discussed by Alatas and the Portuguese foreign minister. They will be meeting again in Geneva on July 8 under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali.

ALI ALATAS: WOULD RAMOS HORTA REALLY DARE TO COME TO EAST TIMOR?

Translation: Suara Timor Timur, Dili 16 June 1995, full

Create conducive situation.

Dili, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas SH, said that he doubts that Ramos Horta would dare to come to East Timor in future. He added that this is because many East Timorese know very well Horta's role at the time preceding the break out of the civil war. "I ask: would he dare to come? I don't believe he would dare to come, I doubt he would dare."

Ali Alatas said this on Thursday 15/6 during a press conference at the Mahkota Hotel, in response to a question about the possible desire of CNRM leader Ramos Horta to visit East Timor, as a sequel to the Burg Schlaining East Timor reconciliation meeting.

"He (Ramos Horta) knows very well that many people in East Timor know his role, including at the time prior to the break out of the civil war. We all know what sort of a person he is, don't we? I don't need to speak out about it. Please, just let East Timorese people do it. They know very well the calibre of several Fretilin leaders at the time," said Alatas, who was accompanied by Vice Governor J. Haribiwobo at that interview.

He then added, "Don't forget, there were 'tropas' [East Timorese in Portuguese Army-transl.] who killed so many East Timorese in Same and Aileu. There are former informers of the 'PIDE' [Portuguese colonial secret intelligence- transl.]. Everyone knew of that at the time. Now, twenty years later, everyone knows about Ramos Horta overseas, how he curses us. How he vilifies Indonesia and how he also abuses the

East Timorese, while single-handedly running an anti-Indonesia campaign. Therefore, I ask, would he dare to come here?," asked Alatas heatedly.

Alatas said, that if there should now be a request by Ramos Horta to come to visit Indonesia and East Timor, it would be necessary to know on what basis and in what context and for what purpose this visit would be. Because, if he pretends to come to see as an Inspector General "then to hell with him, to the end of time." However, continued Alatas, if he comes in another framework, in a different context, then "we could consider it, but let us not hypothesize too much in the face of existing evidence."

Conducive situation

Alatas said that the diplomatic efforts overseas to resolve the East Timor issue are closely linked to conducive conditions existing in East Timor itself. For this reason it is hoped that all sides will avoid disturbing events happening.

In reply to questions whether abuses, which often happened in East Timor at the time of his launching of intense diplomatic activity, such as the Liquiça case, affected (hit) him, Alatas said "things like that should not happen, we must avoid or prevent them so they do not happen, since they will only open us to international attention." "I was not really hit, but things like that properly need not happen," he added.

Regarding the link between the actual situation in East Timor and diplomacy, Alatas stressed that domestic developments, especially regarding East Timor, have a close link to diplomacy. The situation and developments in East Timor will always be closely synchronous with and support efforts to resolve the issue internationally.

Referring to the 700 East Timorese that have asked for political asylum in Australia, as well as the 18 boat people, Alatas said that these two events are a new symptom. Again he asked that conclusions should not be drawn on the basis of too hasty analysis and insufficiently accurate research. Alatas said that these are not usual poor people, since they could buy tickets to visit Australia as tourists. "These events bring into evidence their subjective views. They think that overseas their lives will be better. But, I wish to stress that this is their subjective view. This needs to be separated from the objective reality of whether they are really persecuted. Is it really true, as they claim, that they feel unsafe? Where is the proof?"

Time limit

As to when the East Timor issue will be resolved, Ali Alatas said that of course it was our hope that it could be resolved as soon as possible. But to determine a time

frame one-sidedly is difficult in a dispute that concerns more than one side. This is an issue that involves both Portugal and the United Nations.

Asked whether the 6th round of Tripartite meetings in Geneva next month will still deal with 'confidence building measures' Alatas stressed that it has been jointly agreed at the last meeting on 9 January 1995 that the 6th meeting will have to deal with substantive resolution matters. "The stage of examining confidence building measures is already over. If you look at the joint communiqué issued after the 9 January meeting, you see that there is a point which says that we shall examine substantial matters as proposed by the UN Secretary General if there are any, and also from both ourselves if there are any." This depends not on Portugal, but on how the Secretary General structures the meeting. More or less like that" clarified Alatas. [translators note: the original Bahasa Indonesia text is not clear].

RAMOS HORTA COMMENTS ON ALI ALATAS' DILI INTERVIEW

CNRM EAST TIMOR Media Statement, 23 June 1995

The 16 June issue of 'Suara Timor Timur,' the Dili published Indonesian newspaper, contains a front page interview with Ali Alatas, made during his recent visit to the occupied territory. As has become increasingly common lately, lacking arguments to support his untenable position of defence of the Indonesian government's disgraceful record in East Timor, Alatas attempts a sorrowful personal attack on the East Timorese Resistance's Special Representative abroad. The interview also gives valuable insights into the callousness and duplicity of the Foreign Minister's argument's, and evidences his increasing despair at continuing diplomatic failures.

Firstly Alatas tries to portray José Ramos Horta as afraid of returning to East Timor, suggesting that he may feel guilty of an imputed heinous role in the civil war, adding "we all know what sort if a person he is, don't we?" Ramos Horta is then accused by Alatas of "single-handedly running a cursing and vilifying campaign against Indonesia overseas and of abusing the East Timorese." The implied message is that Horta surely would not dare to return to East Timor to face the 'rage' of the people!

In reply to a question, Alatas does regret the occurrence of human rights abuses prevalent in East Timor since, "they open us to international attention." Presumably, if they didn't catch international attention, these human rights violations, as those in so

many Indonesian provinces, would be of little worry to the Minister.

Another remarkable statement by Alatas in this interview concerns the 18 boat people and over 700 refugees recently arrived in Australia from East Timor. For Alatas these (wealthy) people are merely seeking what they subjectively think would be a (materially) better life. No 'objective' evidence of danger to their safety in East Timor exists, according to Alatas, who seems to forget the voluminous reports on East Timor human rights violations by top level authoritative figures. Is this not an abuse of the dignity of the East Timorese? Fortunately for the Minister, he can get away with it, without danger to his personal security while in East Timor, given the more than 20,000 occupation troops his government deploys there at great cost.

CNRM Special Representative José Ramos Horta has made the following comments on these poor pronouncements by Alatas.

Ramos Horta is prepared to return to East Timor in his CNRM capacity any time. So far the reluctance to enable this to take place lies with Jakarta. Horta is not afraid of his own people. Is it not Jakarta which is afraid of the East Timorese? If Alatas and the Indonesian military are not, why then do they deploy so many troops and so obstinately refuse to hold a UN-sponsored referendum in the territory?

Because they know they will lose it!

Horta's conscience and hands are totally clean. During the civil war he was not present in East Timor. When he later returned, he spared no efforts to visit UDT prisoners and cooperated with the ICRC in providing assistance to the prisoners and the civilian population. José Ramos Horta was never a member of the radical wing of Fretilin, but was always the leader of the Social Democratic wing. In fact he was very conciliatory towards Indonesia in 1974-75, visiting Jakarta twice for meetings with the late Minister Adam Malik and General Ali Murtopo.

Denouncing the tragic situation in East Timor and exposing the genocide taking place there is not to curse or vilify Indonesia, let alone to abuse the East Timorese. It is merely to state the truth about the intolerable conduct of an oppressive regime in an illegally occupied territory. This is not a single handed effort by José Ramos Horta. East Timorese able to flee into freedom abroad, Church people, internationally renowned human rights workers and academics, to list but a few, have consistently opposed the abuses perpetrated by the Indonesian army in East Timor, and the condonement of these by short-sighted profit seeking foreign governments. Even Indonesia's own citizens are increasingly contest-

ing the authoritarian corrupt regime Mr. Alatas serves. Informed Indonesians denounce with growing strength the regime's unjustifiable adventure in East Timor, and the enormous costs in terms of loss of human life, shame, and material expenses it has brought to the Indonesian people, let alone the unjust sufferings imposed on the East Timorese. José Ramos Horta is in fact very proud of his contribution to keeping alive the East Timor issue together with courageous and principled supporters.

Rather than engaging in personal attacks, Minister Alatas, if he still has the serenity to do so in the face of continuous diplomatic setbacks, would do better to look at the root causes of the East Timor problem, and their impact on the current shameful international image Indonesia has earned itself. To improve this image, the Indonesian leadership should face the reality in East Timor. Their brutal, corrupt, and oppressive rule in the territory has earned them intense rejection by the population and widespread international condemnation among those who still adhere to principle. Jakarta's hopeless attempts at deceiving the world, increasingly through desperate bizarre personal slander will not resolve the problem, it will only destroy what little credibility Jakarta still may have left.

Alatas' rejoinder to Horta's recent Far Eastern Economic Review article ('Alatas's Albatross,' FEER 18 May 95) was another sad example. Unable to find arguments to respond to the facts presented, he could also only come up with a weak personal attack. Alatas' ridiculous statement last month, in connection with the Auckland hotel room boy sexual assault by scandalous Indonesian Tourism Minister Joop Ave, that the incident was a fabrication by those conspiring to damage Indonesia's good name, is a related example.

Alatas may be understandably unhappy with José Ramos Horta and the undeniable progress of the East Timorese struggle, but as the Foreign Minister of a government with such great pretensions as Indonesia's, better is expected from him. Isn't it time the Indonesian leadership sincerely attempted to find an honourable solution to their East Timor quagmire, ceasing the unproductive and increasingly shoddy approach, evidenced by the Suara Timor Timur interview, built on lies, slander and fabrications? Such an approach will only heap further shame on them!

TIMORESE LIVE IN POVERTY

The Jakarta Post, June 17, 1995

DILI, East Timor. About 70 percent of the 892,000 East Timorese residents still

live below the poverty line, a local official said yesterday.

'Those in absolute poverty live in isolated villages. In towns fewer people live in absolute poverty,' said Soebarjo, chief of the local office of the bureau of economic and trade statistics.

He warned that the high population growth rate would bring serious socio-economic consequences unless it is accompanied by rapid economic growth, Antara - the national news agency reported.

According to official statistics, the East Timorese population grew by 1.81 percent last year while the economy grew by 10.07 percent.

'If population growth can be decreased and the economy grows by more than 10 percent, the people's income per capita can increase to Rp 629,000 (US\$280) a year,' he said.

He added that the economy in the former Portuguese colony depends heavily on agriculture, which is the source of livelihood for many residents.

INDONESIAN MILITARY ATTACK DILI RELIGIOUS PROCESSION

CNRM EAST TIMOR Media Release, June 19, 1995

On Sunday night 18 June at 19.30 Dili time, Catholics returning home at the end of a religious procession to mark the celebration of 'Corpus Christi' were suddenly attacked by Indonesian army personnel.

To mark this important Catholic festivity, as is traditional in the East Timorese capital, an afternoon procession took place from Motael Church to Lecidere. As they prepared to return home after participating in the procession, a group of residents of the suburb of Akadiru-Hum were attacked by what appeared to be Indonesian army personnel. Banners with Catholic religious symbols were snatched from the faithful by their attackers and destroyed.

The victims of this totally unprovoked attack reacted in self defence, and confronted the Indonesians. Details of casualties or arrests are as yet unavailable.

Dili sources have said that the population has reacted with outrage at news of this new incident. It is the latest of many religious provocations that have shaken East Timor and neighbouring Indonesian islands of West Timor and Flores in recent months, causing violent clashes. These disturbances have resulted in several dead and wounded, as well as damages to buildings. Only last week, violence erupted in the town of Lantuka on Flores after a Catholic church was attacked.

For further info: Kate Khoori, CNRM Media Liaison Officer 612 368 0396;

IMPROVE TIMOR SCENE: ALATAS

Jakarta Post, June 22, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): The international solution to the East Timor problem depends to a large extent on Indonesia's ability to develop the province and to improve its human rights record there, Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas said yesterday.

'I think the key to the solution of East Timor lies in East Timor itself,' Alatas told a hearing with the House of Representatives here yesterday.

He said present conditions in the province made Indonesia vulnerable to foreign attacks regarding the country's human rights record.

East Timor was integrated into Indonesia in 1976. However, the United Nations still recognizes Lisbon as the administrative power there.

Jakarta has often been criticized over human rights abuses in East Timor. Harsh criticism followed the death of several dozen civilians at the hand of the security forces during a demonstration in Dili in November 1991.

There was further outrage earlier this year when Indonesian soldiers executed six unarmed civilians in an isolated village in the regency of Liquica. The two officers most directly involved in the killing were sentenced to jail terms on Monday and Tuesday this week.

Alatas said that such incidents made Indonesia prone to continued attacks regarding human rights and called for such abuses to be avoided in the future.

Alatas conceded that human rights violations persist, although he did not give details.

'There are things which leave us open to human rights criticism. These things exist, we have to admit it,' he said.

Other problems were highlighted as the minister touched upon the military's response to demonstrations by East Timorese youth.

'Our security apparatus, to be honest, sometimes reacts excessively,' Alatas said.

Alatas said that the solution to the problem lay in the province's development and the overall effort to eliminate cases which made possible continued allegations of human rights abuses.

He expressed a wish for the emergence of a situation in which 'anytime someone wants to visit at East Timor we can just let them.'

'If that is accomplished, not a single country, including Portugal, will be able to get other countries to keep making an issue out of East Timor,' he said.

Obstacles

Speaking on other obstacles to a solution to the East Timor problem, Alatas accused Portugal of prolonging the controversy.

'If Portugal still refuses to settle the matter, then we can't clap with just one hand,' he said.

He suggested that the problem, at the Portuguese end, resulted from domestic discord regarding the best solution to the dispute.

'Their position continues to drift,' he said, while noting that Portugal's election in October could result in a new stance in Lisbon.

Alatas lamented Lisbon's persistence, along with that of other anti-integrationists, in fueling the controversy by raising the issue in international forums and accused them of inciting demonstrations in the province.

'Through facsimiles, telephones and other means we know those kids who demonstrate (in East Timor) are given instructions enticed with many things,' he said.

Alatas spoke of the recent All-Inclusive Intra East Timor Dialog, admitting that, although the meeting's results should not be judged in terms of winning or losing, Indonesia had been taken slightly off-guard.

'There are one or two things which should not have been put in,' he said in reference to the Dialog's final declaration.

With the facilitation of the UN, a meeting between pro- and anti-integration East Timorese was held in Austria recently.

The meeting was meant to reconcile the opposing factions and create a conducive climate for the on-going bilateral talks between Portugal and Indonesia under the aegis of the UN General Secretary.

Alatas pointed to paragraph six of the declaration which alluded to UN Resolution 37/30 as the basis of the bilateral talks, a Resolution which Indonesia has rejected and was not, he said, the basis of talks.

Although the legal and practical implications were minimal, Alatas said, there might be political repercussions.

Meanwhile, legislator Aisyah Amini of the United Development Party expressed her disapproval yesterday of a continuation of the Dialog.

She said that the purpose of the Dialog had been to allow East Timorese to gain firsthand knowledge of each other's opinions and that this had now been accomplished.

She asked that her view be officially noted during yesterday's hearing with Alatas.

RECENT ARRESTS AND OTHER INCIDENTS IN EAST TIMOR

TAPOL Report [This information comes from a protected source and is dated 20 June 1995.]

A. AINARO

The following people were taken into custody after the capture by SGI-Ainaro (army intelligence) of a guerrilla named Nunura in Dare, Ainaro on 16 May 1995:

1. Raul da Cruz Tilman, 31 years, a native of Dare, a civil servant in the finance department. His present whereabouts are unknown. The army has claimed that he had fled to the bush with about 18 million rupiahs.
2. Joaquim, 23 years, also a civil servant from Dare; it is feared that he may have been liquidated.
3. Augusto Pereira, 23 years, also from Dare, a civil servant, was taken into custody by the local military command, Koramil on 20 May, 1995, is now a detainee and is being tortured in Hatubuilico -Ainaro.

B. VIQUEQUE

After an attack on an Indonesian army post in Olobai by Assuwain/Falintil guerrillas, when five firearms were captured, the army took several civilians from the local population prisoner without any evidence (that they were involved):

1. Gaspar Amaral, 50 years, a farmer, a married man from Monumento.
2. Antonio Guterres, 48 years, married, a farmer, also from Monumento.
3. Pedro Correia, 40 years, married, a farmer, also from Monumento.
4. Jacinto, a Timorese soldier, with five colleagues who were at the army post that was attacked, have all been imprisoned in Viqueque. They are being held in isolation even from their wives and children, and are due to face a military tribunal.
5. The population of Nae-boruk/Monumento are feeling very threatened at present.

BAUCAU

1. A guerrilla named Cipriano, 29 years, was wounded during combat on the slopes of Matebian on 28 April 1995. He was captured and is now being held at the military hospital in Dili.

2. Isilde Guterres, 19 years, who is a cripple, says that when she was 16 years old, in 1992, she was raped by an SGI officer and became pregnant. She has now been abandoned with her two-year old child. She was born in Daracula - Gariwai.
3. Information about the massacre that occurred on 1 January this year is still hard to get.

D. MANATUTO

On 11 May 1995, a guerrilla named Kuri (Lequidaem Soares), 35 years, from Manatuto, was captured with his wife, Rosa, a native of Uatolari, who was eight months pregnant. The wife has been returned to her family in Manatuto. The husband is now being used by the army for military duties.

THE "AUTONOMY" QUESTION

HOME MINISTER RULES OUT SPECIAL STATUS

(abridged)

JAKARTA, March 17 (AFP) - Indonesian Home Minister Yogi Suardi Memed has ruled out any prospect of according a special status to the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, Antara said Friday.

"The government will not turn East Timor into a special territory," the official news agency quoted Memed as telling a parliamentary commission here on Thursday.

The government would continue to develop East Timor intensively but this did not necessarily mean that the territory, annexed by Indonesia in 1976, warranted a special status, Memed said.

Several leading East Timorese figures, including the Jakarta-appointed governor, Mario Osorio Abilio Soares, and Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, have called for East Timor to be granted a special status or a degree of autonomy.

Indonesia currently has three special territories: the province of Aceh in northern Sumatra, the capital Jakarta and the town of Yogyakarta in central Java. The special status however, does not bring any special privileges, and is considered more as official recognition for their role in the war of independence.

SPECIAL STATUS FOR ET ?

Bona, April 3 (LUSA) - Ali Alatas told Associated Press today that president Su-

harto is considering the possibility of granting ET the statute of "special province," which would amount to greater autonomy. Alatas warned, however, that this would not constitute a step towards full autonomy or independence of ET. According to Alatas, the Indonesian government plans also to transfer more economic resources to ET, and to create education opportunities for the Timorese.

[An earlier report said that the German president brought up the ET issue with Suharto]

Comment from Paul Salim

Regarding a "special status" for ET, last year someone in Indozone brought up the same news. But within few days, there was news from Jakarta that President Suharto himself overruled that possibility. So, IMHO, as long as Suharto is in power, the status of ET will hardly change. This is because Suharto is very stubborn (in Indonesian, "kepala batu").

Comment from John MacDougall

I agree with Paul Salim's comment re Soeharto's 'kepala batu' on East Timor issues. He uses the East Timor issue for his own domestic ends these days as from the start. I'd add that the Army is **institutionally** (as distinct from the view of some military intellectuals and a few field commanders) even more stubborn on East Timor issues. 'Kepala baju' maybe. All the enthusiasm of the VI Days of Timor in Portugal should not yield any 'false consciousness' of any significant change on the ground in East Timor or in its legal status inside or outside Indonesia. I have yet to read any convincing analysis which sketches a scenario by which Suharto and the Army (even when at odds) will 'move' significantly for the better in East Timor. I'd even be willing to concede that both **know** their policies in East Timor have failed. But Indonesia is strewn with failed policies which never get fixed. Failure in East Timor just seems to lead to some new ploys and more old tricks. The Army's doctrine dictates that it 'never surrenders.' Nor does Suharto, now transformed oddly by many years of rule into a too shrewd kind of 'military intellectual,' bend on basics, even if he cannot get his way totally any more. As I've said more than metaphorically too many times, friends, the war in East Timor is really in Jakarta, as is the 'war for Indonesia' itself. Portugal and the U.N. are not the front lines. Nor is East Timor itself right now, even as bitterness and tension grow there. If 'battles' are not conducted mainly where the 'main forces' are concentrated, all manner of strategies and tactics become irrelevant at

best and counter-productive at worst. And these wars will, as a result, never be won.

John MacDougall apakabar@clark.net

Roque Rodriguez on "special status"

Lisbon, April 4 (LUSA) - The Timorese resistance representative to Portugal, Roque Rodrigues, said today that an alteration by Indonesia of ET's status is a strategem to deceive public opinion. In a communiqué, Rodrigues stated that it is the Timorese people themselves who alone are entitled to decide the status of the territory, through a legitimate referendum that is supervised by the UN, not the dictator of the power that occupies the territory illegally. Rodrigues asserted that the concept of "special status" is meaningless under an authoritarian system as highly centralized as Suharto's Indonesia. A proof of that, he added, is the "special territory" of Aceh.

Suharto's declarations are, however, to Roque Rodrigues, "very interesting to the extent that they reveal the degree of despair to which Jakarta is being led by the increasing international pressure demanding a change in its policies regarding East Timor." "Until now," he added, "Indonesia had always affirmed that ET was a strictly internal issue, entirely outside the competence of the international community." Rodrigues noted also that the fact that the issue of ET's status is being addressed in Germany rather than in Jakarta shows that there is no true intent for real change, and makes it clear that once again Jakarta is looking to deceive international public opinion rather than seeking an effective solution for ET's problem.

SUHARTO 'MOVEMENT' ON TIMOR?

Bona, April 3 (LUSA) - Ali Alatas told Associated Press today that president Suharto is considering the possibility of granting ET the statute of "special province," which would amount to greater autonomy. Alatas warned, however, that this would not constitute a step towards full autonomy or independence of ET. According to Alatas, the Indonesian government plans also to transfer more economic resources to ET, and to create education opportunities for the Timorese.

[An earlier report said that the German president brought up the ET issue with Suharto]

EAST TIMOR - SUHARTO PROPOSES SPECIAL STATUS

Jornal de Noticias, 4 April 1995. Translated from Portuguese Abridged

Lisbon - According to the Indonesian Foreign Minister, the President of the Republic of Indonesia is considering the idea of conceding East Timor special province status, which would be equivalent to giving the territory a greater degree of autonomy.

Ali Alatas, speaking to Associated Press, warned, however, that concession of such status to East Timor would not represent a step towards full autonomy or independence.

Alatas, accompanying President Suharto on a visit to Germany, also said that Indonesia intends to transfer greater economic resources to East Timor and to create education opportunities for the Timorese.

Suharto visited Germany to open the Hanover Industrial Fair, at which Indonesia is guest of honour this year, and to secure foreign investment for his country. However, his presence there gave rise to protests about the violations of human rights in East Timor and Indonesia itself.

INDONESIA'S SUHARTO INCREASES AUTONOMY FOR SOME DISTRICTS

April 15, 1995, Reuter

Jakarta - President Suharto on Tuesday declared more autonomy for 26 Indonesian districts, including one in troubled East Timor, adding that greater autonomy would not cause disintegration of the sprawling archipelago.

"The national spirit and the people's awareness of democracy has been examined...so giving greater autonomy to districts will not create risks of national disintegration," Suharto in a speech to district officials.

The move will give district officials more authority in administrative matters that previously needed approval from Jakarta and is expected to give a boost to economic development in the area.

Interior Minister Yogie Memet said it would give officials more room to manage and develop the districts.

"However, matters of defence and security, justice, finance and foreign policy will still be under the head government in the districts," Yogie said.

The 26 districts are scattered throughout Indonesia and include Aileu in East Timor.

'AUTONOMY' FOR TIMOR DISTRICT

From the Indonesian Embassy in the UK, May 5.

Some further details on this plan, from the newsletter of the Indonesian Embassy in London - The 26 districts include Aileu in East Timor and Sorong in Irian Jaya. The areas of responsibility handed over to the 26 regions include health, fisheries, education and culture, public works, animal husbandry, home industries, public housing, land transport and tourism.

Comment: It seems to me that, despite the word "autonomy," this is more of a negative move than a positive one, at least in East Timor. The regions are headed by Jakarta-appointed Indonesians, who are not accountable to the Timorese governor. One student activist I spoke to recently singled out the regional administrators as a particularly hostile part of the governing structure; so putting more authority into their hands, and allowing them to further circumvent the governor (who is, though largely pro-Indonesian, occasionally willing to make critical comments), is really a step backwards. -Maggie Helwig

EAST TIMOR: THE CASE FOR INTEGRATION

The Month magazine of MAY 95, excerpt. By Thomas Michel, Executive Secretary of the Asian Bishops' Conference, Bangkok, Thailand

East Timor has been very much in the news in the past year. The vast majority of reports focus on incidents of conflicts between East Timorese people and Indonesian authorities, and most are written from a particular point of view, either that of condemning human rights abuses, of challenging Indonesian sovereignty over the region or both. This overwhelming mass of information, however, is subject to the criticism of being ONE-SIDED.

The prevailing view in the international media and among human rights oriented NGOs, repeated almost unanimously in news and analyses, and even among some politicians and heads of state, is that Indonesia is the illegal invader of East Timor, the perpetrator of genocide of East Timorese people, and the main, if not sole obstacle to the establishment of an independent state desired by virtually all Timorese. East Timorese are seen to be ethnically, culturally, racially, and religiously different from Indonesians, with four hundred years of distinct history and social evolution. FRETILIN and its military wing are regarded as Che Guevara-type guerrillas, ideal-

istically carrying on their lonely nationalist struggle against the Indonesian juggernaut.

Thus, the politically correct position today advocates an immediate Indonesian withdrawal from the region or, at least, acquiescence to the results of an immediate internationally/supervised referendum, which critics of integration expect to favour East Timorese independence.

UNFORTUNATELY, MOST OF THE ASSUMPTIONS ON WHICH THE ACCEPTED WISDOM IS BASED ARE SUBJECT TO DEBATE, OR AT LEAST TO SERIOUS QUALIFICATION.

In 1974, at the time of the decisive events in East Timor, I was living in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, where I taught Islamic Studies at the Catholic seminary. In subsequent years I had many occasions to discuss the various aspects of the integration question with numerous East Timorese students studying in the city, with Indonesian priests and sisters who were working in East Timor, and with Indonesian civil servants and ordinary soldiers who had served in East Timor.

The immediate occasion of this article is a week-long visit I paid to East Timor the first week of December, 1994.

A Portuguese colony

Political changes in Portugal in April, 1974, resulted in rapid decolonisation processes in its African colonies as well as in East Timor. Almost immediately, the Portuguese governor gave East Timorese the right to form and join political parties and by May, 1974, three main parties and two smaller ones were formed. However, after having been so long excluded from the political process, people's party allegiance led to rivalry and violence and the situation quickly devolved into civil war. The night of 27 August, in an atmosphere that presaged the American departure from Saigon a year later, the whole colonial government, together with virtually all Portuguese, mixed-blood Timorese and Chinese who could find a boat, fled to the nearby island of Atauro, thence to Australia and Portugal. The number of refugees quickly reached 50,000.

The Timorese Democratic Union {UDT} seized power and were opposed by FRETILIN. Massacres and counter-reprisals multiplied, as the mass graves of FRETILIN victims in Aileu and the remembrances of survivors of forced marches and death squads still testify. Due to their superiority in arms seized from departing Portuguese and massive support from the communist world, FRETILIN gradually prevailed in the conflict and on 28 November declared the independence of East Timor from Portugal.

NOTE: 1. José Ramos Horta who was the so-called foreign minister of FRETILIN

always rejected the history that FRETILIN declared independence unilaterally, after having won a bloody civil war and killing many people, and never ask the opinion of East Timorese through any kind of referendum. 2. The Black Cross Cemetery in East Timor is the living witness of the atrocities perpetrated by Ramos Horta's FRETILIN.

The capture of Xanana Gusmão, in 1992, by Indonesian troops destroyed FALANTIL, the armed wing of FRETILIN, as an effective military force.

Development Programmes.

Even the harshest critics of integration acknowledge the impressive efforts that Indonesia has made to the development of East Timor. The province is divided into 13 districts, 62 sub-districts, 442 villages and the city of Dili.

In the matter of education, elementary schools have been built in every village, at least one middle school in each sub-district, and high school in each district. In 1994, over 104,000 East Timorese elementary students studied in 612 schools, 24,000 middle schools students in 97 schools, and 17,000 high school students in 48 high schools. Over 6,900 teachers are employed in the state-funded school system. Since 1991, the privately-funded University of East Timor, whose founding and present rector are both Indonesian Jesuit educators, with a teaching staff of 76, offers, for the first time, university education within the region.

What has been done in the field of health is equally impressive. Ten state-funded hospitals have been built. Each of East Timor's 62 sub-districts has its own Public Health centre, while 285 village dispensaries double as locations for public health programmes.

Growth of the Church

The few references already made to the Catholic Church point up an important aspect of modern East Timorese life. In the eighteen years since integration with Indonesia, the Catholic Church in East Timor has grown more quickly than ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD. From embracing less than a third of the population in 1974, the Catholic Church today include more than 92% of the inhabitants of East Timor. The following figures reveal the AMAZING GROWTH which has taken place since the establishment of the Diocese of Dili in 1940.

year	population	Catholics	% of total
colonial period			
1940	398,000	29,889	8.0
1960	517,019	96,332	20.0
1964	556,857	112,167	24.7
1972	674,550	187,540	27.8

since integration

1985	624,328	515,107	78.8
1990	721,000	600,000	82.0
1994	783,086	722,789	92.3

Attitude of the authorities

In the years since integration, Indonesian authorities seem to be bending over backwards to accommodate the religious choice of East Timorese. As mentioned, development programmes are often carried out through Church leaders. Catholics are given priority in transmigration programmes. Clergy, sisters, and catechists receive government salaries for teaching in schools. At the Santo Yoseph High School in Dili, for example, of 31 teachers, 23 receive full stipend from the Indonesian government.

The role of the Church in East Timor is not easy. As spokesman for the people of his diocese, Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo has tirelessly expressed the grievances and complaints of East Timorese concerning violations of human rights, extrajudicial proceedings and stressed the need to defend and promote the cultural identity of East Timorese. On the other hand, he has tried to put incidents in perspective and oppose EXTREMIST REACTIONS. His pastoral letter for Advent 1994 took as its starting point the highly publicized civil disorders that followed the murder of an East Timorese merchant on 12 November by a trader from Sulawesi. HE ENTREATED THE YOUTH OF THE DIOCESE NOT TO BE TAKEN IN BY THE PROVOCATION OF IRRESPONSIBLE PERSONS WHO DO NOT WANT EAST TIMORESE TO LIVE IN SECURITY AND PEACE.

This pastoral balance has led to the bishop being attacked by militant nationalists FOR NOT SUPPORTING ANTI-INTEGRATION MOVEMENTS.

NOTE: CNRM \Ramos Horta never brought the international attention to this pastoral note for obvious reasons. Instead they relentlessly quacked that the incident was of political in nature.

Islamisation

One of the most frequent accusations heard outside Indonesia is that the Indonesian state, with its large Muslim majority, is attempting to Islamise East Timor. The latest independent statistics show the religious make-up of East Timor today:

Catholics	722,789	92.3%
Protestants	28,486	3.7%
Muslims	24,124	3.1%
Hindus	4,794	0.6%
Buddhists	2,312	0.3%

The Indonesian state has a number of regulations (1965, 1969, 1978, 1981) which prohibit the proselytising of those who

already have religion and the erection of religious structures in areas dominated by a different religious community. These regulations actually work against Islam and in favour of the Catholic Church in East Timor. Official instructions from the Ministry of Religious Affairs urge Muslims, Protestants, and other minorities to restrain themselves in the predominantly Catholic region.

One must not view East Timor as a tinderbox of religious antagonism about to explode. Yose Nolasco Montero, a Goan priest of the Diocese of Dili, who has worked in East Timor over forty years and who remained in the city throughout its most turbulent periods, stresses that day-to-day relations among Timorese of various religions are very good, better, he feels, THAN ELSEWHERE IN INDONESIA.

Dialogue and reconciliation

It is said that almost every family has at least one member killed either by FRETILIN or by Indonesian armed forces. The present governor, Abilio José Osorio Soares, whose father was murdered by FRETILIN, insists that divisions among the populace at the time of the civil war still affect the ways East Timorese relate to one another.

Foreign press reports frequently report that the vast majority of East Timorese are opposed to integration. The truth would appear to be much more complex and elusive. The silent majority would appear to be ideologically indifferent and their sentiments quite fluid and responsive to circumstances. When there are incidents and preemptory arrests, emotions turn towards the negative. When they benefit from better education for their children or are cured by Indonesian doctors, they look more positively towards integration.

Looking to the future

Indonesia has done much to make its rule acceptable to East Timorese. It has done far more than many other countries in the world have done in analogous situations. But the fact that East Timorese still react strongly to what are often trivial incidents reflects a general feeling among them of being treated as a conquered people. This indicates that perhaps Indonesia could still take further positive measures to carry forward the process of integration.

COMMENT FROM PAULO TEIXEIRA:

There's nothing new in this article. Its a known fact that FRETILIN and UDT engaged in a bloody civil war. The statistics show a growth of the catholic church and other well known stats, but fails to mention population growth, which a few years after

the Indonesian invasion was on the negative side in the order of 200,000. Also fails to mention the Santa Cruz massacre and known human rights abuses by the Indonesian authorities. The whole article has all the characteristics of another piece of Indonesian government propaganda.

COMMENT FROM BRUNO KAHN –

An immediate question comes to mind by reading this article (besides the several points which would demand an answer). The author gives two statistics: one on the growth of the Catholic Church, the other, called 'independent,' on the religious make-up of East Timor today. He does not give his sources, however. Is there a way to find their origins? The second statistic is not innocent: it looks in contradiction with the estimated 100,000 - 200,000 Indonesian migrants present in the territory, a large number of whom would be (Muslim) Bugis.

LIQUICA KILLINGS REVERBERATE

CIVIL SERVANTS IN LIQUICA FACE DISMISSAL

Republika, 6 March 1995. Abridged

Dili – Twenty-three civil servants in Liquica are possibly going to be sacked on suspicion of being supporters of Fretilin, governor Abilio Osorio Soares told reporters. The news comes after the discovery that the Fretilin underground had established a presence within the government administration, making use of available facilities.

The measures taken will depend on the extent of their involvement, said Soares.

He said they wouldn't be moved to different posts because then they could continue with their activities. They will be dismissed.

It has become apparent that the Fretilin forces have extensive links within the community in the area, having been able to keep their links quiet and unknown to the security forces. But after the shooting dead of six people, the support for Fretilin became known to the authorities.

One of the supporters named Gregorio dos Santos, 40, who works in the public works department, has admitted to having given logistical support to the opposition, in the form of medicines, information and other things to be conveyed to the bush

MAJ. GEN. ADANG SPEAKS HIS MIND

Forum Keadilan, 16 March. Translated and extracted by TAPOL.

[The following extracts are taken from a frank five-page interview of Major-General Adang Ruchiatna, commander of the IX/Udayana regional military command based in Bali, whose territory includes East Timor. – Tapol]

FK: Were the troops under instructions to shoot guerrillas [in Liquica]?

A: There was no need for instructions. It's routine. When anyone resists, we shoot. But if someone doesn't resist, they won't be shot. You should understand where all the negative reports come from. They come from the priests. They're the ones who tell people to oppose the government. They use the church network. That's why religious leaders won't suspect anything. When they get reports like that [that the six victims were civilians, ed] they believe them. I know what they're playing at very well. I've been here since I was a captain and I know it all.

FK: What's the latest figure of the strength of the GPK?

A: About 180 people. Only 110 are armed.

FK: What about the strength of the clandestine?

A: They are not just here. There are many of them in Surabaya, Malang, Jakarta. Who is it who usually demonstrates? Wherever there are East Timorese students there will be demonstrations. We are dealing with them. One of the tasks of the clandestine is to create issues.. Their latest issue is the ninjas.

FK: Since the 12 November 1991 incident, their actions have increased.

A: Yes, because they get encouragement. From world opinion. The proper way for the church would be to work for peace. ABRI wants everything to be resolved peacefully as quickly as possible. The local government wants to build roads. But there are forces that don't want any of this to happen.

FK: What is the way to overcome the disturbances here?

A: If I get more troops, I'll sort everything out.

FK: But their armed forces are small so why do you need more troops?

A: You shouldn't think like that. It's the clandestine that we have to cope with. They're roaming everywhere in the towns. If I were to arrest them all, I can tell you, many people would be rounded up. Forty

soldiers are enough to deal with the ones who are under arms.

FK: Do you need more territorial troops or combat troops?

A: Both, and more police as well.

FK: With too many troops, people are afraid...

A: Yes, if you follow their way of thinking. If there aren't many of us, they will have freedom of movement. Is that what you want? They are deliberately blowing that up abroad. But it's like this everywhere. It's the same for the US; if they want to get control of a situation, they bring in more troops.

FK: Timorese society is facing many social problems, economic disparities, jobs. All this spills over into the anti-integration movement.

A: In East Timor, if a fight breaks out between a Buginese and a local, it becomes a big issue. Things like that are happening all the time in Java. Why doesn't it become a big issue there like it does here? Here, if a Muslim goes to church, there's a lot of fuss. Things like that are quite normal in Java. Why? Because here, the slightest thing is blown up by the GPK [the regime's term for the resistance] and taken to the UN. We can't resolve the problem as long as the question isn't finished at the UN. The key is the UN. Things here will go on like this as long as the question is still unresolved at the UN. Once the UN stops dealing with this, the movement will stop. At the most everything will stop in three months because they'd no longer have anything to hope for.

FK: How is it possible to uphold the law here?

A: It isn't easy. For a start, the bishop isn't under the government but under the Vatican. If the UN were to say the whole thing is finished and the bishop came under Semarang [headquarters of the Indonesian Catholic church, ed], that would be the end of it. There would be no more problems with the bishop.

The bishop shouldn't be dealing with political affairs; he's been warned several times by the Vatican ambassador. He wants to be like Cardinal Sin in the Philippines.

TRUTH OR CONSEQUENCES: COMMISSION TREADS SOFTLY ON TIMOR KILLINGS

Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 March 1995. By Margot Cohen in Jakarta

The clock was ticking towards midnight, and the members of Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights were still cloistered behind closed doors, debating what public position they would take on the killings in Liquiça, East Timor. They knew their findings would represent a major test of their credibility and independence. Yet the commission, created less than two years ago, also wished to adhere to its professed belief "in the power of persuasion and education without confrontation."

Finally, they hammered out a statement, saying they regretted that Indonesian soldiers had carried out "unlawful killings" of civilians. They disclosed few details, however, of the January 12 incident. Both the content and omissions speak volumes about the dynamics of human-rights advocacy in Indonesia.

Here's what the commissioners didn't reveal at their March 1 press conference: According to witnesses interviewed by the commission, soldiers lined up five unarmed Timorese civilians in a ditch and executed them. A sixth unarmed civilian was tortured and killed separately, his body left sprawled nearby. After untying the ropes that bound the victims' hands behind their backs, the soldiers marched back to headquarters. The corpses were found with bullet holes in the head and the neck.

These findings, obtained by the REVIEW from commission members, starkly contradict the story told by the platoon leader, First Lieut. Jeremias Kase. He reported to his superiors that two of the Timorese were Fretilin rebels killed in an armed clash with soldiers, while the four others were clandestine organizers killed by soldiers when they attempted to flee the scene of conflict. Critical elements of Kase's version were refuted by witnesses from his own platoon, according to commission sources.

However, in the course of their marathon debate, some commissioners argued that it would be counter-productive to immediately release such graphic details to the public. After all, the military had provided commissioners ample cooperation during their two fact-finding missions to East Timor. Top brass had already admitted to a "violation of procedures." And the new army chief of staff, Gen. Hartono, had just announced the formation of a high-level, 36-member mili-

tary board to determine the extent of wrongdoing. So, ultimately, the human-rights commission opted for a more general statement – one that would affirm its independence, yet avoid the impression of boxing the military into a corner.

In a soft, rasping voice, former Supreme Court Justice Ali Said announced on March 1 that the commission "deeply regrets the incident that occurred on January 12, 1995, which in its essence is a grave violation of human rights." More explicitly, the commission held that the platoon engaged in intimidation and torture in order to extract confessions of rebel activity, and subsequently carried out "unlawful killings."

The commission deliberately refrained from making any judgment on whether the victims were sympathetic to the rebel cause. The bottom line, as stated at the press conference by the visibly weary commission vice-chairman, Marzuki Darusman, was that the six victims were clearly unarmed civilians. This point was particularly significant for those familiar with the insurgency in East Timor.

"This should be a lesson," says Salvador Ximenes Soares, a ruling Golkar party parliamentarian from East Timor. "Don't assume that they are GPK [Fretilin rebels], just because they provided food to someone who may have pointed a gun at them."

The compromise statement went a long way towards dispelling the public skepticism that surrounded the 25-member commission when it was first established by presidential decree in June 1993. For a variety of observers – from human-rights activists, politicians and diplomats to ordinary Indonesians and Timorese – the commission demonstrated its bravery by deviating from the military line.

However, the commission's statement was carefully crafted to stop short of entirely alienating the army. The planned raid on a suspected rebel lair was termed a "legitimate military operation." (By all accounts, the platoon set off under written orders, acting on a tip alleging rebel activity in the area.) The statement also acknowledged the "complex situation and conditions" facing the army in carrying out its duties in East Timor, which was annexed by Indonesia in 1976. And it concluded with the commission's "appreciation" for the military leadership's swift action in trying to resolve the problem.

For all the commission's delicate manoeuvring, it never answered the question of what happened in Liquiça. The statement's vague reference to "armed conflict that resulted in death" threw reporters for a loop. Vice-Chairman Marzuki responded by promising public release of the full details of

the commission's final report, which will be relayed to government and military officials.

However, some commissioners privately question how detailed that final report will be, given continuing differences of opinion over the political risks involved. The commission has a track record of working mostly behind the scenes to improve the human-rights climate, rather than issuing transparent chronologies or employing other measures that could force confrontation with authorities. And in this case, commissioners express strong concern for the safety of witnesses.

The army has not hesitated to destroy physical evidence. Military officials acknowledge that shortly after Kase's platoon marched back to headquarters, soldiers returned to the hamlet of Pavo in the village of Letolah in Liquiça regency and burned down the shack that was the scene of armed conflict during the raid. During the commission's two fact-finding missions, a key discrepancy emerged over the number of doors in this shack.

On the afternoon of January 12, just one soldier on the raiding team was dispatched to check the shack. According to Kase, after the soldier entered the shack, three Fretilin rebels ran out through three different doors. Kase says that two of these running rebels were shot by the platoon. However, according to other witnesses, there was only one door in the house, and only one Fretilin rebel ran out – escaping the area after shooting and stabbing the soldier, who did not have the chance to shoot back.

Failing to kill or capture any armed rebels during this operation, the soldiers then executed the six civilians, witnesses told the commission. Four had been dragged along by the platoon for a neighbouring hamlet, and two came on the scene in Pavo. Two other Timorese who accompanied the troops – probably as scouts – survived unscathed.

Aside from the matter of issuing a detailed chronology, commission members disagreed over the key question of forensic evidence. Some commissioners believed that their investigation would be considerably strengthened by exhuming the bodies. Others felt that the commission did not have the legal mandate to request autopsies. (A Foreign Ministry spokesman told the REVIEW on February 21 that the six bodies had been exhumed, but in fact, the forensic expert on call in Jakarta was never dispatched.)

Is the evidence sufficient? In light of a coming visit by United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso, President Suharto's government may very well decide to proceed with a forensic examination in Liquiça. In his critical November 1994 report on the 1991 massacre in Dili, East Timor, UN Special Rapporteur

Waly Ndiaye said that the Indonesian authorities "should have carried out full exhumations of known graves, performed proper autopsies and examined ballistic evidence."

Back in November, Ndiaye also slammed Indonesia's human-rights commission for failing to investigate reported violations in East Timor. That, at least, is no longer the case. Ironically, increasing public confidence in the commission could prove a burden in disguise. Commissioners already face a backlog of more than 1,000 cases, with two or three delegations arriving on their doorstep daily with new complaints.

RUMOURED DISMISSAL OF 5 OFFICERS OVER LIQUICA

The Australian, Wed. March 15 1995. By Patrick Walters in Dili - abridged

At least 5 military officers would be dismissed over the Liquica killings, a military officer said in Dili yesterday. Speaking on condition of anonymity, the officer said that the dismissals were recommended by an Officers Honorary Council. He said that they would be officially announced after approval by armed forces commander, General Faisal Tanjung, who is accompanying President Suharto on a foreign trip.

Armed forces spokesman, Maj. Gen. Syarwan Hamid said that he could not confirm the report. But General Tanjung has said that he would 'firmly punish' soldiers found guilty of the killings. The Indonesian Human Rights Commission had earlier accused soldiers of torturing & killing 6 East Timorese civilians. It said they died of 'illegal shooting.'

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Patrick Walters also reports that the Australian Ambassador, Mr. Allan Taylor, had a two hour meeting with Colonel Kiki Syanakri at the end of his 5 day visit to East Timor. He told Col. Syahnakri that Jakarta should consider reducing troop numbers and examine ways for some measure of political autonomy. He also raised concerns about the continued detention of people arrested after last November's disturbances as well as in the wake of the 'ninja' disturbances in Dili.

Col. Syahnakri said that the Indonesian army planned to reduce the number of troops from the current level of 8 battalions. Jakarta sources estimate the total armed forces level (including police & irregular units) as around 17,400. Col. S. acknowledged that ABRI needed to improve its performance in all spheres, including the application of the law and human rights and in its overall approach to East Timor's distinct culture.

Mr. Taylor said 'I put the line that the military presence was one of the factors creating opposition from young East Timorese in particular. It was certainly a factor affecting the lives of people in all parts of the province we visited.'

Mr. Taylor also met Bishop Belo.

[comment: Indonesian battalions are often put at about 600-700 personnel]

MILITARY HONOUR COUNCIL VERDICT ON LIQUICA KILLINGS

'Frustrated officer shot Timorese'

'The Australian,' April 4 1995 - Patrick Walters, Jakarta

The Indonesian Army's military honour council has determined that six East Timorese killed in the province in January were shot by Indonesian soldiers.

The army commander, General R Hartono, said yesterday that two army officers would be disciplined, possibly court-martialled, following the army's investigation into the Liquica shootings on Jan 12th.

Delivering the findings of the 36-man council, General Hartono said an 'angry and frustrated' first lieutenant had ordered the shootings. He also admitted that procedural violations and mistreatment of prisoners had occurred.

'It is true that the six said people died because they were shot by the Parkit patrol team at the order of the team's commandant, Jeremias Kase,' General Hartono said.

One of the six had been shot during a shoot-out before the other five East Timorese were executed on Lt. Kase's orders.

'Emotion .. as a single human being he could not control his emotion. He couldn't handle the situation and he shot the remaining five people.'

Lt. Kase, sensing his own guilt, had then led his patrol to the nearby village of Pavo and asked the villagers to bury the dead.

The army's investigative team alleged that all six were associated with the Fretilin resistance movement.

Last month Indonesia's Human Rights Commission reached a similar conclusion to the army council. It concluded that the six were tortured by Indonesian troops and shot unlawfully.

INDONESIAN ARMY CHIEF WARNS OF SECURITY THREATS

Reuter, 6 April 1995. Abridged

Jakarta – Indonesia's army chief, General Hartono, has warned regional commanders of broader security threats after the killing of six people in Liquica, East Timor, who the army say were supporters of the armed resistance.

Hartono told the commanders that clandestine elements presented a subtle but dangerous threat to stability, not only in East Timor.

"They may be state or private employees, but they are actually troublemakers. The clandestine movement is not a small problem but must have our serious attention," he told officers in Magelang on Wednesday.

Jakarta Post quoted Hartono as asking commanders to submit lists of leaders of any clandestine movement in their area, adding that the Liquica incident served as a reminder that such movements required close surveillance. "This is necessary because clandestine actions such as those occurring in East Timor are more dangerous than normal rebel activity," the Post quoted Hartono as saying

INDONESIA COURT- MARTIALING TWO SOLDIERS

JAKARTA, May 29 (UPI) – Two Indonesian soldiers will go before a military tribunal in early June for allegedly killing six East Timorese in January, an incident that drew international criticism, the official Antara news agency reported Monday.

Maj. Gen. Adang Ruchiatna, chief of the Bali-based Udayana military command, identified the two as 1st Lt. Jeremias Kasse and Pfc. Rusdin Maubere.

The two are members of the military district of Liquica, about 21 miles (35 km) southwest of Dili, capital of East Timor, Ruchiatna said. They will be court-martialed in Denpasar's military tribunal on the island of Bali.

An investigation by the army honorary officers council into the January shooting announced on April 3 said that the two are partly responsible for the deaths of six East Timorese in Liquica on Jan. 12.

After a week-long probe into the January killings, the Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights concluded on March 1 that the civilians died in "illegal shootings" and that soldiers had intimidated and tortured them to obtain confessions of involvement in anti-Indonesian activities.

Military officials insisted the six were supports of the East Timor Fretilin armed guerrilla movement – a group fighting for independence for the former Portuguese colony, which was annexed by Indonesia nearly 20 years ago.

The June 2 military tribunal of the two would coincided with the first U.N.-sponsored "All-Timorese meeting" in Austria that scheduled until June 6.

TWO OFFICERS FACE COURT MARTIALS

3 June 1995. Abridged

Denpasar, Bali, AP – A second soldier has gone on trial on charges of killing six unarmed East Timorese civilians in Liquica.

Rudin Maubere is a private of East Timorese origin. He is accused of mistakenly interpreting the command of his commander as being an order to kill.

His commanding officer, first lieutenant Jeremias Kasse, also went on trial Friday on charges of deviating from army procedures by ordering his troops to kill the six East Timorese. There was no explanation for the differences in interpretation of Kasse's orders in the two trials.

Kasse was leading a team searching for rebel leading Antonio Alves who had escaped after allegedly stabbing and wounding one of Kasse's men. After the stabbing, Kasse then ordered Maubere to 'finalise' [probably 'dihabiskan'] some captured rebels, the army prosecutor said. "The accused should not interpret the order of 'finalise' as an order to kill," the prosecutor said.

The prosecutor said Maubere shot the six to death as they were looking for Alves' gun in a river on his orders. Prior to the operation, the team had been told by regional military chief that unarmed rebels should be captured alive, the prosecutor said.

I KILLED TIMOR SIX: SOLDIER

The West Australian. June 8. p20

Jakarta – A soldier told an Indonesian court martial how he killed six East Timorese civilians in a river under orders from an officer, Antara news agency said yesterday.

"I took four GPK prisoners who had been bound together to a river, told them to crouch and shot them," Private First Class Rusdin Maubere told the court martial of first Lieutenant Jeremias Kase in Denpasar, Bali.

GPK is the official term for anti-government rebels in Indonesia and in East Timor.

It refers to the Fretilin pro-independence group which has been fighting Indonesia since it invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

"Then I took another two prisoners and eliminated them as well," Pt. Maubere said.

Pte Maubere, 38, a defendant in a separate court martial over the killing of the six civilians, said he shot the six East Timorese civilians after Lt. Kase gave the signal to "eliminate."

The six were taken prisoner by a patrol headed by Lt. Kase.

the deaths took place in Faro, in the Liquica district, near the East Timor capital of Dili, on January 12.

The six were rounded up after another soldier in the patrol was allegedly wounded by a rebel escaping from a hut raided by the troops.

Lt. Kase is charged with violating military procedures. He told his superiors the six died in a shoot-out.

The court martial follows an investigation into the deaths.

The killings, which sparked an international outcry, were the subject of an investigation by Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights.

The hearing continues.

LIEUTENANT ADMITS GIVING ORDER TO KILL DETAINEES

Jakarta Post, June 10

An Army lieutenant admitted in court yesterday that he gave the order to eliminate six unarmed East Timorese during a military operation to pursue separatist rebels in the East Timor regency of Liquica on January 12.

First Lieutenant Jeremias Kasse, the intelligence officer for the Liquica military command, told a military tribunal in Denpasar, Bali, yesterday that his order "applied to all six" men who were detained by his patrol unit.

Jeremias is one of two soldiers now being tried at the Denpasar tribunal in connection with the killing of the six villagers in Liquica, an incident that sparked international outrage and harmed Indonesia's image because of what appeared to be an official cover up.

Jeremias commanded the 30-man unit that was following the trail of a prominent local leader of Fretilin, the armed separatist group, who was believed to have been rallying support in Liquica, a regency just outside the East Timor capital of Dili.

The other soldier separately on trial is First Private Rusdin Maumere, a member of the Army patrol unit. He has already admitted in court that he shot the six villagers, all

with their hands tied, saying that he was carrying out an Jeremias' order.

Four of the villagers – José Nunes, Abel Nunes, Victor, Augusto Pinto – were arrested first by the patrol unit on suspicion of helping the Fretilin guerrillas. They were used by the army unit in the hope that they would lead the patrol to the guerrilla's place of hiding. The other two victims – Osorio Soares and Americo Araujo – were in the house that was eventually raided by the unit.

Rusdin in his own trial earlier quoted Jeremias as saying, in giving the order to kill, that "If one of us is injured, eliminate them."

Lt. Col. Asmar Gutji, the military prosecutor, asked Jeremias in court yesterday to reaffirm that by the word *menghabisi* (to eliminate) he meant to kill, to which Jeremias said yes. At being asked if the order to eliminate applied to all six, again Jeremias answered: "All six prisoners."

Jeremias is charged with defying orders from his commanding officer, of giving orders to kill in breach of procedures, and of making a false report to his superiors.

The military prosecutors yesterday pressed Jeremias to explain why he gave a false report and did not change his version until he was summoned to Jakarta to account for the incident.

"I was afraid that they (my superiors) would find out that I committed errors," the defendant said.

The military stuck to the version, based on the report provided by Jeremias, for some time until the case unfolded before the public about a month after the incident. The earlier version suggested that all six victims were members of Fretilin and that they were killed during an armed clash.

The baffling circumstances surrounding the incident prompted the National Commission on Human Rights to launch its own investigation.

The Army, responding to criticisms, later established an Officers Honor Council to investigate the incident. Only then did the military change its version and decided to court-martial the two officers believed guilty of the incident.

Jeremias' immediate supervisor, Lt. Col. Trys Suryawan, the chief of the Liquica military district command, earlier testified that his order to Jeremias was very specific: That the unit must be alert against the rebels because they were possibly armed, that the unit must respond if the enemy opened fire, and that if the rebels were unarmed they should be taken alive.

It was heard at the trials of Jeremias and Rusdin that a member of the unit was stabbed during the raid, and this, apart from the condition of the unit's members, had played a part in the incident.

While Jeremias never attempted to deny in court that he committed errors in heading the operation, his military lawyers brought in a military psychologist yesterday to explain the conditions in the field that could possibly have had an adverse effect on the soldiers.

Captain C.A.J. Ngurah Suwitra, testifying for Jeremias, said that the defendant had lost control of his emotions when he gave the order to "eliminate" the six villagers.

He said that the psychological condition of the soldiers, after days of patrolling, had already deteriorated by the time they conducted the raid on the house.

When one of the soldiers was injured, the defendant was emotionally overwhelmed, said Captain Suwitra, who is a psychologist working with military members, including those stationed in East Timor.

He said there were two things that triggered Jeremias' emotional behaviour that day. First, because he felt he had been lied to by the four villagers who led him to the house. The other was that a member of his unit, First Private Costodio Bareto, had been stabbed. Testimonies from one of the victims' sister and mother, who were in the vicinity of the house at the time of the killing but spared by the military unit, were also heard at the trials.

Jacinta Alves Corea, the elder sister of Osorio, said she and her mother had just returned from their farm when they found soldiers around their house. She could not identify who killed the villagers, who she said were taken to the back of the house and shot.

The presiding judge at the tribunal, Col. M. Panjaitan, questioned the approach in raiding the house used by Jeremias which he said did not conform with any military theory.

Jeremias admitted he had "miscalculated" and that the man they were after, Antoni Alves, escaped from the house after stabbing one of the officers. He added that the conditions in the field were difficult.

The trial yesterday was adjourned until Monday when the military prosecutors are scheduled to read their demands. Sentencing is expected on June 19.

The other trial, of Rusdin, is also entering the last phases.

East Timor civilians by a patrol looking for rebels.

The prosecutor, Lieutenant Colonel Asmar Gutji, also asked a military tribunal in the Bali capital to dismiss First Lieutenant Jeremias Kasse, who had served 16 years in the former Portuguese colony of East-Timor, from the army.

"The suspect is legally and convincingly proved to have deviated from his superior's order by deliberately ordering other people to kill," Colonel Gutji said.

The case has bolstered accusations of human rights abuses by Indonesian troops in East-Timor, annexed by Indonesia in 1976 after Portugal abandoned its former colony. Lieutenant Kasse is the first of two soldiers being tried in connection with the Jan. 12 killings in Liquisa district. (AP)

SOLDIERS FACES SIX YEARS OVER LIQUICA KILLINGS

The Jakarta Post, June 13, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): Army prosecutors have urged a military tribunal in Denpasar, Bali, to sentence a soldier to six years and nine months imprisonment for ordering the killing of six unarmed civilians in the Liquica regency of East Timor in January.

The prosecutors said yesterday that the action of First Lieutenant Jeremias Kasse, in ordering the execution, went against military oath and tarnished the image of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) in East Timor, Antara reported.

"It even harmed the image of Indonesia internationally, especially concerning human rights," said Lt. Col. Asmar Gutji, the chief military prosecutor.

He urged the court to have the defendant expelled from the military. "His presence in the service cannot be defended."

The trial was adjourned until Thursday to allow Jeremias' lawyers, Lt. Col. Heru Cahyono and Second Lt. Epi Susanto, time to prepare their final submissions.

Trying Jeremias's case in the military tribunal is a panel of three judges, led by Col. M Panjaitan and including Lt. Col. Tjok Raka and Lt. Col. Wita.

An intelligence officer with the Liquica district military command, Jeremias is one of the two soldiers being tried in connection with the killing in the remote Fabo village in Liquica.

Jeremias headed the 30-strong unit which is said to have been on the trail of Fretilin fighters, when the six civilians were killed. Reports of the incident sparked both domestic and international outrage.

The prosecutors said Jeremias ordered First Private Rusdin Maumere to 'eliminate' the six villagers, in the belief that they were

OFFICER FACES JAIL IN TIMOR KILLINGS

International Herald Tribune, June 13

DENPASAR, Indonesia - A military prosecutor on Monday demanded six years and nine months in prison for an army officer accused of ordering the killings of six

all linked to the clandestine Fretilin movement.

Col. Asmar said Jeremias had violated the Military Criminal Code's chapter 103 (disobeying the orders of a superior) and 121 (making a false report to the superior). He also violated chapter 55 of the (civilian) Criminal Code, the prosecutor said, by ordering someone to commit murder.

Eleven witnesses testified in the trial: five soldiers, including the accused's immediate superior, Lt. Col. Tris Suryawan; five civilians; and one expert witness.

The prosecutors said the accused had disobeyed and order that unarmed guerrillas be taken alive and that they be fired upon only if they resisted or opened fire first.

The tribunal heard that the six victims had been unarmed and had had their hands tied when they were killed.

Emotions

Jeremias did not deny these claims, merely insisting that the six had been connected with guerrilla activities. He said that he gave the order that they be killed shortly after one of his men had been stabbed during a raid on a house in Fabo village.

The defense called a military psychologist to testify that Jeremias had been tried and had lost control of his emotions after days of following the trail of guerrillas and after seeing one of his men incur injuries.

Separately, in the trial of the other accused, Rusdin, the court heard yesterday that the six people murdered had all been members of the Fretilin.

Rusdin, who is himself an East Timorese, said that conclusion had been drawn by the soldiers after interrogating the six detainees before putting them to death.

Rusdin has confessed to single-handedly slaying that he was acting on an order from Jeremias.

His trial was adjourned until today when Prosecutor Lt. Col. Firman Coto is to make submissions on sentencing.

SOLDIERS IN LIQUICA KILLING SEEK ACQUITTALS

Jakarta Post, June 17, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): Lawyers representing two soldiers tried separately in connection with the deaths of six East Timorese villagers are appealing to the military tribunal to acquit their clients of the murder charges.

In his defense statement, the soldier who fired the six villagers, said he was simply carrying out an order from his commanding officer. The commanding officer, in his defense, aid however the soldier would have opened fire given his state of mind at the time.

The two soldiers are currently being tried at the military tribunal at Denpasar, Bali, for the killing of the six East Timorese villagers on Jan 12. The incident occurred during a military operation to go after guerrillas of the East Timor's armed separatist movement, Fretilin.

According to testimony presented at the tribunal, the six men were take prisoners by the patrol unit. They were executed with their arms tied.

On trial is Second Lieutenant Jeremias Kasse, an intelligence officer who led the patrol, whom the military prosecutors accused of giving the order to eliminate the unarmed villagers; and First Private Rusdin Maumere, who is being charged with carrying out the actual killing.

The military prosecutors earlier this week demanded a six-year-and-nine-month imprisonment for Jeremias and an eight-year jail term for Rusdin. They also demanded that the tribunal ordered for the expulsion of both defendants from the military.

On Thursday, Lt. Col. Cahyono and Second Lieutenant Epi Susanto, the military lawyers representing Jeremias, said that although their client uttered the word 'to eliminate' in his instruction to Rusdin, the words did not necessarily mean 'to kill.'

They said given the state of mind Rusdin at the time, especially after one of his colleague had been stabbed during the operation, he would have killed the six prisoners without the order from their client. They also pointed out that their client showed remorse immediately after the killing.

In a separate hearing also on Thursday, the lawyers defending Rusdin, Major Lastra and Captain Wirawati, said their client was simply obeying order from his commanding officer in killing the six prisoners.

The defendant 'did not have the authority to neglect the order' Major Lastra said.

The lawyers also appealed to the judges to consider the deep hatred Rusdin had against the rebels because his mother, father, sister and uncle were all killed by Fretilin rebels.

In their testimony, the two defendants insisted that all the six villagers were members or supporters of the Fretilin.

Rusdin's lawyers also argued that their client, a native East Timorese, never attended school and joined the military as a voluntary conscript. 'It would have been too much to expect him to be able to assess the implications of the order from his superior,' Major Lastra said.

The lawyers representing Jeremias also argued for acquittal because of lack of material evidence presented by the prosecutors, such as the bullets' encasing that supposedly had come from Rusdin's weapon, or the post mortem reports of the victims.

The military tribunal is expected to rule on both cases on Monday.

SOLDIER JAILED OVER LIQUICA KILLING

Jakarta Post, June 20, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): A military tribunal yesterday sentenced an Army lieutenant to four years and six months imprisonment for ordering a subordinate to kill six unarmed East Timorese suspected of supporting separatist guerrillas.

The tribunal in Denpasar, Bali, found Second Lieutenant Jeremias Kasse, an intelligence officer of the Liquica district military command in East Timor, guilty on the three charges: disobeying an order from a superior officer; ordering someone else to commit murder; and filling a false report to a superior officer.

The panel of three judges, led by Col. M Panjaitan, also ordered that Jeremias be expelled from the military.

The military prosecutor had earlier demanded six years and eight months imprisonment for Jeremias as well as expulsion from the military, saying that his action was a disgrace to the service.

According to a newscast of the state radio station RRI, the military judges concurred with Jeremias assertion that the six victims had all been members of a "GPK," an abbreviation for the Indonesian words meaning "security disturbing group."

In East Timor, the military uses the expression to refer to Fretilin, the armed separatist group.

According to testimony at the hearing, the six East Timorese villagers were shot, with their hands tied, near a house in a remote village in Liquica on January 12. The six had been taken prisoners by an Army patrol unit commanded by Jeremias, which had been following the trail of Fretilin members.

The man accused of carrying out Jeremias' order to "eliminate" the villagers, First Private Rusdin Maumere, is being tried separately by the same tribunal. The judges trying in his case are expected to make a ruling today.

In Jeremias' case, the judges agreed with the military prosecutor's contention that the defendant, in giving the order to kill the six prisoners, had disobeyed and order from his superior, who had said that all prisoners were to be taken alive unless they were armed and opened fire first.

The judges also found against Jeremias on the charge that he had misinformed his superiors in the aftermath of the incident. Jeremias initially insisted that the six had been

killed during an armed clash. For weeks the military stuck firmly to this version.

After hearing the verdict, Jeremias, who was accompanied by two military lawyers, told the judges that he would think it over first before deciding whether or not to appeal against the sentence.

Maj. Gen. Adang Ruchiatna, the chief of the Denpasar-based Udayana Military Command whose jurisdiction covers East Timor, was present at the tribunal to hear the sentencing.

After the sentence was handed down he consoled the convict.

"No commander likes to see his men punished," he told Antara. "I love them both. They were fine soldiers," he said of Jeremias and Rusdin.

After the sentencing, Ruchiatna had a private word with the two men in a room inside the tribunal building. He declined to disclose the nature of their conversation.

"I regret that such fine soldiers committed an error. This has made me realize that there a lot of things that I have to do for the soldiers," he said.

He conceded that he shared in the blame for what had happened. "We have to find out why they did what they did; was it because they had become 'saturated' or because they were frustrated?"

Asked if the incident and tribunal ruling would pose a problem for other soldiers serving in East Timor, Ruchiatna replied, "It's the same everywhere. It just so happens that this incident happened in East Timor."

Soldiers must obey the rules wherever they are posted and under any circumstances, he said. "It's the risk they have to take and that applies to me too."

INDONESIAN SOLDIER JAILED FOR EAST TIMOR DEATHS

JAKARTA, June 20 (Reuter) - An Indonesian military tribunal has sentenced an officer who ordered the killing of six East Timorese to four and a half years in jail, the official Antara news agency said on Tuesday.

First Lieutenant Jeremias Kase was on Monday found guilty by military court in Bali of violating orders, deliberately telling others to conduct an execution and presenting a false report to his superior, the report said.

Presiding Judge Colonel M. Panjaitan said Kase, a 22-year veteran of the army, should be dismissed from the military. He has the right to appeal the verdict, he added.

Panjaitan said that against the order of his superior Kase had ordered Private Rusdin Maumere to execute what Kase said were six unarmed members of the "security dis-

turbing movement," the Indonesian name for the pro- independence Fretilin guerrillas.

The court earlier heard that the six had been captured during a patrol and all had their hands tied behind their backs when shot on January 12.

It heard how Kase had told Maumere that, "if one of us suffers injuries, wipe them out," and the junior soldier interpreted it as telling him to kill the six men after another soldier was stabbed during a skirmish in Fabo village.

After the incident Kase gave a false report to his superior saying that the six were killed in a shoot-out.

The army stuck to this version for many weeks until an international outcry, backed by church and village sources, who gave a conflicting account of the incident, forced the Indonesian government to launch two inquiries into the incident.

The government-appointed National Commission on Human Rights found that some of the six civilians had been tortured before their deaths. A Military Honour Council recommended the two soldiers be charged as a result of the incident.

Antara reported on Tuesday that Major-General Adang Ruchiatna, chief of the Bali-based Udayana regional command, which covers East Timor, consoled the soldier after the verdict.

"I regret that such fine soldiers committed an error. This has made me realise that there are a lot of things that I have to do for the soldiers," he said.

Antara also said Maumere was expected to be sentenced in a separate trial.

XANANA GUSMÃO ACTIVE

XANANA'S LETTER TO ASIA-PACIFIC CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR

This is the translation of a letter in Portuguese from Xanana Gusmão to the APCET, dated January 26, 1995. This letter was read at the APCET meeting in Thailand last February. I chose to translate this letter quite literally whenever possible, so as to approximate Xanana's choice of words and phrasing, however at the expense of the "fluidity" of the English version.

The quality of the copy I got is poor, and a few words are unreadable. Xanana's handwriting is quite tidy and very clear.

-Mariza

CNRM - FALINTIL

Message for the meeting of APCET

Dearest friends of East Timor

To all present, we send our warmest greetings, wishing you a year of 1995 filled with prosperity.

As representatives of the Solidarity Groups of Asia and the Pacific, our wish is that our sensitizing efforts may strengthen and broaden the firm conviction for the illegality of the military annexation of East Timor by Indonesia, which is the true substance [core] of the problem.

As we all know, on January 9 one more meeting took place between ministers Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas, under the auspices of the United Nations. It is for 12 years now that such meetings have been dragging, without many concrete steps towards a solution. And all this is due to the inflexibility of Jakarta's generals.

The text of the UN communiqué disappoints us enormously in paragraphs 3 and 4. It is truly regrettable that the condition was so clearly established that one not discuss the political statute of the territory.

The communiqué has thus conferred a certain strength to Jakarta's posture, which intends for that the meeting among Timorese be reduced to the concept and to the consensus of the London reconciliation, allowing Ali Alatas to be stupidly convinced and, worse still, to try to convince the world of that he has taken the lead of the process, in place of the UN Secretary-General.

I must declare that we believe in the integrity of Dr. Boutros-Boutros Ghali who, above all, holds the responsibility, which his functions incumb him with, of defending the universal principles and international law which are the purpose itself of the United Nations. On the other hand, we understand that, because the UN Sec.-General is mandated to treat the problem jointly with the two governments most directly concerned - Portugal, as administrating power, and Indonesia, as invader and occupying power -, it would not be entirely up to us to attempt to resolve the question on our own in this first meeting under the auspices of the United Nations.

We continue to offer our undivided support to the efforts by the UN Sec.-General, particularly in the promotion of meetings of this kind, however we make clear that we do not accept that the next meeting will mean nothing more than our consent to the spirit of the London reconciliation.

Jakarta cannot expect that the Timorese Resistance reconcile itself with the pro-integration faction, as if the case were one of civil war among the Timorese or as if the essence of the East Timor problem resided in that the Timorese were divided in pro and against. It is Jakarta who must reconcile

itself with the International Community. It is Jakarta who must reconcile itself with whom it has violated through the invasion and military occupation of East Timor. It is Jakarta who must reconcile itself with the resolutions the General Assembly and the Security Council of the UN which it has been disrespecting for about 20 years now.

The Timorese Resistance has already made all necessary and fair concessions, even safeguarding Indonesia's image, as it offered Indonesia the opportunity to, in equal standing, prove in honest actions, and under international supervision, the political reality in East Timor.

It is Jakarta that traps itself in the increasingly old thesis that integration was the free choice of the People of East Timor. Lately, and especially after January 9, Jakarta has trying unusually hard to calm down, I repeat, to calm down the Indonesian society by stating that a referendum is not possible in East Timor. For this purpose, it has shown images of people concentrating by the thousands, either on "pegawai negeri" day or acclaiming Harmoko, just as it shows a Harmoko controlling all of the Indonesian people for the Golkar.

With so much real proof of the wish of the people of the territory what then is the reason why a referendum is not conducted under international supervision?

With so many and so confident declarations, what then is the reason for not accepting that a plebiscite take place?

We therefore must, dearest friends, constantly remind the centers of power that the substance of the problem resides in the violation of the international law.

We must also continue to remind Jakarta of the legal-political statute that the United Nations attributes East Timor before the international community.

We must continue to underscore the CNRM Peace Plan as the best route for a solution process that truly seeks a just and durable peace.

Dearest friends

Another important element was the wonderful Report by the Special Rapporteur on the Santa Cruz massacre. We salute the integrity, the seriousness and the well-established capacity of Dr. Bacre Waly Ndiaye.

This report represents the first documentary piece that sheds some light upon one of the most recent acts of Indonesia's barbarism. This report leaves many questions up in the air asking to be answered.

Taking the opportunity of the meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission, we appeal to the United Nations for that it conducts further investigations of this nature. More than 200 thousand Timorese

have lost their lives. Hundreds of locations all over the territory continue to be silent and unheard witnesses of individual, small group, or mass massacres.

The UN Human Rights Commission must continue to demand of Jakarta a complete, free, and independent investigation of the Human Rights violations in East Timor.

Dearest friends of East Timor, 1995 will be one more year of difficulties, demanding more energies, renewed spirit, renewed courage. 1995 is the 20th [year] of the criminal Indonesian military occupation of East Timor.

The Maubere People [...several words unreadable...] to the brother countries of Asia and the Pacific. Our struggle is one front of combat only of the general struggle of the oppressed peoples in the whole world, one part also of the common front of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific in the struggle for democracy, justice and peace.

For the CNRM,

[signed Xanana]

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão

Member of CNRM

Commander of FALINTIL

Cipinang, Jan. 26, 1995

INDEPENDEN INTERVIEWS XANANA GUSMÃO

The following interview of Xanana Gusmão, East Timor resistance leader, appeared in the March 1995 issue of Independent, the journal of the Alliance of Independent Journalists. This was issue, No 12/1995 that was distributed when the crackdown on AJI occurred and activists were arrested.

The same issue carried a detailed account of what happened in Liquica on 12 January this year and a brief summary of recent developments in East Timor.

Translated from Indonesian by TAPOL.

Q: What is your opinion about the Liquica incident?

There have been thousands of incidents like this in East Timor. Before 1984, the world paid little attention; hardly anyone commented except for Amnesty International [and, we may add, TAPOL]. Since 1985, the Indonesian government's justification of killings like those in Liquica has always been the same, accusing the victims of being members of Fretilin. One village head was murdered in Liquica. In fact, very many village heads and kampung heads have been murdered.

In East Timor, the people means "the resistance" because it is they who are struggling for their freedom. People have been shown here on television in the past few months welcoming [Information Minister] Harmoko

and, a few years ago, welcoming Suharto. In East Timor, people are also referred to as "people" but inside they are known as "the resistance."

Q: According to Governor Abilio, the question in East Timor today is not one of independence but development...

Abilio Soares only says what he is told to say. If such a thing were true, they would have the courage to accept our demand for a referendum. The problem is that at the very time we proposed a way to test the truth of our statements by holding a referendum, those who side with Jakarta refused to accept the idea. This shows that they are afraid of the truth. What surprises me is that Ali Alatas shamelessly repeats such lies.

Q: But didn't the government set up a fact-finding commission from the armed forces and the National Commission on Human Rights...?

I regard that as an attempt to deceive Indonesian public opinion. The international community is very sceptical about the integrity of the National Commission on Human Rights, and still more so about the armed forces' fact-finding commission.

Q: What about the prospects for reconciliation as offered by President Suharto?

There's no point commenting on anything that Suharto offers. It won't lead to a just solution. It's like theorising about press freedom while banning the press.

Q: Doesn't the reconciliation that embraced Abilio Araujo prove that the East Timorese movement is split?

I see that reconciliation as part of Jakarta's strategy. Ambassador Fanny Habibie [in London] himself called it a "bridging operation." That's the military's way of thinking. There's no split.

Abilio has pulled out of the resistance and Jakarta is using him to elbow the resistance out. In my opinion, the London reconciliation talks have neither political nor practical significance for finding a solution to the question of East Timor.

Q: Why do you believe that the solution for East Timor must be by a referendum?

Firstly, because that is the democratic way and moreover it complies with the norms of decolonisation. Secondly, to prove to the world that it is absolutely false to say that the Maubere people want integration.

Q: Is it true that you would be ready to lose your head if the East Timorese people were to choose integration, which is what you said in your defence statement?

What I meant was that no-one should be afraid of the truth. We must defend the truth. If I continue to maintain that my

struggle is to defend the truth and it can be proven that the truth is not on my side, I would then choose a way to safeguard the truth.

Q: What was it that first prompted you to get involved in the struggle for East Timor?

I am not ashamed to admit that it was when I came into contact with the nationalism of the Maubere people that I realised that their consciousness was deeper than mine. And I must also stress that I have learned a great deal from my people during the course of this struggle.

Q: Your troops have been declining in numbers all the time...

For the past nineteen years, FALINTIL guerrillas have been shot. There is no publicity when the guerrillas seize weapons. Jakarta never reports things like that. We are the only ones who know. That's why they've been saying ever since 1979 that there are only fifty of us. We go on dying but they still use the same figure, fifty.

Q: You say that the East Timorese people prefer independence to development. Yet the fact is that development is going on there.

Physical development there serves a political objective, to alienate our people by trying to make them feel that it's better to belong to Indonesia. The people of East Timor are well aware of this.

Q: Is it true that the CNRM has incited the people so as to keep East Timor in a state of unrest?

The Maubere people have been struggling for nineteen years. They place the guerrilla movement in a wider context. Because of their experiences during all this time, they know how to choose the right time to act. As for the question, whether it's the CNRM that is telling them what to do, all I can say is that the Maubere people are indeed organised under the CNRM. Physically, it may be true that they are controlled by the Indonesian army, but politically, it is the CNRM that controls the Maubere people.

Q: Why don't you want peace even though the Indonesian government has been generous about developing East Timor?

South Africa developed Eritrea [sic, should be Namibia] and the Soviet Union developed many areas that are now sovereign states. The question of colonialism has nothing to do with carrying out nor not carrying out development.

Q: But doesn't such an attitude cause suffering for the people there?

The Maubere people are suffering because of the occupation, an occupation that has

resulted in more than two hundred thousand deaths. And the Maubere people will be willing to accept such sacrifices until they achieve their independence. Death, imprisonment, torture and all the other things inflicted on us is all part of the sacrifice demanded by our motherland.

[Independen inserts a comment here about Xanana Gusmão's recent criticism of the protest movement in Indonesia against the press bans last June which came to a sudden halt after the demonstration in Jakarta on 27 June.]

Q: After your arrest, you haven't been able to do things [bertingkah] but you have taken a position on many things. Why is that?

There can be no such thing as a contract between a prisoner and his warders.

Q: Which country as you a citizen of?

On 22 November 1992 I signed a document confirming that under international law, I remain, like all East Timorese, a Portuguese citizen; I regard myself as an inhabitant and citizen of East Timor.

Q: Don't you consider yourself to be an Indonesian?

Such a statement has often been presented to me by the authorities. When they ask me whether I consider myself to be an Indonesian, I always answered: "If I were to say yes, you wouldn't believe me." At first, they used to laugh when I said this but now, they gnash their teeth.

Q: When (the lawyer) Soedjono submitted a request for clemency to President Suharto, did he do that with your consent?

He did it without my consent. At a hearing on 5 May 1993, stated that I no longer needed any legal assistance from Mr. Soedjono and said that I would represent myself. I have never sought commutation of my sentence; to do such a thing would mean acknowledging the punishment.

Q: You wrote a criticism of the protest movement against the press bans last June. Why did you want to get involved in this?

Before coming here, I had no clear picture of Indonesia except that Indonesian society is very closed. At the end of 1993, I observed that the government gave some small concessions, displaying a kind of pseudo liberalisation with some slight openings for the press. I say small because the opening was limited to certain issues and lasted for only a short period. For me as a foreigner and someone new to the issue, this opening up, however small, allowed me to get acquainted with several things, particularly the political issues that were skillfully reported in the tabloid, DeTik.

Following the fall of dictators like Pinochet, Marcos and Ceausescu, the regime here felt the need to project a new image to the world. Suharto did this very skillfully so as to achieve his objectives as head of state and head of the third world. But once he had achieved his objective and also because these cosmetic changes began to threaten the structure of his power, the press clamp-down came.

Q: What, in your opinion, are the weaknesses of the Indonesian pro-democracy movement such as the Petition-of-50?

The basic mistake of the Petition-of-50 is that they go on sticking to the same form of struggle. Social processes are in a state of flux all the time and people should adjust their thinking, strategy and tactics to each development.

Q: What do you think about the students and other intellectuals?

Theoretically and analytically, many Indonesian intellectuals, including some within Golkar, have given proof of the willingness of Indonesian society to accept political change. But this is not enough. This was evident at the time of the press bans. The people could not spot the emerging political figures but were once again reminded of their duty to listen to official speeches.

As for the students, they confine themselves to protesting against every mistake committed by the regime. That's what happened at the time of the SDSB (national lottery), the Bapindo case and the press bans, as well as the concrete problems confronted by peasants and workers. As forms of political struggle, these actions were exceptional but if anyone expects that this regime will end up handing over democracy by granting concessions, there is enough evidence to show that this is not likely to happen.

Q: Don't you think that there could be perestroika in Indonesia?

I have no idea about that. And if there is such a hope, I will pray for it to happen, for the sake of the Indonesian people.

Q: In your criticism of the anti-bans movement, you said that Indonesia needs a new party. Why is that?

The Indonesian regime cannot be compared to any other regime. In his end-of-year message, Suharto said that he would be "greatly disturbed if the consolidation of social and political forces and organisations were disrupted." Therein lies the ideological core of this regime, the strength of the superstructure. The strategy of the pro-democracy movement should be focused on the superstructure.

This is why I think that there is a need for a free, independent party with clear political objectives and a clear strategy for democracy. Or an association of all the democratic forces.

Q: What do you mean?

It is essential for key personalities like Ali Sadikin, Adnan Buyung Nasution, Gus Dur, Sri Bintang Pamungkas, Megawati and others I don't know to establish contact with each other, to decide on a common platform in the struggle for democracy. You need to have leaders who are known nationally and internationally, placing themselves at the head of this movement. The struggle for democracy cannot go on like a game of 'cat-and-mouse.' Unless this happens, the impression is given of people struggling without conviction.

Q: What would you think about Ali Sadikin joining the PDI?

Recently opposition leaders like Ali Sadikin for whom I have a lot of admiration - although on the question of East Timor he is my enemy - have expressed a willingness to join a political party. But they won't achieve much. The PDI is not able to do much and the PPP cannot be called "another" party.

Q: How is life in Cipinang jail?

If we want to speak about the rights of a tapol, I can only say that although I have been in Cipinang for fifteen months, my status is still "special reporting."

Q: What do you do every day?

I paint, study English and grow bonsai. I have a lot of time to fill, another eighteen years.

Q: What about the situation of your family since you've been in prison?

For the past nineteen years, the question of struggle has been more important to me than the family. Many of my guerrillas have lost their entire families, murdered by the army. My children know that they are not at the centre of my thoughts. And I'm not just their father.

Q: The reports of your arrest mentioned women's clothing being found in your hiding place. Is it true that you had affairs with several women?

It's up to you to believe that or not.

Q: When you were arrested, one general said: "Don't over-estimate Xanana. He's nothing more than a rat, a street criminal." What do you think of that?

I'm very proud of what he said. If he were to say nice things about me, that wouldn't be an Indonesian general speaking. What's more, I would have to be suspicious of myself.

XANANA GUSMÃO AND THE PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

Published in Expresso weekly in Lisbon, 13 May 1995. By Liem Soei Liong, Editor TAPOL Bulletin

Xanana's interview in the March 1995 issue of *Independen*, Indonesia's largest underground magazine reflects his deep understanding of the present conditions of the pro-democracy movement in Indonesia. In a way quite understandable because as early as 1990, long before Xanana's arrest by the Indonesian army, he already gave guidelines to the East Timorese clandestine movement to work closely with the Indonesian pro-democracy movement.

The Cipinang prison in Jakarta, strange enough, has helped Xanana tremendously to get a better understanding of the Indonesian society and in particular the Indonesian opposition. The Cipinang prison holds Indonesian political prisoners of all sorts: Indonesian communists, held since 1965, prisoners from Aceh, West Papua and East Timor, radical Muslim groups and pro-democracy activists. The Cipinang prison harbours in a nutshell the entire opposition against the Suharto regime. Although Xanana's movements in Cipinang are very restricted, communications and mutual understanding with all the different sections of the Indonesian opposition have improved strongly.

Still free in the mountains of East Timor, Xanana already understood quite well that fundamental changes in Jakarta would have a profound effect on the struggle of independence in East Timor or in other words the struggle for democracy in Indonesia goes hand in hand with the struggle for independence of the East Timorese. In his recorded message in 1990 to the Timorese youth studying in many parts of Indonesia, he stressed the need for the two forces to work closely together. Sections of the Indonesian democratic movement, in particular the student and youth movement quickly understood Xanana's message. After all it was unthinkable to imagine a future democratic Indonesia if it still colonises East Timor.

Other parts of the Indonesian opposition still see the two issues: the struggle for democracy in Indonesia and the struggle for self-determination of the East Timorese as two separate issues. They argue: we have to deal with fundamental changes in Jakarta first and afterwards we can deal with the problems in Dili. In his interview Xanana addresses and criticises this particular part of the Indonesian opposition, in particular the Petition of 50 (consists of a group of retired high-placed military, ex-ministers and politicians) that still refuse to address the East Timor issue.

In the interview Xanana also addresses the fundamental issue of the need of a clear strategy and clear political objectives for the Indonesian pro-democracy movement. It is a fact that, despite the several efforts to combine forces, a common platform for the struggle for democracy is still lacking. It is also true that the Indonesian pro-democracy movement lacks one political figure, accepted by everyone, to be the leader against the Suharto regime. Despite his incarceration, Xanana Gusmão is still seen by the overall majority of the East Timorese as their sole political leader. Xanana's format as political leader among Indonesians has in fact grown enormously since his imprisonment in Jakarta. Student activists compare him with a kind of Che Guevara, somebody who actually fought for many years against the Indonesian army. His fellow political prisoners have also developed deep respect for Xanana Gusmão and his political convictions. Xanana has been put in a cell block together with some radical Muslim prisoners. Despite the stark different cultural and political background a deep mutual respect has grown between Xanana and the others in his block.

Xanana's discussion with the Indonesian pro-democracy forces is very important. His criticism on the fragmented struggle, dealing with separate single issues, is quite valid but at the same time we also have to realise the difficulties the Indonesian pro-democracy movement is facing. Often the Indonesian activists have to face increased oppression of the authorities as in this last nine months increased clampdown on the freedom of the press. Heavy-handed military measures against striking workers or evicted peasants has also become a daily scene in Indonesian life. This means the Indonesian pro-democracy movement was often busy reacting on measures taken by the security apparatus and not being able to develop an offensive of democratic reforms. Moreover, one important point of democratisation in Indonesia is the issue of decentralisation and autonomy for the regions. This often contradicts the need to combine the forces of democracy into a common platform. Despite all these odds, the Indonesian pro-democracy movement is still growing, not the least because the objective conditions are very favourable.

The Suharto regime has entered 1995, weaker as never before. The rift between Suharto and the general has never been so apparent. The military based in East Timor are gradually losing their confidence and morale. The Indonesian government is consistently being criticised on the international arena on their occupation in East Timor and their bad human rights record. The political structures of the dictatorship are gradually

becoming ineffective. President Suharto, quite correctly, is getting increasingly worried about the weakness of the super-structure. He is trying desperately to embrace groups in society, if necessary trying to make alliances with former political enemies.

The Indonesian economy, despite its success stories, isn't very healthy. Indonesia's foreign debts, now estimated at US\$ 104 billion, third in the world after Brazil and Mexico, is a constant worry. It has now been revealed that Suharto's pride: self-supporting in rice production, is now in shambles. In the last three years Indonesia had to import huge quantities of rice to fill the gap. In the past Suharto had always been able to 'bribe' sections in the society with money and projects. Those days seem to be over, and an increasing number of middle-class Indonesians have become disenchanted with the Suharto government. Many in the pro-democracy movement realise that the time for change is ripening by the day.

XANANA LETTER TO AKSI

Courtesy Green Left, April 23

Resistance and Aksi - Indonesia Solidarity Action have received letters from imprisoned East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão after he heard of plans for a National Day of Action for a free East Timor on May 13. Following are major excerpts from those letters.

Max Lane, National Coordinator, Indonesia Solidarity Action

I am in full agreement with you that it is time for all progressive forces and all the pro-democracy forces to unite to smash the fascist dictatorship of the New Order so that a new democratic climate can be instituted for the Indonesian people and liberation can be won for the Maubere people. Your initiative is an expression of the reality of the commonality of suffering of the Maubere and Indonesian people under the same oppressor. The solidarity that Aksi is building together with other organisations in Australia and in other countries is a solidarity between societies that shows that the suffering that is experienced by one part of society will always be felt by others.

I welcome and value highly your initiatives which have been developed into concrete actions and plans.

Just recently one of our comrades from PIJAR (Information Centre and Action Network for Reform) and three people from the Independent Alliance of Journalists have been arrested, and four more are being hunted out. In this regard I urge Aksi to launch continuous protests demanding their

freedom and also freedom of opinion in Indonesia.

I am sure that the Indonesian people will be applauding the actions taken by our friends in Germany against Suharto. Perhaps this is the first time His Majesty this Javanese King has received such treatment. We know that in the future he or his ministers will receive this same treatment in the country of the kangaroos.

I promise to send an address for May 13th, if there is nothing which prevents me.

TO: WENDY ROBERTSON, RESISTANCE SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANISATION, APRIL 23

Warm greetings and solidarity always.

I am honoured and proud for the Maubere people to receive your letter. Proud because after twenty years of experiencing difficulties in facing the Jakarta regime, today I as leader of the resistance of the Maubere people have come into contact with you a youth group which is very progressive and active and has a high concern about imperialism, the environment and human rights and more especially of course the right to self-determination for the Maubere people.

Youth are the rebels against the status quo, it is the youth that bring change. This is often noted by history for example in South Korea, China, Vietnam and other places. And in Indonesia too in 1966, although in that case it was also manipulated from above by the military.

Marching together with CNRM in carrying out actions with a political resonance gives hope to the Maubere people and to the pro-democracy movement in Indonesia that the attitude of the Australian authorities will change. All this time they have been collaborating with the new order regime to oppress the Indonesian people and the Maubere people. Using the excuse of being good neighbours and of wanting prosperity for the Australian people, the Australian authorities often ignore human rights in the cause of their profit motivated [mercantilist] policies. We know that the attitude of the Australian authorities does not reflect the attitudes of the Australian people. Many criticisms have been made by the Australian people of the Keating cabinet, but this has not yet changed the attitudes of that cabinet.

The Timor Gap question is one more proof of the profit seeking policy of Paul Keating and Gareth Evans. That plan was signed using the excuse that it was for the welfare of the Australian people and would provide the chance to improve the standard of living of the Maubere people.

ABRI [the Indonesian military] is continually killing Maubere people yet Paul

Keating is so quick to express his satisfaction after Suharto and his forces form investigative commissions even though that he knows that these are only intrigues carried out by Suharto to combat the concerns expressed by foreign forces. This all in the name of the smooth functioning of his businesses.

I am sure Resistance together with other groups will struggle to their maximum to change these attitudes of Paul Keating's cabinet.

I also agree that the formation of a democratic political climate in Indonesia will have a positive impact for the liberation of the Maubere people. Because of this CNRM will always be in solidarity with Resistance to coordinate any demonstrations or other activities in support of democratisation in Indonesia and liberation for the Maubere people.

My honoured comrades in Resistance, the Maubere youth will always be in solidarity with you. It is the Maubere youth who are the frequent targets of assassination by the Indonesian military. The massacres at Santa Cruz and at Liquiça are evidence of this. The Maubere youth are the future of a free Timor and for that future they have laid down their lives and they are still prepared to lay down their lives for the liberation of Free Timor. While the Indonesian military remain in Timor, the Maubere people will continue to die and be massacred but they know that their homeland demands this of them.

Before ending our discussion here on behalf of myself and in the name of the Maubere people I pass on my solidarity and my warm greetings to you and all those in Resistance.

XANANA ILL

Lisbon, May 5 (LUSA) - Xanana Gusmão has threatened to go on hunger strike if he is not seen by private-practice medical doctors in Jakarta, revealed Ramos Horta, spokesperson for the CNRM.

Speaking to Radio TSF, Ramos Horta referred that Xanana Gusmão is ill, with both kidney and back problems, which were diagnosed at a police infirmary inside his prison, however he refused to receive treatment there. Horta said that Xanana wants to be treated at a private clinic because he does not believe the police medical services to be reliable.

"This is a situation which has been dragging on for two weeks now," without Xanana having received any response to his request, said Horta. Horta stated he transmitted Xanana's request to the Minister of Foreign Affairs [Durão Barroso] and the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, PS.

XANANA'S HEALTH

Macao, May 5 (LUSA) - abridged - Xanana's health has worsened in the last two days because of kidney problems and Xanana is now unable to walk, members of the resistance told LUSA. "He threatened today to go on hunger strike to pressure the Indonesian authorities to allow him to be treated at a Catholic hospital in Jakarta, however we don't know whether he has yet started the strike," said the same sources. "We know only that close friends of Xanana, namely other prisoners, have advised him to not go on hunger strike because his health is already so bad," added the same sources.

Xanana's lawyer, Luhut Pangaribuan, confirmed to LUSA that Xanana "needs to be hospitalized so that he can receive special kidney treatment which he cannot be given at Cipinang prison." "He wants to be treated in the S.Carlos hospital, a catholic hospital in Jakarta controlled by the Protestant [church?], and has already made a formal request to the prison director for that," said Pangaribuan. "The bureaucratic process is already on its way and I hope that the permission for his medical treatment will be issued shortly," said Pangaribuan, adding that "all indications are that Xanana's condition is serious, but I know nothing about a possible hunger strike." Pangaribuan said he intends to visit Xanana in prison in the coming week and will assist Xanana with his request for outside treatment.

Lopes da Cruz also confirmed to LUSA that Xanana is ill, and that Xanana had asked his family for money to pay for medical expenses. "One of his brothers was here with me today and told me that he [Xanana] had asked the family for money because he wants to have medical tests done, probably at a clinic," said Lopes da Cruz. "Both his brother (Manuel Egidio Juvenal de Gusmão) said nothing about a possible hunger strike," added da Cruz.

Sources from the resistance told LUSA that Xanana was taken to the police hospital on April 27 because he didn't feel well, and he was seen again at this hospital on Wednesday. "People who've seen him two days ago said he is in very poor health and has intense pain which prevent him from being able to walk" said the same sources.

From PUBLICO, May 5:

(abridged) Prison doctors have diagnosed Xanana with a urinary infection, and the diagnosis points to kidney stones, which could explain the intense pain.

However, Ramos Horta said there has been exaggeration in the Portuguese media reports that described Xanana's condition as extremely serious.

XANANA NEEDS URGENT HOSPITAL TREATMENT

TAPOL Report, 5 May 1995

Xanana Gusmão, the East Timor resistance leader who is serving a 20-year sentence in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta, is suffering from a severe kidney disorder but is being denied a request to have a thorough medical check-up and treatment at a private hospital in Jakarta. He refuses to be treated at any hospital run by the police or the army and is only willing to have his medical condition treated by a private hospital not under armed forces control.

Xanana, who suffered a serious kidney disorder while fighting in the bush, has been suffering a recurrence of the problem since late last year. The prison authorities would only offer treatment at the police force hospital, RS Polri in East Jakarta but Xanana has asked to be treated at Cikini Hospital, the hospital where other political prisoners in Cipinang, including Fernando de Araujo, have been treated in the recent past.

At the end of April, the abdominal and back pains became so severe that he was persuaded to go to RS Polri for a check-up. Urine and blood tests suggested that he has a urinary tract infection although the medical staff acknowledged that he might be suffering from kidney stones. Clearly, the check-up was far from adequate.

On one occasion recently, in acute pain, he went to the prison clinic but was returned to his cell as the clinic was busy dealing with a prisoner who had just died.

Pressure should be brought to bear on the prison authorities to allow him to leave Cipinang Prison for treatment at a private hospital. Please send messages urgently to:

Baharuddin Lopa,
Chief of the Prison Department,
Ministry of Justice

Fax No: +62-21 310 4149

NB: Baharuddin Lopa is also Secretary of the National

Commission for Human Right

XANANA GETS CHECK-UP AT CAROLUS

TAPOL Report, 8 May 1995

The director of Cipinang Prison has given permission for Xanana Gusmão to attend St Carolus Hospital in Jakarta for a thorough check-up and X-ray today, Monday. It is not clear whether this means that Xanana will be allowed to remain at the hospital for treatment.

The decision came after an ICRC doctor visited Xanana in Cipinang on Friday and gave him a medical examination at the prison clinic. He diagnosed possible kidney stones

but did not rule out the possibility of an infection caused by parasites present in the water of the mountains of East Timor. He also suggested that Xanana may be suffering from a deformation of the vertebral column, also a result of living in the mountains for such a long time.

The ICRC doctor recommended a thorough check-up at St Carolus and said the ICRC was prepared to cover expenses for the treatment.

Xanana Gusmão has expressed his gratitude for all those who lobbied on his behalf to secure permission for him to go to a private hospital.

We hope to hear soon whether Xanana will remain at the hospital for treatment, along with further details of the diagnosis

XANANA TO GET CHECK-UP

Reuter, 9 May 1995. Abridged

Jakarta - Jailed East Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão is due to leave his Jakarta prison cell for a private medical check-up on Tuesday but is not in a serious condition, a Red Cross official said.

The International Committee of the Red Cross official told Reuters that Xanana, two years into a 20-year jail term for subversion, had sought the agency's help for medical treatment after a visit on Friday.

"At this stage his condition does not leave anybody worried," the delegate said. "He is fine."

Xanana's lawyers said last week they were seeking official permission to allow him to have private treatment for a kidney infection.

East Timorese exile leader José Ramos Horta said earlier Xanana had threatened to begin a hunger strike if he was denied private treatment.

REUTER ON XANANA CHECK-UP

According to LUSA, May 9, Xanana was examined and tested today [Tuesday] at the S. Carlos clinic and returned to Cipinang. XG was accompanied by two ICRC doctors and by prison guards, and was seen by kidney specialists at S. Carlos. Lopes da Cruz stated that Xanana's condition is not very serious.

DETAINED INDEPENDENCE LEADER TRANSFERRED TO HOSPITAL

LISBON, May 8 (IPS) - Indonesian officials authorised the transfer of the leader of Timor's independence struggle, Xanana Gusmão, from a prison in the interior of the country to a Jakarta hospital due to a kidney infection, a Portuguese news agency announced Monday.

José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão, a journalist and poet, has headed Timor's guerrilla

movement against Indonesia since that country invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

In November 1992 Gusmão was captured in Dili, the capital of East Timor, and received a life sentence, which was later commuted to 20 years in prison.

Gusmão's precarious state of health was denounced last week by the coordinator of the Timor National Resistance Council (NRC), José Ramos-Horta, who warned that authorities would only allow the leader to be treated in a hospital if strong international pressure was applied.

The Portuguese news agency LUSA reported on Monday that Gusmão was transferred to a Catholic hospital in Jakarta, where he will be accompanied by high-level Red Cross officials.

On April 27, the independence leader had declared from the infirmary of a prison near the Indonesian capital that if the medical attention he needed was not authorised, he would go on a hunger strike.

At that time, Gusmão - who graduated in 1974 from the Portuguese seminary in Timor - refused to be treated by police doctors, and demanded to be transferred to any of the Catholic Church's hospitals in Indonesia.

According to the latest global report published by the independent human rights watchdog Amnesty International, released in Thailand in September 1994, the 19-year Indonesian occupation of East Timor has cost the lives of 210,000 people, one third of the country's 1975 population of 650,000.

The United Nations recognises Portugal as "administrator" of its former colony in the Java archipelago until the country's independence process can be completed by means of a referendum, which has not been authorised by Indonesia.

Jakarta, meanwhile, justifies its invasion by arguing that it liberated the island, "a victim of 450 years of Portuguese colonialism," and that Indonesia in two decades "has done more for Timor's development than Portugal did in four and a half centuries."

However, the NRC points out that while an extreme right-wing dictatorship was in power in Lisbon from 1926-1974, Indonesia "never supported our struggle against Portuguese colonialism," and that if the population of Timor really wanted to be part of Indonesia, "they would not have had to kill 210,000 people."

"The independence of a people, geographically close to Indonesia, but distant in cultural, religious and ethnic terms, cannot be bought with 100 kilometres of asphalt roads and four public buildings," said Ramos-Horta.

With the mediation of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers Ali Alatas and José Manuel Durão Barroso have held biannual meetings since 1992 to seek a negotiated solution to Timor's situation.

However, no significant progress has been made, because the two countries are unable to reconcile their positions, while the NRC refuses to accept the status of a semi-autonomous state controlled by Jakarta, and insists on full independence.

While Portugal insists that the only solution lies in "respect for international law according to UN provisions," Indonesia considers the integration of Timor as its twenty-seventh province "irreversible."

XANANA GUSMÃO HEALTH UPDATE

From CNRM Darwin, May 12

We have been informed on 11 May by Jakarta East Timor Resistance sources that Commander Xanana Gusmão has been provided a medical examination and treatment at St Carolus Hospital in Jakarta, organised and paid for by the ICRC.

Xanana Gusmão was found to have a kidney stone, and has been given a five day medication course to dissolve these. He was not allowed to stay at the hospital, and was returned to Cipinang Prison in Jakarta after the medical examination. It is reported that the medication is already starting to have an effect.

Xanana Gusmão is expected to return to St Carolus in a few days, in order to check the results of the current treatment.

It was also reported that the x-ray examination he underwent had shown a slight deformation of his vertebral column. It was said that this was of no major importance.

XANANA WRITES AKSI- EAST TIMOR DAY OF NATIONAL ACTION

From CNRM Darwin, 13 May 1995

Being temporarily prevented by medical treatment from personally forwarding a message to AKSI on the occasion of the East Timor Day of National Action on May 13, Commander Xanana Gusmão, Leader of CNRM, the East Timorese National Resistance against the illegal and brutal Indonesian occupation of East Timor, has instructed CNRM in Darwin to convey some relevant thoughts to our AKSI friends.

In a letter to the AKSI National Coordinator, commenting on the plans to hold today's Day of National Action, Xanana wrote on 9 April 1995:

Your planned actions make me, the whole Maubere people and the oppressed Indonesian people very proud..... Please receive my feelings of solidarity and the warmest greetings from all the Maubere people. I feel a great honour from your initiative to intensify your actions in support of CNRM. They are also a great pride for all of us who oppose the current 'New Order' dictatorship in Indonesia. We are all in agreement that we need to closely join our efforts and establish a close cooperation among all progressive and all Pro-Democracy movements in order to jointly oppose the fascist 'New Order' dictatorship, and create a climate of political freedom and democracy for the Indonesian people and the liberation of the Maubere people. Your initiatives are an expression of the reality of the similarity of the sufferings of the Indonesian and the Maubere people at the hands of the same oppressor.

CNRM members in Australia also wish to express their fullest support and their gratitude for the valuable efforts of AKSI on behalf of the just struggle of the Maubere people for their right of self-determination and freedom from Indonesian oppression.

Australia as a close neighbour with an historical debt to the people of East Timor, and a professed commitment to the defence of human rights principles, has the obligation to intercede on behalf of the Maubere people. Instead, much to the shame of many Australians, their governments have avoided taking this obligation up. Showing their venality and their contemptible fear of the Suharto dictatorship, successive Australian governments have ignored the genocide taking place a few hundred miles to the north of Darwin. Even worse, by providing military support in the form of training to the Indonesian armed forces, Australia has become an accomplice in the crimes of the Indonesian dictatorial regime, both against the people of East Timor and the oppressed Indonesian population itself.

Initiatives such as today's East Timor National Day of Action are of great importance to once again remind Australian Government members that their constituents demand a more honourable and courageous position towards the criminal policies of the Suharto dictatorship. The freedom of the oppressed Maubere people of East Timor and the people of Indonesia can no longer be postponed!

XANANA GUSMÃO STATEMENT AT PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

Statement by the leader of the Resistance Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, read on his behalf at the Plenary of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor, hosted by the Portuguese Parliament, Lisbon, 31 May - 2 June 1995

His Excellency, The President of the Portuguese Republic. Dr. Mario Soares

His Excellency, The Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic. Dr. Barbosa de Melo

His Excellency, The Prime Minister, Professor Cavaco Silva

Distinguished Participants:

On behalf of the Maubere People, I wish to thank the Portuguese authorities, on this particularly significant occasion, for organising this Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor, in conformity with the Portuguese Constitution, which provides for "all necessary acts" to be undertaken to defend East Timor's right to self-determination and national independence.

I would also like to express our gratitude to the participants from all over the world who, by attending the Conference, have endorsed our people's legitimate fight against Indonesian colonialism and denounced international complicity.

My greetings to His Excellency the Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic, Dr. Barbosa de Melo, and to all the distinguished Portuguese deputies who, in their representation of our Portuguese brothers, have been honouring Portugal's responsibilities towards East Timor.

I wish to extend greetings to the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on East Timor, Dr. Fernando Amaral, and to all those doggedly working in support of the Timorese cause.

My salutations to His Excellency the Foreign Minister, Dr. Durão Barroso, whose political tenacity has helped keep intact the Maubere resolve to resist the foreign occupier. I would also like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Dr. Quartin-Santos and the members of his team, for the commitment they have shown in dealing with the problem of East Timor.

I send my personal greetings, as well as those of my people, to a particularly outstanding friend of East Timor, His Excellency the President of the Republic, Dr. Mario Soares who, in whichever part of the world he happens to be, never passes up an opportunity to talk about the grueling strug-

gle of the Maubere people and their longings, and to urge the international community to uphold international law and the universal principles as they apply to the problem of East Timor.

Lastly, to the Portuguese media, to all dedicated friends of East Timor, to the Portuguese people, and the international solidarity movement, I would like to express the gratitude of the Maubere people, and their confidence that the flame of their struggle will carry on burning in everyone's hearts.

Distinguished Participants:

It was in Lisbon in May 1974 that the right of East Timor to choose its own future was recognised. To choose its own future! - rather a sentence to bitter captivity for a people to whom that right has been denied all this time.

Here, in Lisbon, 21 years later, we meet not only to acknowledge that very fact, but to seek a way out of the problem.

It has been nineteen and a half years since Indonesia's generals turned East Timor into a military training camp, in which they could test out everything from old war ships acquired after independence to the need to modernise the navy, from small transport aircraft to Bronco OVB-10s, from Sky Hawks to other modern hunters, from modern ground artillery to the technical-tactical efficiency of its ground forces.

For nineteen and a half years, the murdering occupation forces have simply been putting into practice Indonesia's strategy of physical and cultural genocide of our people.

In 1974, in this same month of May, two nationalist parties were born. They were to represent the conscience of the Timorese people, to become the reliquary of the ancestral struggles against colonialism, and to secure the promise of a future in which there would be freedom and peace.

The political apprenticeship of the Timorese was a bitter experience, like the early days of all political processes which follow a difficult gestation period.

During the course of the fight for the survival of our homeland and our people, we tried to construct an organised resistance which would combine and orientate the participation of all East Timor's citizens, regardless of their political and ideological convictions, in which freedom of choice would be guaranteed, and in which, above all, the precise non-partisan role of the glorious Falintil would be defined.

In Timor there are only two armies: the powerful ABRI and its armed collaborators and the small but invincible FALINTIL guerrilla force.

Sadly, for the puritan spirit of some Timorese, the term Maubere has a stigma attached to it. The Maubere people's sacrifices and suffering have taught us to understand that the only significant disagreement between Timorese should be based on whether one is for or against East Timor's right. Nothing else should be used to justify less honest attitudes towards our people's heroic resistance.

Highly esteemed as the Maubere people are throughout the world (a fact which greatly honours the people of East Timor), we announce here that the CNRM, a term now synonymous with the idealism intrinsic to a life and death struggle, may eventually come to be known as the National Council of Timorese Resistance, a fact which is proof of the good will of all of us who take upon our shoulders the responsibility of liberating the fatherland and people of East Timor.

It should be understood that this gesture means we will do everything to continue honouring and serving the supreme interests of the heroic Maubere people and that, for this tormented people, it will not be us who harbour the self-love which always leads to narrow-mindedness and inconsequential actions.

Distinguished participants:

Each year, tripartite meetings on East Timor are held between Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General. These meetings have now become routine and practically unproductive.

From the outset, Indonesia has always used its powers of economic persuasion to entice governments to accept its military annexation of the territory as a fait accompli. During the cold war, when the world, split in two, was completely subject to the interests of the super powers, Jakarta enjoyed unequalled impunity to commit the most barbarous atrocities on the people of East Timor.

In September 1975, it invaded the territory at the borders, taking Maliana up to the Atabai line and, on the following 7 December, openly and indiscriminately massacred men, women, children and old people. The West's complicity was obvious, not only in the form of the green light given by Ford and Kissinger who, just days before the invasion, had been meeting with Suharto, but also by the fact that Australia, which had foreknowledge of the invasion and had recalled its own citizens (members of the Australian Red Cross and the ACFOA), did not lift a finger to prevent the events which would violate international law.

Indonesia's generals, who knew where the old Portuguese barracks were located,

dropped paratroopers and marines on Dili, then on Baucau, and then on Lospalos. Only a small number of people, those caught unawares, were stopped from fleeing to the mountains. In spite of the military might used by Indonesia, over 90% of the population resisted in the mountains in an organised manner, under the protection of their Armed Forces of Liberation, the glorious FALINTIL.

In May 1976, a so-called Provisional Assembly, the members of which were picked off the streets, signed a petition calling for East Timor's integration, while the people were being subjected to daily bombardments and were dying in their thousands, blasted away by bullets, stricken by hunger and sickness, and forced to leave their homes and belongings (which were set on fire) and to flee, exhausted, to escape the invading army.

Because the people would rather die than surrender to the new colonialist, from September 1977 the Indonesian generals proceeded to carry out successive, large-scale military offensives, surrounding and attacking the enormous pockets of resistance which, one by one, were overthrown, because of the colossal difference between the Indonesian forces and the Maubere resisters. These offensives, which sowed death and destruction throughout East Timor, only ended on 22 November 1978, with the defeat of the last remnant of popular resistance in Matebian. East Timor's population was, at last, totally under control, but not before hundreds of thousands of its children had paid a high price for defending their country.

Subsequently, the starvation and disease which swept through the enforced amassment of people, together with the interminable mass killings which took place throughout East Timor, resulted in many more thousands of victims, reaching a total of one third of the entire population.

This is the kind of integration which, at the request of that puppet Provisional Assembly, was to have been brought about quickly and without any referendum, and which many Western countries (in order to safeguard their economic relations with Indonesia) either pretend to be unaware of, or openly say is what the people of East Timor deserve!

However, contradictory as it may seem, many governments which, because of their economic links with Jakarta, recognise the "real physical repressive control" of the murdering forces of occupation, which they call sovereign, do not hesitate to state that they do not agree with the way in which East Timor was annexed.

When Namibia became independent after 40 years of South African rule, the East

Timorese felt renewed hope that international law and universal standards of justice, freedom and peace had finally caught the attention of the international community and that it would turn to other cases which still shame the world.

When the Cold War ended amid the ruins of the Berlin wall, the Maubere people believed that the changes, which were hoped would benefit all humanity, would eventually have some bearing on their own struggle. One by one, the Baltic Republics became independent sovereign nations, just like those of central Asia that regained their freedom and right to manage their own future - the same freedom and the same right to which East Timor aspires.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was a carbon copy of the East Timor tragedy, from the arguments used to justify it, and the farce of the provisional assemblies representing a country which had just been attacked, to the repression and decimation of the people. The UN's reaction - its condemnation of the invasion, demand for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of the invading forces, and recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty - was identical to the reaction of the UN General Assembly and its Security Council at the time of the invasion of East Timor on 7 December 1975. Up to this point, two aspects made the two events identical: the violation of international law and universal principles that recognise the right of all peoples to self-determination and national independence, and the reaction of the UN, depository of international law and universal principles, which condemned the illegal, forced annexation of another territory.

However, this is where the similarities end, because the reaction of the international community was not the same. In the case of East Timor, the world's vehement condemnation of Indonesia, contained in the first resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly, was gradually overshadowed by the economic interests of the countries calling themselves the champions of human rights and the fundamental rights of peoples.

While the ethnic, cultural and physical genocide perpetrated in East Timor by Indonesia was allowed to drag on for 17 years, with the international community waiting for Jakarta's generals to set the exact date for the extermination of the FALINTIL, so they could finally put the lid on what had been a difficult issue, in the case of Kuwait, because of the oil that was so precious to the West's companies, an international force, unprecedented in the history of the UN, came to the rescue of that small territory full of sand dunes and delivered it back to its people.

Today, while conflicts such as Chechnya and Bosnia reveal peoples' insurgence against foreign domination, they also demand that the international community realise that a New World Order cannot be achieved merely through the rhetoric of globalisation, which tends to assess standards of justice, freedom and peace in terms of the economic interests involved.

When a colonialist regime such as Indonesia is offered the chance to send its murdering troops to join the UN Peace-Keeping Forces, that regime has obviously won silence about the massacre of hundreds of thousands of East Timorese during the past almost 20 years of military occupation.

When a dictatorship that promotes dialogue in the case of other conflicts in order to improve its image, and yet obstinately denies constructive dialogue to, not only its own people (in violation of international law) but others (as in the case of East Timor's forced annexation), that same regime obviously feels it has sufficient backing to continue, with a degree of impunity, its repressive practices against its own people as well as against the Maubere people. This is what happens when the Clinton Administration considers restoring aid for training Indonesian military personnel, even though this goes against the principles themselves which state that, apart from in exceptional circumstances, military assistance must not be given to any country that engages in gross violations of human rights.

Such is the case of Jakarta: it disregards international law and the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, and does not adhere to the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which it is president, nor does it feel itself to be answerable to the Movement's member states about the violation of one of the basic principles of this organisation, encompassing a handful of troubled and confused third-world nations which have come to be influenced by the political cynicism of the West.

If violations of universal principles are simply accepted as being internal affairs of countries which are usually good areas for financial investment, political morality is far from leading the world to more egalitarian awareness, based on standards of justice for all, freedom for all, and peace for all.

I believe that, after nineteen and a half years of abuses and intolerable violation of human rights in East Timor, and militaristic expansionist ambition which has denied the Maubere people their basic right to choose their own destiny, this Inter-Parliamentary Conference is not going to waste time merely establishing whether the East Timorese are entitled to that right and whether Indonesia has violated it.

Indonesia has almost totally disregarded the resolutions which, at the end of the day, are repetitions of so many others - so many that the regime believes that sooner or later "they'll just get tired of it," and hopes that the following year the number of signatories will be smaller and the resolutions less convincing.

East Timor and its people have been particularly affected by the territory's geographical location, inside a real ring of fire between Indonesia and Australia. The latter allows Indonesia's generals to become brave murderers and turns its own leaders and politicians into their accomplices.

Many Western countries are enjoying investment facilities, profits from the purchase and sale of technology and even war equipment, at the expense of the ethnic and cultural genocide of the Timorese.

The Maubere people would accept its own extermination in the interests of upholding international law and the universal standards of freedom, justice and peace, and would face the consequences alone, encouraged only by the solidarity of peoples and by the sense of justice of men and women of good will, as attested to by this Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor.

However, although its burden becomes heavier with each passing year, and in spite of all the tears and disappointments, reflection and pain (that any people fighting for freedom and independence have to go through) the Maubere people never despaired to the point of giving up the fight! The people of East Timor have their sights set on the future, and the future has, since the beginning of time, meant hope, the future has always held the promise of changes, and the future will always bring us the right moment for the victory of truth over error, and of justice over crime.

I have already said that Jakarta's error is not to be found in all these years of military, repressive occupation of East Timor. Jakarta's error was the act of invasion on 7 December 1975, - the official date which does not erase the vandalism of the border violations from September onwards of the same year. Out of this error, justified by the lies which the international political system of the time used in order to defend the interests of the super powers (former US Secretary of State, James Baker, even admitted recently that, with regard to the invasion of East Timor, the US had made mistakes, and continues to do so), another political error was born, which today frightens Indonesian generals: the fatal lie that the Timorese people freely chose integration.

The former Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusumatdja, stated not long ago that they could not agree to a referendum because they would lose credibility, they would lose

face. Indonesia's generals are still not intelligent enough to admit to political and military defeat by a small, ill-equipped guerrilla force, on a meagre patch of land containing half a million people, and they try at all costs to include East Timor in the chronic problem of "kesatuan e persatuan Indonesia." They go to great lengths to convince the Indonesian people that East Timor poses a threat to the unity of the Indonesian state. This is the only political weapon which enables Jakarta's generals to carry on lying to the Indonesian people about a situation which, they know themselves, is going to end badly for them.

Indonesian society is gradually realising that the case of East Timor is a case of international law, and no longer an "internal affair of Indonesia," as government propaganda has been claiming. Gradually, our brothers the Indonesians, eager for democracy and justice, have begun to understand that their own government has been telling lie upon lie about the problem of East Timor.

For as long as the regime is dominated by the military, from parliament right down to the villages, it is unlikely that Jakarta will ever acknowledge that it cannot regard globalisation merely in terms of economic benefits, or as a phenomenon granting it the right to ignore what it refers to as the "interference" of foreign governments and to use the threat of economic retaliation against them should they dare to raise the East Timor case.

If, however, the West refrained from using double standards with such total insensitivity, Indonesia alone would not be so arrogant. Nevertheless, we believe that the aging Indonesian regime will soon be finding fewer places to turn to. The wheels of history carry within them the embryos of renovation, and the rusty cogs of yesterday will inevitably be substituted by new parts belonging to a scheme for global transformation of the region.

The East Timorese have been shouldering the burden of resistance to the most sadistic colonialist power since the Second World War. In the year of its 50th anniversary of independence, Indonesia knows that its hands are stained with Maubere blood - blood that debases its own history of emancipation from Dutch colonialism.

The problem lies with Indonesia's generals, who were not made to reflect, but trained to buy weapons, equip armies and plan attacks. These are the men who hold the reins of power in Indonesia, along with major consortiums that are in as much debt as those of any third-world country but which are saved by the country's immense resources - resources which fill the coffers of a small elite of conglomerates at the ex-

pense of the great majority. Fifteen million people in Indonesia live below the poverty line. It makes us want to shout out to Suharto to look after those 15 million Indonesians and leave in peace the people of East Timor, whose population is being decimated by the occupying forces.

However, the vicious circle of politics leads us to reconsider outside pressure as a means of persuading the Jakarta regime to change its attitude. The Indonesian solidarity movement put it like this: the invasion of East Timor was an adventure for Jakarta's militaristic regime. If the Indonesian people had been governed by a democratic regime, an Indonesian parliament would never have agreed to the annexation of a territory by force, in violation of the fundamental principles of the Bandung Conference, which created the Non-Aligned Movement! It is a shame that the countries that champion human rights close their eyes, not just to the repressive political situation in Indonesia but also to the violation of international law in the case of East Timor.

This is where the international community's responsibility comes in!

Distinguished Participants,

We trust that this responsibility will be in the forefront of the minds of all participants and that this Conference will look closely into the current legal-political status of East Timor.

It is time that a solution to the problem was found. It is time that Jakarta learnt that the case of East Timor can no longer be viewed as a separatist struggle. East Timor has never been a part of Indonesia, just as it has never belonged to Portugal. As was the case with Portugal in the past, Indonesia today maintains a merely physical military and political-administrative presence in the territory, as the colonial power.

In a few days from now, the all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue will take place.

To think that the East Timorese are likely to reach some form of reconciliation in Austria is to suggest that the cause of East Timor is nothing more than a problem of differences amongst the East Timorese themselves. In fact the cause of East Timor's problems resides in the fact of Indonesia having forcibly annexed the territory, then of what importance is reconciliation amongst East Timorese? We say this because, for positive results to be ensured, any solution to the problem, any discussion of the issues, any formulation of new ideas must grow out of consideration of the political situation of the territory. One cannot escape from this. Nor could anyone with any sense applaud the efforts of Galvão de Melo in offering Portuguese language courses to the Indonesians (whilst in East

Timor itself use of the language is banned), in encouraging Portuguese youth to perform folk songs and dances in Indonesia, in selling wine, sardines and Portuguese olive oil to Indonesia as significant "confidence building measures."

It is pointless to imagine that a meeting of Timorese integrationists and supporters of the resistance can launch ideas such as respect for Human Rights in East Timor. Resolutions on Human Rights in East Timor, from those passed by the United Nations to the European Community, from those of the European Union to individual governments, have consistently failed to exert any influence upon the Indonesian regime. It is also pointless to dream that the meeting could result in demands for a withdrawal of or even a reduction in numbers of the forces of occupation in the territory. The integrationists make pronouncements in defence of the official position of the colonial regime which they serve, as functionaries of Golkar and of the government from which they enjoy handsome privileges, at the expense of the blood of their own brothers and sisters who they have helped to arrest, torture and murder, only then to deny that any of this has taken place.

If, by some miracle which defies all logic, Antonio Parada, Xavier do Amaral, Abilio Osorio or Chico Lopes were to address any of the above issues, it is unthinkable to imagine that Indonesia's generals would be immediately predisposed to agree with them. As far as Jakarta is concerned, these Timorese who have proven their willingness to repeat the government's rhetoric, are mere cassettes. For as long as they are able to reproduce intelligible sounds, they are played. When they are worn-out, they are discarded. They are of no importance as human beings. They are important merely for the services they render to the government and only for as long as they are of use to the same. There are numerous examples of Timorese, formerly hailed as indispensable figures in terms of East Timor's integration, who, realising their mistakes, later refused to continue participating actively in genocide, and who are now failures in the eyes of the occupier.

For a long time Jakarta has attempted to sow the seeds of political discord amongst the Timorese, drawing the attention of the world to this contention and away from the facts of its military annexation which has cost the lives of around 300,000 Timorese.

Indonesia's Centre for Strategic Studies was indeed clever in its selection of the players, however, as with the entire farce it is promoting, Indonesia is all too aware that it is its own credibility which is at stake.

It is our hope that none of those Timorese participating in the meeting in

Austria will forget for one moment that the problem of East Timor is a case of the violation of International Law and of the denial of the universal principles of justice, freedom and peace, and that they acknowledge that only full recognition of the substance of the problem will lead to a solution.

It is also to be hoped that the Timorese participants in the meeting will, in this once in a life time opportunity, act upon their responsibilities as citizens of East Timor and that they will be inspired with the courage and fighting spirit of our ancestors in order to affirm to the world that we are a People with a Homeland which for the past 19 and a half years the complacency of western governments has allowed to be desecrated. For the first time in our lives, may we prove our worthiness as the sons and daughters of our People! By taking a stance of which we can be proud and which will not insult the combative spirit of our small half-island nation, we can be sure of a rapid solution being found in the interests of our people's well-being.

The National Council of Maubere Resistance, along with Fretilin, and with the support of UDT and of all of the nationalist resistance forces such as Renetil, AST and other independent groups, declare that in an independent East Timor, no more Timorese blood will be shed in the process of national reconstruction.

To all of our Timorese brothers and sisters who, motivated by personal ambitions, have seen in integration a means of improving their lot in physical/material terms and failing to take into account the destruction of the spirit and the historic and cultural uniqueness of our people, we declare that no acts of hatred or revenge will be perpetrated, and that they will be treated with tolerance. It has been the war, provoked by Indonesia's expansionist ambitions, which has divided us, and I truly believe that we Timorese are sufficiently mature to realise true reconciliation in an independent Homeland, consciously closing the book on the dark pages of our history for the purpose of working, hand in hand, for the future of our small Nation and for that of our children.

This is the promise of true reconciliation, just as it is also the deepest desire of our People and the most sacred demand of our Homeland. It would be our symbolic 'hemuran,' an act signifying fraternity/brotherhood, taught to us by the ancestors who also passed down to us the sacred ideal of the Homeland expressed in the words 'fatuk no rai, uma no ahi!'

Dignified Participants,

We would like to express our appreciation to His Excellency, the Secretary General of the United Nations, for the firmness

with which he dealt with the question of East Timor during his recent visit to Indonesia.

Amidst the psychological fatigue common to any nation whose resistance has spanned 20 years and, more tragically still, which has been forced to rely entirely upon its own capacity to resist, the Maubere people are inspired with new hope, renewed faith and full confidence that the United Nations, as the depository of the fundamental rights of man and as guardian of the universal principles of justice, freedom, peace and International Law, will not permit a case such as that of East Timor to be purely and simply relegated to the category of an internal problem of the government of Indonesia.

However, in order to support the United Nations in the performance of its role in terms of conflict resolution, a clear and firm stance on the part of the world's politicians is of vital importance! And today more than ever before, all political stances adopted in defence of law, freedom, justice and peace are crucial in forcing Indonesia's colonial regime to understand that Human Rights are universal and, as a member of the United Nations, that it must abide by International Law.

They are more crucial now than ever before, precisely because the UN Secretary General himself has affirmed that a solution can come only from the UN General Assembly, thus robbing Indonesia of its delusion that reconciliation is synonymous with integration.

Indonesia has taken advantage of the deferment of debate on East Timor in the UN General Assembly to display its arrogance and defiance to the international community. Indonesia has gone to all lengths, using to maximum advantage the influence it has acquired as the recipient of investment from the Third World, to earn itself a positive image in the case of the problem of Cambodia, advancing its position as a member of the UN Security Council, even proposing itself as a protagonist in the search for a solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The UN Secretary General was emphatic when he reminded an Indonesian journalist who was interviewing him on a number of international problems that Indonesia has one of its own on its hands, i.e. East Timor, about which he was not being asked. A reminder to Jakarta that East Timor cannot be considered merely a domestic issue.

Now is the appropriate time for this Conference to adopt firm and clear resolutions. The International Court of Justice in the Hague has the case of the Timor Gap on its hands. We believe that the integrity, professionalism and spirit of justice which are the foundations of the credibility which

the Judges of the International Court of Justice have earned for themselves, will determine the outcome of this litigation, brought against Australia by Portugal.

We have no doubt that, despite the fact that it is not a member of the International Court of Justice, Indonesia and its agents are making efforts to exert their corrupting influence in the corridors of the Court, as they have done with numerous human rights experts in Geneva and UN diplomats in New York. This is the pattern of Indonesia's lobby worldwide and one of the most prominent features of Javanese culture.

Dignified Participants,

What, therefore, is the solution? Any solution to the East Timor case must attempt to respond to two objectives: a - recognition of the international nature of the problem and b - protection of the interests of all involved/interested parties.

Jakarta has always resisted recognising the Timorese people as an interested party, despite their being directly involved in the conflict. The intra-Timorese meeting represents, therefore, an important step forward, examined from the point of view of the necessity for Indonesia to officially recognise the Resistance as an element possessing the right to be consulted and, by extension, acknowledging the inappropriateness of the Indonesian generals' use of the GPK (security disruptor gangs) stamp.

If in the defence of what constitutes the substance of the problem, the need for certain norms in the implementation of the solution is foreseen, a referendum is the target to be aimed at. Jakarta has consistently refused to consider the possibility of a referendum, firstly because of the dictatorial nature of the government under which elections have never been free and, secondly, because it is a colonialist regime and a consultation of this kind which carries the risk of confirming it as such is unacceptable.

Whatever the solution is, if it is not the freely expressed will of the People of East Timor, it cannot be considered a genuine, let alone lasting, solution.

A solution can only be considered just if it is the expression of the sovereign will of the people of the territory.

And in this era of worldwide democratic transformation, Jakarta must begin to include a referendum as the most free and democratic form of decision-making in its political dictionary.

We admire greatly the political courage of the governments of those countries which, having recently passed from being dictatorships to democratic regimes, have invited international observers to attest to the free and honest nature of their first general elections.

In the case of East Timor, a referendum must be supervised by the United Nations, given that the Indonesia regime clearly fails to understand the true meaning of democracy in its universal sense.

We are within our rights to demand an immediate referendum! This revindication is legitimate since the nature of the problem points to, even demands it!

However, considering various aspects and essentially respecting the democratic principles which are the backbone of the implementation of a referendum, because we respect the interests of Jakarta represented by the interests of the group of Timorese who desire integration, CNRM has formulated a plan which would allow for the safe implementation of political mechanisms aimed at ensuring a situation of political calm and responsibility on the part of all Timorese and essentially on the part of parties and mass organisations, regardless of political tendency or ideology.

Over the past 19 and a half years, Jakarta has shown its bad faith, manipulating the world with its lies and empty promises. The need for international supervision via the mechanisms of the United Nations system is urgent. Portugal's participation in its capacity as administering power will serve to pave the way for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia.

CNRM's Peace Plan which has the full support of its constituent elements, Fretilin and of all social forces in East Timor such as the Church, Youth represented by Renetil and AST and other groups existing in the territory, has defined a series of phases which are expected to respond to the unfolding needs of a truly honest and fair solution process.

The combination of the measures proposed in Phase I serve specifically to create an atmosphere of individual and collective security for all who, at that moment, are living on Timorese soil.

Only the presence of the United Nations and of International Organisations can guarantee stability and security, can ensure the realisation of concrete measures on the part of both Indonesia and of the Timorese resistance. What we most fear is the provocation/intervention of salaried agents of the intelligence apparatus, encouraged by the occupying military authorities to continually destabilize the situation.

Over the past 20 years of Indonesian military occupation, Indonesia has armed large numbers of East Timorese who have become as murderous as the Indonesian generals and who, on a daily basis, act as the spearhead of the activities of the intelligence agents, intimidating, persecuting and arresting the people.

As with all colonial regimes, the occupying forces have instigated crimes amongst the natives of the territory in order to then justify the continuing deployment of their troops in the territory.

This will be the period of true reconciliation. A sensitive and extremely decisive period in terms of future stages of the process. And it is in this period that the need for a climate of confidence and, above all, for mechanisms which inspire and are conducive to this climate of confidence must be seriously taken account of.

The dismantling of the secret police apparatus is an important condition, as is the withdrawal of Indonesian armed forces.

The disarming of all natives of East Timor, formerly provided with weapons by Indonesia, is a precondition of the disarmament of the Falintil.

Such control of the situation, exercised by the United Nations, or by peace keeping forces, possibly originating from Portugal, would be the surest means of burying once and for all the spectre of a civil war, the subject of much Indonesian propaganda to date. We have never believed in the possibility of another civil war breaking out amongst the East Timorese. It is Jakarta which is constantly referring to this possibility, and therefore the most secure solution is the one we are proposing.

Phase II is the period of the readjustment of consciences, the period of political experiments, of technical and professional preparation of the people, of affirmation of socio-economic and cultural potentialities.

The supporters of integration will enjoy the same rights and be subjected to the same obligations as those defenders of the right of our people to self-determination and national independence.

We do not deny that tempers are inflamed, because the violence and brutality have been exclusively the practice of the criminal forces of occupation and those in their pay.

We understand the reasons behind a rejection of an immediate referendum, and that the results could be influenced by these inflamed tempers. It is our desire that our adversaries enjoy the same opportunities as us, and time will not be the only factor in determining the mood of the people, but also our own acts, in defence of true reconciliation, will be proof of our political goodwill in solving the problem of East Timor in the light of International Law and according to the norms applied by the UN in solving other identical problems.

It is time that Jakarta realised that dialogue is not just an idea which one proposes to the Cambodians or to the Croatians and the Serbs, but a principle to be applied, particularly in view of Indonesia's holding

of the presidency of the Non-Aligned Movement!

It is time that Jakarta realised that colonialism is any form of oppression perpetrated by one nation over another and that the fight against colonialism is one of the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement.

It is time that Jakarta reflected that its fifty years of independence carry the stain of the blood of some 300,000 Timorese, victims of the repression of a war which is now entering its twentieth year and which has been imposed upon a small and defenceless neighbouring people!

We do not demand to be considered the winners in this war which would only shame Indonesia. This presumption defies all reason. Accepting one's errors has never been a source of shame to anyone, and is in fact an act which affirms a person's worthiness of respect.

Global transformations are no historical accident. Neither are changes for the better, leading to progress. Accidents are attempts to halt the wheels of history, and when these attempts threaten to abusively defy time itself, they are called obsession and arrogance.

Jakarta, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of national independence, has an opportunity to make the event an historic one by heralding changes which correspond to the rhetoric of globalisation and a New World Order and which are consistent with the United Nations' target of eradicating colonialism by the year 2000.

As President of the Non-Aligned Movement and of a State which we respect, and whose fiftieth year of independence we join in celebrating, we appeal to President Suharto for an act of political courage.

Independence is the fundamental right of all peoples of the world. And President Suharto is well aware of this! Our brothers, the people of Indonesia, expect from their President political acts which will result in them being immortalised in history as a great nation of the Third World, poised as it is to face a future of great progress, where democracy, social justice and peace are the parameters of Indonesian society and an example to neighbouring peoples and states, including to the Sovereign State of East Timor!

Dignified Participants,

We know that Jakarta is not yet prepared to recognise that it is time for political change. Only President Suharto himself knows when the need for such political change will be acknowledged!

CNRM is determined to take all measures necessary to counter the obstacles which Jakarta has thrown in our path.

The Special Representative of CNRM, our beloved brother in the struggle and tire-

less fighter for the liberation of our people, will continue in his efforts to bring about the gradual implementation of CNRM's program aimed at the creation of favourable socio-political and economic conditions, under the indispensable supervision of the United Nations. And these efforts will continue until Indonesia accepts that East Timor is a non self-governing territory with the right to self-determination and to national independence.

In this we will be intransigent and of this, we have greater conviction than Indonesia's generals! Personally, I believe that the Timorese people are ready to assume their responsibilities!

The Maubere people, for their part, are convinced that this Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor, being held for the first time in Lisbon, represents a decisive step forward, as an extension and the result of a long string of magnificent actions, unsurpassable in their zeal and dedication to the Timorese cause, carried out by the international solidarity movement.

We have faith, because you have given us faith, we have hope, because you have helped us to keep it alive. And we know that, with you, with all the men and women of good will world wide, WE WILL WIN!

Long live International Solidarity!

Long live the Just Struggle of the Oppressed!

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES,
WITHOUT RESPITE, ON ALL FRONTS!
TO RESIST IS TO WIN!**

On behalf of CNRM

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão

Commander of the Falintil

Cipinang Prison, 20 May 1995.

XANANA TO BE INDULTED?

Macao, June 7 (LUSA) - abridged - Xanana Gusmão may be indulted by president Suharto in a gesture marking the 50th anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, an official Indonesian source in Jakarta admitted today to LUSA agency over the phone.

"It is very likely that Xanana Gusmão be contemplated with the presidential indult," said the government source in Jakarta, contacted by phone from Macao. The source asked to remain anonymous.

Explanation From Pedro Pinto Leite, IPJET

Indult does have a meaning in English, and that the word comes from Latin 'indultus.' But one cannot translate the Portuguese word 'indulto' (which developed a specific meaning in criminal law) for the English word 'indult' (which seems to have only kept the canon law meaning given by the Webster's quotation).

It is very difficult to translate legal terms: as legal realities are different from country to country, translations of legal terms can only be approximate (and in case of countries with different legal systems, like Portugal - roman-Germanic - and United Kingdom - common law - translations are often impossible). Because I'm not familiar with English criminal law, I cannot give you the right translation into English of the Portuguese term 'indulto' either. The most I can do is to describe it. 'Indulto' (also known as 'perdao publico') is a form of release from punishment for an offense. The granting of the 'indulto' totally extinguishes the punishment. It differs from amnesty as it does not extinguish the offense, but the punishment only (amnesty works in fact as if the illegal act had not occurred).

Besides, this particular 'indulto' would be granted under the law of Indonesia, where Xanana is serving a prison sentence (the outcome of a trial, it must be stressed, which was illegal before International Law), thus the translation into Portuguese was very probably already inaccurate.

Apart from the differences of terminology, what would be very useful to know is the following:

1- Is the Indonesian military regime really trying to get rid of its East Timorese Mandela in this way?

2- Has this 'indult' to do with the Sudjono's 'mercy petition' to Suharto (not signed by Xanana and presented to Suharto after Sudjono had ceased to be Xanana's advocate)?

3- Even if this 'indult' is an unilateral measure of Suharto, will Xanana decide to refuse it (for instance, if it does not comply with the conditions he had formulated for his release, namely the liberation of all the other East Timorese prisoners)? If I well remember, the acceptance of the Portuguese 'indulto' is obligatory. If it is also that the case in Indonesia, Xanana's refusal will certainly be one more affliction to Jakarta.

CLEMENCY FOR XANANA NOT UNDER CONSIDERATION

Jakarta, June 8 (REUTER)- Jailed East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão is not being considered for a pardon from the Indonesian government, the Secretary Murdiono said on Thursday.

"We do not yet have any process in that direction," Murdiono told Reuters.

The Portuguese news agency LUSA, quoting an unnamed government source, reported from Macau on Wednesday that President Suharto could give a pardon to Xanana to coincide with Indonesia's 50th anniversary celebrations in August.

Indonesia's government traditionally cuts jail terms for a number of prisoners each

year to coincide with its anniversary of independence from Dutch rule on August 17.

The Indonesian Foreign Ministry said in a statement on Thursday there was "not the smallest shred of truth" shown to be feasible by Indonesian law."

"This is obviously part and parcel of the disinformation campaign being waged by the detractors of Indonesia to confuse and mislead the international community about what is actually happening in Indonesia," the statement said.

"Certainly, disinformation tactics to embarrass or pressure Indonesia into releasing Xanana will not work," it concluded.

Xanana was captured in November 1992 and jailed for life in May the following year after a controversial trial. Suharto later reduced the sentence to 20 years.

Until his arrest Xanana led the pro-independence Fretilin guerrilla movement, which is still in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and unilaterally annexed it the following year, an act not recognised by the United Nations, which still regards Lisbon as the administering power.

RESISTANCE LEADERS MEET AND SPEAK OUT

A PORTUGUESE CITIZEN (DOMINGOS SARMENTO ALVES INTERVIEW)

O Independente, 13 January 1995. By M.Aviliz Figueiredo. Translated from Portuguese

Interview with Domingos Sarmiento Alves, leader of the students who entered US Embassy in Jakarta.

Lisbon – Thirty year old Domingos Sarmiento Alves was born in Ossu-Viqueque on 3 August 1964 - eleven years before the Indonesians invaded East Timor. When he was eleven, he fled into the countryside with his parents to escape the bombardment of Indonesian artillery fire. The continuous shelling lasted for forty-two days and nights. He had just finished primary school, where he had learned to speak Portuguese. He can still make himself understood, although his Portuguese is far from perfect. In 1989 he became involved in politics for the first time. It was he who took the first foreign journalist into the bush to meet Xanana. He was wanted by the authorities. It was Domingos who maintained contact with the foreign press and with the embassies in

Jakarta. It was he who organised the student protests in Indonesia. The authorities still wanted him. He was studying English Literature at university in Indonesia. He was entitled to receive three student grants: one from the Indonesian Government, another from the University itself, and a further study grant from Germany. Just like many Timorese students, he used his money to help the resistance. On 12 November 1994 he jumped over the walls of the US Embassy in Jakarta. He was leading over 28 other Timorese students. He was their spokesman. It was exactly three years since the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery. He had never been imprisoned. He had never taken part in guerrilla activities. Now he is the representative abroad of RENETIL - the East Timorese Students' National Resistance. He is afraid, just like anyone else.

Q: Is Timor an Indonesian domestic issue?

No it is not just a domestic matter affecting Indonesia. It is an issue between Portugal and Indonesia, and an issue between Indonesia and the international community.

Q: Is that why you are in favour of the Portuguese Government giving concrete support to the guerrilla movement?

That is not exactly what I meant. My Portuguese is not good, and the journalist misunderstood me and did not let me explain. I want to make it perfectly clear that I have no intention of asking the Portuguese Government for anything like that. However, I do want the Portuguese to be more forceful with their European allies - to put pressure on them, and convince them not to sell arms to Indonesia. Likewise, within NATO. The Falintil are the Portuguese army, NATO. Why is NATO helping the Indonesians to destroy its own army? Now do you understand my statement?

Q: What is the impression of the Portuguese Government over there in Timor?

While we are saying we are Portuguese citizens, what happens? The Government is not taking care of its citizens. ... In Timor, we still defend Portugal's honour, and fight for European culture as a whole, and particularly Portuguese culture. As Portuguese citizens that is our duty.

Q: Has the Portuguese state forgotten about its citizens in East Timor?

Obviously Portugal has not completely forgotten about us. There have been changes. In the last few years more attention has been focused on Timor but, sometimes, we feel frustrated, because while we continue to die over there we feel that Portugal's help is just rhetoric. If we just had mortar fire and cannons and did not let them sleep, they would soon withdraw. I know

that we can help the Falintil. The system is corrupt. The Government is corrupt. It is easy to buy their weapons from them. If we can just help the Falintil ...

Q: They would achieve independence?

We could make it happen more quickly. If this were to last two or 5 years longer, we could shorten that period to two years, or one year.

US domination is everywhere. The UN is controlled by the US.

Q: So, are you in favour of the Portuguese Government giving direct support to the guerrilla movement, rather than limiting its activities to pressuring the international community about arms sales to Indonesia?

I believe that would be preferable. Now I am saying that as a Portuguese citizen. It would be better if the Portuguese army were to fight the Indonesian army, although, as I said, I have no intention of asking the Portuguese Government to take such a step, and I know that it is out of the question. But I always think of the words of Rui Marques: "Independence is not something that just falls out of the sky." We cannot just sit back and wait for changes in Indonesia. At least Portugal must stop Germany, England and Spain from selling arms to Indonesia. ..

Q: What is the role of the international community in all of this?

We feel that the international community should also take some responsibility. As citizens of the globe, they are responsible for keeping peace in the world, for fighting for the fundamental human rights principles, enshrined in the UN Charter. It is important that they put pressure on their governments to take issue with Jakarta.

Q: When you arrived in Portugal, you said: "It appears that for the past 19 years economic interests have prevailed. Weren't you sure of that from the beginning?"

Yes, of course. There is no doubt about it. We still analyse international situations in the context of each nations' power. The US dominates everywhere. The UN is controlled by the US. Portugal got nowhere when it tried to compare the Timor situation with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. For the US, Indonesia is economically more important than Portugal. But we are not waiting for the US to take action for us. The resistance is proof of that.

Q: What is the reason for all the disagreement between East Timorese resistance groups? Apodeti (Assoc. for the Development of Timor) says one thing, UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) says another. Why can't they get along?

Inside Timor there are no such complications. There are no parties, and no one there to defend them. Everyone comes under the CNRM - the Maubere Resistance National Council. We do not bother about parties. We see them as being useful to achieve an objective, but we do not consider the party as an objective in itself. After the war, after independence, we can then join a party to design programs for the nation's development, but at present, our main concern is the liberation of our people, and the end to their suffering. Political differences are here, outside Timor. In Timor we respect the structure, the CNRM, because the idea that we did not win the war because we were not organised prevails.

Q: So, what went wrong?

What has led to these political differences? Well, the leadership is not to blame. What has happened is that some individuals put their own personal interests above the interests of the nation, the homeland.

Q: Who are they?

I am not going to name names, but I will say that they are all leaders outside Timor. Differences only exist outside our homeland.

Q: Not in Timor?

No, not in Timor.

Q: Why is that?

It is partly because they have not kept up with how the struggle has developed, and they persist with the old idea, the 1975 idea. The struggle has evolved: nowadays we have to proceed differently, and we need to take measures which are relevant to the situation as it is today.

Q: What solution do you favour for East Timor?

Autonomy, as described in the CNRM peace plan. We could call it autonomy for a non-autonomous state. At present the territory is not autonomous. So, autonomy is what we want. Then, later, a referendum.

Q: Do you think a referendum would ever produce a favourable result? Won't the military and psychological pressure applied by the Indonesians on the Timorese inevitably influence the results of a referendum?

A referendum cannot be held in an Indonesian context. It must be held under the auspices of the UN. UN presence in the country would be essential.

Q: Is there any way of getting autonomy without having to wait for the UN?

At the moment, given that Indonesia is a member of the UN, all that is needed is for Indonesia to respect the resolutions passed during this period. I do not think that such a solution would embarrass anyone.

Q: Is the persistent strength of the Timorese a result of bravery or desperation?

Just bravery, and our spirit, our determination to demand our rights. Even without weapons, with just our bare hands, we go out into the streets and confront the Indonesian soldiers.

Q: How do you get over fear?

It's not easy. Before going into action we are always afraid. But once we start, our fear immediately disappears.

Q: What happened when you jumped over the US Embassy walls?

The original idea was not to go into the Embassy. The order I received from the CNRM was to organise a student protest of about 300 people. But there was not enough time. Eight days is insufficient time to mobilise and organise 300 students, because they have to be prepared to face the worst. We had no plan. There were only two possible outcomes: being killed or ending up in prison. We only managed to mobilise 81 people, in Java and Bali. On the way, I had to ask three of our people to get off the train and go and contact the exterior, because soldiers had boarded the trains and I suspected they were going to come down on us. For a while nothing happened, but as we all got off at the last station, some of our companions were arrested.

Q: In Jakarta?

Yes, that was in Jakarta. Then we caught a bus and we dispersed for 15 or 30 minutes. By taxi, we picked up those who had escaped arrest, one by one. We still had not taken any action and there were only 28 of us left. We realised that if we went ahead with the protest, they would just shoot us down. What's more, it was Saturday, and if we were killed, no one would ever hear about it. So, the only alternative left was to jump over the railings of the Embassy, and that is what we did. There were two who did not hear the instructions and, when the police approached they unfurled the banners. They were lucky not to have been caught, but the police were too busy trying to stop us from jumping over. They too managed to jump over the railing. There were 29 of us altogether.

Q: Is it true you were not very well treated by the US Embassy staff?

Yes, in terms of human rights we could complain. The US heralds itself to be the defender of human rights, and then ... They said to us "you have broken into our territory ..."

Q: And didn't they promise to ensure you were safe, but said you had to leave?

Yes, they assured us of that. But in Indonesia such guarantees are worthless. We were

there to deliver our petition directly to President Clinton. The first day, they wanted us to deliver it to the Ambassador, through official channels. But delivering it to the Ambassador would have been easy. It would be handed over and that would be that. It would have ended there. There would be no more problems. But we would only leave after deliver it to President Clinton or to Warren Christopher.

Q: That is when the Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that you could stay there until the intentions of the Indonesians were known. How were you treated after that?

For the first few days we had nothing to eat or drink. Two of us had been hurt by the railings, and they wanted to take them out for treatment. If they had taken them, the Indonesian military would have used them to exert pressure on us, and to get us out into the street. So I did not agree to that suggestion.

Q: What explanation did they give you for that kind of treatment?

None. They just told the guard not to allow us outside a small area of the car park where they had put us. We slept there, on the ground. It was only after two days that they gave us rice, rice and nothing else, twice a day. They also gave us water, and sent for a doctor. For six days we washed without any soap. They used to say to us "You have to understand your position. We are not going to make you any more comfortable than this." After six days they gave us some apples.

But, of course, we were not after food, or getting more comfortable conditions. Our aim was to remind the world about the massacre at Santa Cruz on 12 November, remind the world because it was beginning to forget, as it has forgotten Tiananmen Square. We wanted to remind the superpowers that what matters is not only money. Human rights are also important.

Q: Were you ever in prison?

I was arrested, but managed to get off by showing a temporary stay permit that I had bought off an Indonesian policeman for thirty dollars. Then I went on the run ... and slept for four days at bus stops, and eventually I went when it was safe.

Q: Do you have confidence in Minister Durão Barroso as mediator for Timor?

Yes we have always trusted him. But the issue should not just be dealt with by Portugal and Indonesia. Members of the resistance must take part also. The victim is still being left on the sidelines.

Q: Why is so much hope still placed on the Church, after the Vatican itself, through

Pope John Paul II (who did not kiss the ground when he arrived in Timor) has done so little to help?

Church and politics are different things. Xanana said that the Vatican's position is hypocritical. Christ, the crucified Christ, is inside every Timorese. It is a very unfair position.

Q: Where does Mnsgr. Belo fit into all this? The impression we, outside Timor, have is that he could intervene more, and take a more clearly defined position?

Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo is restricted. He takes a neutral position, but his plays a vital role. He always says what is going on. He gives warnings. He speaks on behalf of the community. He is a man who fully understands the reality of the situation.

Q: And does he really represent that community which is suffering?

Yes, he really represents that community which suffers. He is an impartial man. By that I mean that he does not speak out in favour of independence or integration. He speaks out about the people's suffering, about the Indonesian soldiers killing our people, and that is the reality.

Q: What about Abilio Araujo, who so staunchly supports integration?

Yes, about Abilio Araujo. As I have already said, when he violated his principles as leader of Fretilin, he had lost the meaning of leadership. He was no longer a leader.

Q: Ramos Horta?

Yes, Ramos Horta. He is the CNRM's special representative, Xanana Gusmão's personal representative, and enjoys a lot of credibility in Timor. He puts the common good above his personal interests, and does not just talk, but manages to get concrete things done. That is why he is much admired back in Timor.

Q: Do you believe in him too?

Of course. Of course I believe in him.

STUDENTS TAKE LEAD IN EAST TIMOR RESISTANCE

by Maggie Helwig, Peace News, April 1995

The emergence of the unarmed student resistance in the late 1980s has proven to be one of the most important developments in the East Timorese struggle against the Indonesian occupation; RENETIL, the student coordinating body, has almost certainly been far more effective than the guerrillas, or any of the pre-invasion political parties, in bringing the issue of human rights in East Timor to the attention of the world.

Domingos Sarmento Alves, who is visiting Britain on a speaking tour, was one of the early members of RENETIL. The group

was first founded in 1988 by nine East Timorese students living in Bali.

"Perhaps," says Domingos, "it was a strategy of the Indonesian government, sending us to study at universities in Java and Bali," but it was a strategy that backfired, as the students in different parts of Indonesia realised that they had, in fact, the kind of access to communications that no one in East Timor itself could have. A few months later Domingos, who was studying in Surabaya, East Java, was approached by RENETIL members whom he had known in high school and asked to be an organiser in his region.

In 1990, Domingos was one of the central figures in the audacious project of bringing an Australian journalist up into the mountains to interview guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão. When the interview appeared in the international media, and Domingos' role was discovered, he was forced to flee Surabaya and go underground in Jakarta, earning a living as a private tutor of English. He remained in Jakarta until November 1994.

Domingos defines the aim of RENETIL as "denouncing these human rights violations to the international community" (the organisation has also been responsible for a large number of nonviolent demonstrations, in East Timor and in Indonesia). I asked him why the students had chosen a strategy of unarmed resistance, rather than joining the existing guerrilla struggle; since RENETIL, though clearly on good terms with the guerrillas and often in contact with them, has made a deliberate decision to work in other ways. "If we join the guerrilla, okay, but that's more violence," says Domingos. "We want to express the aspirations of the people peacefully, without any violence; not to solve the conflict through arms. We think it is necessary to solve the question politically." He acknowledges that the decision also involved strategic considerations. "We have to take action in our area; we live in different conditions."

Interestingly, Domingos reports that some young men who actually want to join the FALINTIL guerrilla army are being sent back. "The guerrillas send them back to the cities, saying, your field is in the towns, you can act there." This is confirmed by other accounts, and has several causes (not least the shortage of guns), but seems partly due, at least according to Domingos, to the guerrillas' own perception that their effectiveness is rather limited. "They say, 'You can die here and no one will know. You have to act in the towns.'"

RENETIL has been able to work increasingly closely, over the last few years, with Indonesian students and some teachers. This was a gradual development, but now "students speak openly to the government about

the question of East Timor ... We consider that the question of East Timor is one of the main factors for the acceleration of the Indonesian democracy process, so we have to coordinate this."

Work with Indonesian dissidents was also a simple practical necessity – they had access to that most underestimated of political tools, the telephone.

Domingos was also one of the organisers of the 19 November 1991 demonstration in Jakarta which called for an inquiry into the massacre. All those who attended this demonstration were arrested; one activist, singled out as the ring-leader, is still in jail. In May 1994, José Antonio Neves, the acting secretary-general of RENETIL, was arrested for trying to send a fax to Manila, and Domingos took over his responsibilities. It was his responsibility, then, to coordinate protests during the crucial time of the APEC summit in Jakarta last November. The initial plan had been for a demonstration of 300 students outside the US Embassy in Jakarta, but there were only 78 people around Java able to participate, and of those 78, 49 were arrested on their way to the Embassy (it now seems that all 49 were later released). When Domingos realised that he had a demonstration of fewer than 30 people, he made an instant decision. "I just told them to jump over the fence," he says. "If we had a demonstration, it might last two or three minutes, and we might all be killed. The only thing to do was try to get into the Embassy compound."

In fact, what turned into a 12-day occupation of the Embassy parking lot grabbed the media spotlight away from all the other events around the summit (Peace News December 1994). And the 29 students, who had all been prepared for prison or death, suddenly found themselves on a plane to Portugal, with nothing more than the clothes they were wearing.

Domingos, at just 30 years old, has already lived through several lifetimes. When he was 12, the Indonesians captured his village, and put him, and about 350 other people, in custody in an abandoned school, where they were subjected to gradual starvation, and frequently torture, mutilation and murder as well. His stories from that period are agonising to hear and still painful for him to repeat. Later, he escaped to the slightly less horrific conditions in Viqueque, and, when he was 17, to Dili, where he was able to attend high school and met the others who would later become his colleagues in the resistance. Now, after his years as an underground activist in Surabaya and Jakarta, he is trying to make a life for himself in Portugal as the external representative of RENETIL.

CNRM ON DEATH PENALTY FOR FLOR CONTEMPLACION

CNRM - National Council of Maubere Resistance MEDIA RELEASE, March 27

The contrast between Philippine democratic values and authoritarian regimes, in power in many of the ASEAN countries, has surfaced once again.

Filipinos, and defenders of justice worldwide, have been shocked by the execution of Filipina Flor Contemplacion in Singapore, found guilty of murder by a local court.

Many uncleared uncertainties and ambiguities surround the case, yet Singapore authorities have refused to resubmit it to further legal scrutiny. Once again, the dangers of great and irrevocable injustices resulting from application of the death penalty is underlined.

The East Timorese people, victims of grossest injustice wish to note their condemnation of the use of death penalties, particularly in authoritarian societies with dubious judiciaries.

The single minded expediency of the Singapore authorities, which betrays a disdain for justice and human rights, provides a telling picture of the contempt for human rights so prevalent in the South East Asian region.

Only a few months ago, the Filipino people were shocked by the blunt interference in their internal affairs by the Indonesian regime, trying to suppress a conference on East Timor.

Jakarta, afraid of any scrutiny of its brutal occupation of East Timor, used its weight to the fullest to coerce Manila into disrespecting Philippine constitutionally guaranteed freedoms.

Fortunately, the spirit of freedom and democracy prevailing in the Philippines proved stronger than their government's subservient response to the coarse attempts at blackmail by Indonesia, and the Filipino Judiciary lifted any bans on the conference.

Its holding has done much to strengthen human rights defence solidarity among the oppressed peoples of the ASEAN region, straining relations with authoritarian Indonesia.

It is encouraging to see that faced with the latest expression of contempt for values of justice and respect for human life by an ASEAN authoritarian government, such as the Singapore execution of Flor Contemplacion, the Filipino people have protested in the strongest terms. That this has led to a breakdown in bilateral relations with Manila, putting further great strains on ASEAN itself, is regrettable. It again points to the urgent need for greater respect for human

rights, if regional harmony is to be preserved.

The tragic situation in East Timor is no exception.

CNRM, in the name of the people of East Timor, for 20 years the victims of the grossest violations of human rights by the oppressive Indonesian illegal occupiers of their country, joins with the Filipino people in condemning the hasty execution of Flor Contemplacion, calling for the abolition of the death penalty and the observance of human rights in the ASEAN region.

*José Ramos Horta
CNRM Special Representative*

TIMORESE SUMMIT MEETING

Diario de Noticias, 16 March 1995. By Carla Baptista. Translated from Portuguese Abridged

Lisbon – The Resistance outside East Timor is organising a meeting, in which all the Timorese leaders will be taking part. It will be a formal meeting, planned to take place in the Portuguese capital from 27 to 30 March.

There has already been confirmation of attendance by the principle leaders of UDT, Fretilin and José Ramos Horta's team.

The agenda for the meeting will focus on the restructuring of the Resistance's representation outside East Timor - currently the task of the Diplomatic Front - and on the strategy to be adopted for the "inter-Timorese dialogue." The latter is a UN initiative which will gather together Timorese with different views on the future of the territory for a meeting in Salzburg, from 26 to 30 April, at the UN.

The Resistance meeting in Lisbon will be closed to the public, except for the last day, on which the media and members of the Timorese community will be invited to attend.

The three "branches" of the Resistance - UDT, Fretilin and CNRM (Maubere Resistance National Council) - will each send along ten representatives.

João Carrascalão and Domingos Oliveira (UDT's Chairman and Secretary General respectively), José Luis Guterres, Mari Alkatiri and Roque Rodrigues (Fretilin's head of the external delegation, Secretary for international Relations, and East Timor's Ambassador to Angola), and José Ramos Horta of the CNRM, will be leaders of their respective groups.

Meanwhile, *Diario de Noticias* learned that Ramos Horta has been awarded a prize given each year by a US human rights foundation. The prize of 100,000 dollars was awarded to Ramos Horta after his name was

put forward to the foundation organisers by Bishop Desmond Tutu and by the former UN Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar. Ramos Horta is reported to have already promised to contribute some of the money to a Nobel Peace Prize support fund for Burmese Aung San Suu Kyi.

DIPLOMATIC FRONT PREPARES FOR ACTION

Publico, 27 March 1995. By J. Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The uncertainty hanging over the inter-Timorese meeting has relegated to a secondary position one item on the agenda for the meeting of the Resistance, which starts today in Lisbon. With the Salzburg meeting threatened by the possibility of a boycott on the part of participants close to Jakarta, the thirty leaders of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), Fretilin and UDT, who are taking part in the Lisbon meeting, are going to focus mainly on reinforcing the so-called Co-ordinating Committee of the Diplomatic Front (CCFD), which ensures the Resistance's unity of action abroad.

Formed in April 1993 before the ministerial in Rome, the CCFD has emerged periodically for each new round of negotiations, held under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, between the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers.

Mechanisms to ensure that the CCFD gets more permanent exposure, and rationalisation of resources to achieve greater efficiency are both expected to come out of the Lisbon meeting. For example, there is a need for the choice of just one person representing the Resistance to co-ordinate activities in Lisbon - responsibility for which is currently being shared by leaders of the CNRM, UDT and Fretilin.

It was not only for practical reasons (many Timorese leaders were here attending the VI Days for Timor ...) that Lisbon was chosen as the venue for the meeting, but also because of the awareness that the future of East Timor passes increasingly through the Portuguese capital.

Symbol or Leader?

In addition to structural matters, the 30 leaders will be discussing more substantial issues. That is where things could get complicated, especially when the question of Xanana Gusmão's status arises. For the CNRM and Fretilin, Xanana is clearly the principle leader of the Resistance. João Carrascalão, Chairman of UDT, however, prefers to see him as the symbol of the struggle in the territory.

Further differing viewpoints between UDT and the other two organisations on the

Co-ordinating Committee could emerge during discussion of a single peace plan for East Timor. While Fretilin seems more likely to go along with the CNRM plan, UDT is still insisting on the return of Portugal and on a referendum in the territory.

If a plan acceptable to all parties emerges from the meeting, any possible alterations will have to be submitted to Xanana Gusmão, Konis Santana and Ximenes Belo, three leading figures who have already expressed their agreement with the CNRM plan.

TIMORESE RESISTANCE CONFERENCE REINFORCES UNITY

Publico, 1 April 1995. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon – “Lack of time” - this was how João Carrascalão, Chairman of UDT and the first to take on the rotating leadership of the recently formalised CCFD-Co-ordinating Committee of the Diplomatic Front, explained the absence during the I Conference of the Timorese Resistance (which ended yesterday in Lisbon) of any debate about a single peace plan for East Timor.

The main issues unresolved during the meeting, at which significant progress was made towards unity within the resistance in terms of structure, were UDT’s reservations about the CNRM’s peace plan, and the differences of opinion on the political status of Xanana Gusmão.

In addition to formal approval being given to the CCFD, a structure in unofficial existence since April 1994 and composed of the leaders of the CNRM, Fretilin and UDT, the Lisbon Conference decided that the representatives of the different Timorese political forces in each of the strategic capitals (Lisbon, Canberra, Brussels, Washington, New York) should, as of now, cease their activities and make way for a “unified diplomatic representation.”

In Lisbon, the head of this new kind of East Timor “embassy” will be Roque Rodrigues, a Resistance veteran, who will transfer from Luanda. José Luis Guterres will be going to New York to co-ordinate diplomatic activity in the US. Since Rodrigues and Guterres are two Fretilin leaders, it is likely that the representations in Australia and the EU will be allotted to the UDT.

Another measure approved in Lisbon was the creation of a Studies Commission to prepare the I Timorese Convention, and to study “ways of setting up a single body to capable of expressing and representing the administration of the Territory.” This stems from the recognition of “a ‘de facto’ resistance administration within the territory,”

which should be reflected outside the territory.

The Lisbon meeting’s final communiqué ended with a long list of greetings: Konis Santana, Falintil, “anonymous combatants,” Ximenes Belo, Mario Soares, Cavaco Silva, Durão Barroso, Portuguese Assembly, PALOPs (Portuguese-speaking African countries), solidarity groups, foreign parliamentarians, intellectuals, artists, students and “friends of the Timorese cause” in general. The list was headed by a special reference to Xanana Gusmão, one of the sensitive issues along the way to Resistance unity.

In the document, Xanana is described as the “Supreme Leader of the CNRM and Living Symbol of the Resistance.” In addition to the profusion of capital letters, what is clearly in evidence is the UDT’s curb on the imprisoned leader being hailed as the supreme and effective leader of the entire resistance - the position supported by the CNRM and Fretilin, but not UDT. This problem, which Carrascalão says has to do with “practical matters,” stems from the fact that, unlike Fretilin, the UDT is still not integrated within the CNRM.

The result is a bit like complicated geometry (the CCFD is made up of the CNRM, Fretilin and UDT, but only Fretilin is part of the CNRM) which impairs the clarity of a single voice of the Resistance, and allows Xanana Gusmão, undisputed leader of the CNRM, to reap recognition from all political forces only as the “symbol” and not leader of the fight for Timor’s liberation.

More pressing issues show that, in spite of the extent of the structural changes approved in Lisbon, unity is not something to be taken for granted.

Salzburg - two voices

When answering a question yesterday about the postponement of the inter-Timorese talks scheduled to take place in Salzburg, João Carrascalão did not seem very put out about the UN’s decision. The postponement, he said, “is going to give us more time in which to explain our positions.” This was a very different reaction to that of Ramos Horta. The CNRM special representative and “colleague” of Carrascalão in the CCFD, reacted very negatively to the postponement, which he said was a result of the UN giving in to pressure from Indonesia and Timorese pro-integration sectors.

A CNRM press release issued yesterday echoed this attitude: “The CNRM deeply deplores the postponement of the inter-Timorese talks and considers Jakarta entirely responsible for this step backwards.”

TIMOR’S INDEPENDENCE: XANANA AND XIMENES MUST BE INVOLVED

Jornal de Noticias, 4 May 1995. By Magalhaes Costa Translated from Portuguese.

Xanana Gusmão and Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo are two people who simply cannot be excluded from negotiations on self-determination for East Timor. This statement was made by Ramos Horta, Fretilin’s overseas representative, who was taking part in the 21st International Relations Debate, organised by the University of the Minho, Portugal.

“Any negotiation by Indonesia cannot exclude those two individuals who, at present, represent the voice and will of the Maubere people,” said Ramos Horta, who also referred to Portugal’s important diplomatic role.

The Timorese “diplomat” stressed the importance of “increasing all aspects of pressure (military, religious and cultural) brought to bear by the Resistance in the territory,” now that “the Suharto regime’s old age is causing Indonesia to show signs of weakness.”

He pointed out that the impulse behind the changes occurring in Indonesia is Timor’s Resistance, and disclosed that there is now a force of Jakarta intellectuals that has started to voice its protest about the problem of East Timor and the violation of the Timorese people’s human rights.

Ramos Horta said that once East Timor is independent he wants to see Portuguese culture promoted in the Asia Pacific region, given that Timor is the only living evidence there of Portugal in the last 500 years. “We believe in a Portuguese-speaking East Timor, and will preserve Portuguese culture as it is an essential element to the very survival of Timorese culture,” he said.

Ana Gomes, from the Foreign Office, said that Portugal’s position on Timor is to allow the Maubere people themselves to freely decide on their own future. She added that the question of Timor is not just a bilateral (Portugal-Indonesia) problem, but one which affects the International Community as a whole. She also stated that there was “no military solution for Timor,” at least as far as Portugal (lacking in “the necessary resources”) was concerned, and praised Portugal’s diplomatic efforts, since 1982, at the UN on behalf of the Timorese cause.

'KEEP STRUGGLING': THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST TIMORESE UNDERGROUND

By Max Lane, *Green Left*, May 7

SYDNEY - "I hope people will be active and participate in the May 13 protests around Australia," Elino Santos told *Green Left Weekly* on May 3. For Santos, being "active and participating" has been a way of life in East Timor. From 1989, he was part of the extensive clandestine network of resistance activists. He has recently arrived in Australia to join his family.

"I was working in an office in a school in Los Palos and was approached by people I knew in the town. 'Do you want to help the resistance?,' they asked. Like so many other young people, I quickly joined up," said Santos.

"My main work was helping the estafeta, the couriers from the hills from the resistance leadership and the guerrillas in the mountains. The estafeta from the mountains weren't able to go down to Dili to pass on information. I was from Dili, so every time an estafeta brought orders or information I'd have to take off for Dili. Sometimes we needed to help them with other things, such as helping to get equipment, especially rubber boots."

According to Santos, this soon raised suspicions at the school, especially on the part of the headmaster. All the teaching staff were from Indonesia and seemed to have little solidarity with the East Timorese.

"They mostly exploited the students. They arbitrarily raised the school fees from Rp1500 per month to Rp3000 per month and kept the money for themselves. They held a meeting to discuss it but never invited any of the East Timorese staff." Santos added that the students aren't allowed to speak Tetum, the local language.

The headmaster told the Kodim, the local military command, about Santos. "'Why you are off to Dili all the time?,' they quizzed me. But I made sure I always had a doctor's certificate. And anyway, I told them, there were also no medicines available in Los Palos."

Soon afterwards another courier was arrested, and one of Santos' fellow activists had to leave Los Palos. It was getting too hot. "The resistance then told me that I should head back to Dili too. So in October 1991 I returned."

In Dili, the clandestine movement is very developed, said Santos. Lots of young people had joined the many groups in Dili or in one of the villages. Orders from the mountains are conveyed from mouth to mouth through key contacts. The Indonesian mili-

tary know this, so the intelligence agents are watching all the time.

"Sometimes the intelligence will sit outside somebody's house all the time. And they will try to make friends, to win you over. 'Oh, come on, let's have something to eat.' And they will buy us a meal. They'll try to make jokes, sometimes even offer to lend us their motor bikes. They call it trying to 'ambil hati' - win your heart," Santos joked.

"They thought we were resisting them just because we were frustrated or something like that. They mostly wasted their time trying to win somebody's heart, while everybody else got on with organising."

In Dili, Santos remained a contact for the estafeta, making sure that information and instructions from headquarters in the mountains were spread amongst the groups. He also arrived back in Dili soon after the killing by the Indonesian military of the young student Sebastião Gomes. It was two weeks later that the biggest pro-independence march and rally took place, which ended with the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991.

Santa Cruz

"The night before, activists met together and prepared the banners and placards," said Santos. "You have to prepare a long time in advance and have to be very careful even about little things. For example, the intelligence was always on the lookout for anybody buying ink or especially spray paint in the shops. Sometimes I would dress up in paint-covered overalls so that the intelligence watching the shops thought I probably worked with paint."

This was how all the placards, the pictures of Xanana and the special T-shirts were made, said Santos. "The T-shirt had the word 'OJETIL' written on it or a picture of OJETIL's symbol, the loriko bird." OJETIL is the name of the Free East Timor Youth and Students Organisation. The plan was for a march from the church to the cemetery after the mass for Gomes, but of course it ended in the massacre.

"My brothers, Alico and Agio, were a part of the march - luckily they survived. The gunfire could be heard all over Dili. As all the people fled the area, news of the massacre spread everywhere. I tried to get close to Santa Cruz but the roads were blocked off," Santos remembered.

"Soon afterwards, in front of the stadium, there was a truck load of soldiers and a young boy who seemed to be afraid of the soldiers. He started running and they beat him to a pulp. I don't know if he died, but he lay there and didn't move at all after they finished beating him. Everyone had to seek safety in their homes."

For the following two weeks, all over East Timor everybody was under suspicion by the military. "Many young people were picked up during that period. December, January, February, March, everything was quiet. But then, the young people involved in November 12 were identified and picked up by the military and dispersed to all the districts to remain under the surveillance of the local military. They were supposed to be re-educated as well. But the estafeta were soon making contact with some of them. One of these young people almost got caught carrying an estafeta on the local military commander's own motor bike."

November 1991 had an even bigger impact than that. "So many people volunteered to help the resistance after November, 1991," Santos emphasised, "and not just young people. People of all ages - mothers and housewives, everybody. Things really expanded after that."

Public protests

Between early 1992 and late 1994, the resistance took every opportunity to hold actions when foreign delegations and journalists visited. The most recent were the demonstrations that followed the clashes with some migrants from Sulawesi that took place during the APEC meeting in Jakarta in November 1994. This was also when 29 East Timorese students occupied the US Embassy.

In the aftermath of that, foreign journalists began arriving in Dili, and the resistance planned a demonstration, to follow a mass. "There were some groups ready with placards and posters. After the mass, three or four journalists arrived. Straightaway they opened up the placards and banners. Then some agent provocateurs started throwing stones. Soon the military arrived with pistols and tear gas. Five or six young people were dragged away by the military and beaten."

Santos noted the massive difference in the deployment of the security apparatus at the time of the riots that followed the clashes with the Sulawesi migrants and when the masked so-called ninja gangs emerged in January 1995.

"After the clash with the migrants, there were patrols everywhere, every night, in fact 24 hours a day. But we knew something was up in January when, all of a sudden, all the night security patrols disappeared," Santos explained.

"Then the ninjas started operating. They caught and beat people, or ransacked homes, and sometimes raped. The ridiculous thing was how the military always denied that there were ninjas. Whenever we reported incidents to the authorities they just denied

everything, even when ninjas were caught with intelligence ID cards on them!"

Santos' assessment was that part of the military's plan was to set Timorese against Timorese to distract attention from the Indonesian military's human rights violations. "They wanted to be able to say, 'See, it's Timorese attacking Timorese.'"

But, says Santos, everyone still follows the call from the leadership in the mountains. "Don't give up, keep struggling, keep working. We will continue the struggle for our own country."

ET STUDENT ORGANISATION CALLS FOR SOLIDARITY

Green Left, May 7, 1995

According to Mautodok, a representative of RENETIL (National Resistance of Free East Timor Students), who is currently in Australia, "The May 13 demonstrations demanding Australia cut military ties with Indonesia are a good step forward. These are the right kind of demands at the moment, and RENETIL supports the actions."

Mautodok told Green Left Weekly that RENETIL aims to organise all East Timorese students outside East Timor, whether in Indonesia or elsewhere. In Indonesia RENETIL acts as a clandestine organisation. The head of RENETIL, José Neves, was recently tried in Indonesia for "spreading discontent" and sentenced to four years in jail.

Mautodok explained that RENETIL includes East Timorese students of all affiliations, including members of Fretilin, the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), Catholic students and students without affiliations.

RENETIL is active in introducing the East Timor issue to Indonesians. "We do a lot of education work. There are more and more young people, especially the student movement in Indonesia, who are in solidarity with the East Timorese struggle. This is a big step forward. Also, now, the intellectuals and the opposition are beginning to watch what is happening. The struggle for democracy in Indonesia and the East Timorese struggle are parallel struggles."

GENEROUS LIES

by José Ramos Horta, in "21.C" magazine, Australia, Issue 1, 1995, Unabridged.

When small countries are invaded by larger, strategically important nations, they are forced - through the complicity and hypocrisy of small and large nations alike - into the gap between empty morality and true

justice, argues the leader of East Timor's diplomatic resistance.

It was on a warm October day in New York almost 15 years ago that I joined a small crowd of a few hundred outside the United Nations building. There were a smattering of foreign correspondents who cover the U.N., an assortment of diplomats, and the elderly Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Peruvian career diplomat and then Secretary-General of the U.N., who was officiating.

We had come to see a flag raising. As I watched from the crowd, a U.N. protocol officer tugged on a rope, and the multicoloured flag of Vanuatu rose slowly above First Avenue, joining the 150 other national symbols that fluttered in the mild breeze.

My happiness for Walter Lini and the people of Vanuatu was tinged by a great pall of sadness. There I was, almost a New Yorker after six years in the Big Apple, with no country and no light at the end of the tunnel. Not for East Timor.

I knew Lini well. In the early days in New York, Lini was much like me - an unknown entity who flew in from his distant island to put his case to the world community. I had been there a few years already, acquired some first-hand experience, and was certainly more conversant with the U.N. than my brother Walter. Not too modestly, I gave him some advice about how to work the system, took him around and introduced him to some U.N. officials.

He didn't have to wait too long for his little group of islands in the Pacific to become independent. There he was, Prime Minister of the Republic of Vanuatu, and I was still the same unknown entity with no country, no official status, no money, sharing a life in exile along with thousands of Tibetans, Burmese, Eritreans, Chileans, Filipinos, Paraguayans, Uruguayans, Ugandans - all who were fleeing their respective dictators.

What made Vanuatu's case an easy affair was that it was fortunate enough not to have Indonesia next door. The French and the British had co-exploited the islands and finally decided they had robbed enough, and departed, and nobody cared whether Vanuatu became independent. No such luck for East Timor. When the Portuguese began to withdraw from their former colony, Indonesia plunged into the breach, snuffing out the aspirations of a people who had long dreamed of freedom and democracy.

I arrived in New York early in December 1975, having escaped the invasion of Timor by a few days. That was my first encounter with the North American winter, my first sight of real snow, my first adventure to a big metropolis. Where I was born and grew up, in the mountains of East Timor, there were no cars except for the yearly visit by a

Chinese merchant on his old truck, itself a major event for us children. I was transported from this to a centre of power and, as it turned out, the world of organised hypocrisy.

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor. U.S. President Gerald Ford and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, had been in Jakarta a few hours earlier conferring with Indonesian President Suharto about Asia-Pacific security after the fall of South Vietnam to the Viet Cong. The invasion of East Timor, now known to have been planned for December 6, was put off for a day, as a courtesy of the Indonesian dictator to his important guests. As a U.S. State Department official testified in 1977 to the U.S. Congress, more than 90 per cent of the weapons used in the invasion were American-supplied. The invasion would not have taken place had the U.S. president opposed the use of American weapons in the operation.

Portugal, then a backward Western power, had seen its empire crumble by 1974 after almost 500 years of colonial domination. It made faint efforts to support the Timorese. As the internationally-recognised administering power of East Timor, it called a meeting of the U.N. Security Council. In this, it was supported by the newly-independent Portuguese-speaking African states of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome & Principe. Weeks earlier, as the Portuguese influence in East Timor dissipated, East Timor's largest political party, Fretilin, took power from the colonial administration and declared the territory independent. A government was installed, and to me fell the portfolio of Minister for External Relations. I was 25 then, probably the youngest and most naive foreign minister ever appointed anywhere. Hence, I was given the task of presenting our fledgling government's credentials to the U.N. By the time I arrived in New York, I was addressing the Security Council as the exiled representative of an extinguished government.

The Security Council was convened by the then British Permanent Representative, Ambassador Ivor Richard, an overweight chain-smoking barrister. With the help of Lisbon and the newly-independent Portuguese African states, I was able to attend and participate in the discussions in the Council, becoming thus the youngest person ever to address that august body. I was shy, intimidated, excited, euphoric, and fearful. I had never addressed any formal forum apart from the mass meetings in my beloved island, and a few meetings with students and labour unions in Australia. The transition from the jungles of East Timor to the corri-

dors of power of the U.N. couldn't have been more dramatic.

Surprisingly, China was our main ally in the Security Council. Relations between Jakarta and Beijing had been broken following the 1965-66 coup in Indonesia and the subsequent slaughter of almost a million civilians, many of them innocent Chinese merchants. The then powerful pro- Beijing Partai Komunisi Indonesia (PKI) was destroyed, its members massacred by then General Suharto's purge. Beijing waited in the wings for an opportunity to settle the score with Jakarta. Indonesia's invasion of East Timor was this long-awaited time for revenge. Led by Ambassador Huang Hua, the Chinese delegation lent me full diplomatic backing and some very strong language was levelled at Indonesia. Huang Hua rightly called the invasion a "naked act of aggression." After our duties at the U.N., I would be lavishly entertained in the Chinese mission at Lincoln Centre by Huang Hua, plied with a never-ending supply of the finest Chinese cuisine and the inevitable mau-tai.

It was obvious to all that the invasion of East Timor was a clear breach of the U.N. Charter. Despite Indonesia's spurious arguments to justify its intervention and its strenuous efforts to block the decision by the Council, a rare unanimous resolution was reached by December 22. This occurred in the face of the Cold War, the dramatic closing chapter of the Vietnam War - which seemed to confirm Lyndon Johnson's domino theory - and the customary paralysis afflicting the Council by the veto power of its five Permanent Members. On the face of it, such a unanimous decision was remarkable.

I was pleased. There I was, 25 and the youngest foreign minister in the world and the youngest person ever to take part in a Council meeting, holding in my hands Security Council Resolution 382. The resolution affirmed our right to self-determination and called on Indonesia to withdraw all its troops from East Timor "without delay." Only Israel, the Council's favourite whipping boy at the time, had ever attracted stronger language. It was a grand moment.

Departing Dili on December 4, I had promised to return in a few weeks. Armed with the Security Council resolution, I knew I would return to our family's modest tin-roofed and palm- tree house in Dili within days. The Council would demand that Indonesia comply with its resolution and, failing this, the world community would amass a military force, as provided in the U.N. Charter, and drive Indonesia out of East Timor.

Nineteen years later, I am still waiting.

That was the year that my schooling in international hypocrisy began. I quickly learned that the U.N. was not an institution

driven by the noble principles in its Charter, but a mirror image of the often conflicting national interests of its members.

Permanent Members of the Security Council - the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France - are not only the ones to blame for the corruption of the U.N. system, as many think. Small, medium and large countries also place their perceived national interests above the principles and purposes of the U.N. Even the nicest of little countries help undermine the system. Former New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange, in the last issue of '21-C,' castigated the U.N.: "What has happened in Bosnia is a powerful message to the world that countries which don't have oil, don't block an international trade route, or don't have nuclear secrets, hold no real interest for the Great Powers...."

This is the same man whose government consistently voted on the side of Indonesia at every U.N. General Assembly resolution on the issue of East Timor. Even the mildest resolution, General Assembly Resolution 37/30, which mandated the U.N. Secretary-General to open a dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia to resolve the conflict in East Timor, met with strong opposition from friendly New Zealand. Don't get me wrong, David Lange is a nice guy. But I would have expected better from the government of such a morally upstanding man.

The Timorese people have been battling such hypocrisy since the invasion. High-sounding declarations and back-room deals. Security Council resolutions that no-one has the stomach to pursue. I have even been approached for a bribe from a Commonwealth ambassador in order to secure a favourable vote. The going rate is US\$2,000.

Indonesia is an economic dynamo, with a population of 180 million and government that has long been a bulwark against the spread of communism. Compared to Indonesia, what is neighbouring East Timor but an underdeveloped island populated by a mere 750,000 people. And anyway, Indonesia has a taste for expensive military purchases, of the kind that keep British and American workers employed in skilled jobs.

There is one place where the hypocrisy can be short-circuited, and it may yet come to the aid of East Timor. The International Court of Justice at The Hague will hand down its verdict on the Timor Gap Treaty sometime in 1995. Portugal took Australia to the World Court in 1991, arguing that in entering into a treaty with Indonesia for the exploitation of oil in an area that - under international law - Indonesia does not rightfully control, Australia was in violation of its international obligations.

Australia stands a good chance of losing. The U.N. has never recognised the forced

annexation of East Timor, and only a few countries - Australia notable among them - have accepted Indonesian rule there. If Australia loses, it stands to pay millions of dollars in compensation, and the treaty will be invalidated, triggering a rash of compensation claims from the seven international oil companies now exploring in the rich seafloor between Australia's northwest and the southern coast of East Timor.

It will be interesting to see whether David Lange will call for Australia's expulsion from the U.N. if Canberra does not comply with the decision of the World Court, as he has argued non-complying member states should.

But how about countries like Indonesia that defy Security Council resolutions? Shouldn't they be expelled too? New Zealand is currently supporting Indonesia's bid for a seat in the Council even though Indonesia is in defiance with two binding Security Council resolutions and eight General Assembly resolutions over its occupation of East Timor. Why such duplicitous policy?

I have little hope that the U.N. can fully live up to the lofty principles enshrined in the Charter. The only hope for peace and justice in the world come from the tireless crusade of the common citizen. The mighty Soviet military arsenal did not prevent the break-up of the Soviet Union, the freedom of the captive Baltic and Eastern European nations, and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. The tanks of Ferdinand Marcos and Nicolau Ceausescu could not hold back the demands of Filipinos and Romanians for freedom. The Eritreans fought a dogged battle of resistance against Ethiopia for 30 years while all around them said it was a hopeless struggle, saying that Eritrea's annexation was irreversible, yet Eritrea last year won its freedom.

Individuals can make a difference, and East Timor stands as an example of this. We have survived Indonesia's brutal occupation, American, French and British complicity, the hypocrisy of countries like Australia and New Zealand that have 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.

The U.N. has been largely ineffective in dealing with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Somalia and Rwanda. But not because its bureaucracy is bloated and overpaid, as Lange argues. In truth, it has some dedicated and outstanding individuals who cannot do more because their hands are tied by member governments. Lange's tirade against the U.N. should be aimed at countries like his own and Australia, as well as the Great Powers. East Timor, after all, is an issue that can hardly be said to be as complex as Bosnia. Even small efforts by Wellington

and Canberra would go a long way in encouraging the U.N. Secretary-General to do more for East Timor.

The U.N. has been largely impotent because countries like the U.S., U.K., Germany, Japan, France, Australia and New Zealand all have their eyes on Indonesia's lucrative market. If large powers corrupt the U.N. system, small countries like New Zealand and Australia should join forces to uphold the Charter, at least in small ways. An alliance of small countries and an aggressive stand on human rights might not do much to help the Bosnians, but it can make a big difference to the Timorese.

Unfortunately, the truth remains that the U.N. has been largely ineffective, and part of the blame must be levelled at the governments of small nations like Australia and New Zealand, which do not, it seems, have the dignity nor courage to stand up to the big bully of the region, Indonesia.

New Zealand has not been indifferent to the East Timor tragedy. This by itself might have been some small good. The reality is that New Zealand has actively connived with Australia to suppress information about East Timor, to cover up the ugly truth, to deceive its people because admission of the truth would put in question the very policies in the pursuit of national interest that Lange now so stridently derides.

Only the dedication of common citizens around the world - students, academics, journalists or just ordinary folk - have kept the issue of East Timor alive. One of the strongest ironies is that, while their governments have connived to extinguish freedom in East Timor, Australians, Britons, New Zealanders, Americans, the Irish, Canadians - these have been the biggest supporters of the Timorese, and have lent their time and energy to the cause, joining with the 15,000 Timorese around the world who managed to escape the invasion.

If it were left to David Lange, Bob Hawke or Paul Keating, the issue of East Timor - surely a test case for the principles of the U.N. Charter - would have long ago been buried, and would have ceased to disturb their good Western liberal conscience. But like the great Jewish and Armenian peoples that survived centuries of hatred, persecution and genocide, the people of East Timor will reach the top of Mount Ramelau and from there, like Martin Luther King, they will see a new world of peace and freedom.

I have no doubt that East Timor will be free before the end of the decade. The forces of history that brought down the Berlin Wall, toppled Ferdinand Marcos from power in the Philippines and brought Israel and Palestine together, are making things difficult for Indonesia. Sooner or later, Indo-

nesia will have to yield to growing international pressure, which is so much stronger now that the Cold War is over. Of this I am certain.

RAMOS HORTA: ALATAS'S ALBATROSS

By José Ramos Horta, Far Eastern Economic Review. May 18 1995

In June 1974, as a novice in international affairs and only moderately conversant with Indonesian politics, I travelled to Jakarta. There I met with one of Asia's most respected statesmen, Adam Malik, the late foreign minister of Indonesia. With Malik, I discussed East Timor's future membership in ASEAN and the training of our diplomats in his foreign ministry. A young diplomat named Ali Alatas was then Malik's private secretary.

During my brief stay, we met three times. At the last meeting, Malik gave me a letter and I gave him my most treasured possession: a silver-coated East Timorese sword. When I invited him to visit East Timor, he replied: "I'll come for your independence celebration."

Malik's letter stated that "independence" is "the right of every nation with no exception for the people of East Timor." It assured me that "whoever will govern in Timor in the future after independence can be assured that the government of Indonesia will always strive to maintain good relations, friendship and cooperation for the benefit of both countries."

In 1974, I was an innocent in Indonesian politics and did not realize that a civilian like Malik carried little weight in that militarized society. Though Malik committed his country to accepting the possibility of an independent East Timor, the military had different thoughts.

Almost a year later, I went back to Jakarta. This time I met with Gen. Ali Moertopo, President Suharto's right-hand man. By then, Malik was nowhere to be seen and Moertopo was calling the shots on East Timor. He gave me similar assurances that Indonesia would not interfere in East Timor's future. I learned then how the word of an Indonesian official can be broken as easily as it is uttered, and how official lies can become official truth.

In October 1994, I faced another Indonesian foreign minister: Ali Alatas. I was accompanied by José Luis Guterres, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor's (Fretilin's) new leader abroad, and João Carrascalão, leader of the Timorese Democratic Union. Alatas recalled my meeting almost 20 years earlier with his boss. But this time, I wasn't meeting Alatas in

Jakarta. The venue was New York's Waldorf Astoria hotel and UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had organized the meeting.

Alatas is an outstanding diplomat, energetic and charming, an impressive adversary. In our New York meeting, we touched on everything. Even when I compared my boss, Xanana Gusmão, to the late Sukarno and drew a parallel between the Dutch imprisonment of Sukarno and Jakarta's imprisonment of East Timor's leader, he did not wince. But we left the meeting at opposite ends.

In lieu of Boutros-Ghali, Alatas might today be sitting in the glass building on Manhattan's East River. But his ambitions in this regard were dashed by a single issue: East Timor. Two years from now, Alatas will have another chance. But as long as East Timor remains under military occupation, it would be a scandal to have him elected secretary-general. Indeed, the world media would likely devote more attention to the issue than it did to the East Timorese student sit-in at the American embassy in Jakarta in November 1994 during the meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

With its 190 million people and bountiful resources, Indonesia rightly aspires to a more effective leadership role, not just in the region but in the world. Instead of focusing in this direction, however, Alatas is fighting off assaults on Indonesian credibility owing to its occupation of Timor, and, on its domestic front, its restrictions on labour and the press.

Jakarta's bullying of the Ramos administration over the planned conference in Manila on East Timor dismayed its ASEAN partners. Indonesia's pressure on the Philippines reminded countries like Malaysia and Singapore (40 times smaller than East Timor) that friendship with Indonesia means towing the line on certain issues. I have met privately with diplomats from almost all ASEAN countries, and all have expressed the hope that Indonesia would show some flexibility on East Timor.

For these countries, the issue of East Timor is a perpetual embarrassment, impeding better relations between ASEAN and the European Union. Richer EU members such as Germany and Britain might be more understanding of Indonesia because of their commercial ties. But an emerging group made up of Portugal, Ireland, Belgium, Sweden, Austria, Greece and Spain are demanding that Indonesia be held to account. In Brussels, Ottawa, Washington and Canberra, moreover, there is a growing perception that the soft-soft approach has not induced Jakarta to be more sensitive and that something tougher might be tried.

The resistance, led by Gusmão, is prepared to bend over backwards to assuage Indonesia's fears and accommodate its interests. We have proposed a modest three-phase peace plan similar to the Israeli-Palestinian agreement, starting with demilitarization and self-rule and leading to a final decision on the territory in five to 10 years.

Alatas once said that East Timor is like an irritating "pebble" in Indonesia's shoe. But his good friend, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, had ad-libbed that the pebble is becoming a rock. And as Alatas himself suggested to me in New York, he might try to spend "more time on the problem in my own backyard."

ALATAS RESPONDS: TALL TALES

Far Eastern Economic Review, June 15 1995

I have read with interest José Ramos-Horta's article in your May 18 issue. Were it not for the glaring inaccuracies and habitual misrepresentations, I would have dismissed it as an amusing piece. As it stands, corrections are called for. Rather than try to address all the issues raised, I shall focus on one particular point.

Ramos-Horta writes, "In lieu of Boutros-Ghali, Alatas might today be sitting in the glass building on Manhattan's East River. But his ambitions in this regard in 1992 were dashed by a single issue: East Timor."

While many friends in various quarters, governmental as well as non-governmental, were indeed urging me at that time to run for the United Nations Secretary General, I never had any such personal ambitions. Nor did the Indonesian government consider putting up my candidacy. The reason was not the issue of East Timor but the fact that it would be unthinkable for Indonesia to stand in the way of an African candidate. At that time, it was widely felt that it was Africa's turn to fill that important post.

Ramos-Horta continue: "Two years from now, Alatas will have another chance. But as long as East Timor remains under military occupation, it would be a scandal to have him elected secretary general."

I have always marveled at the seemingly boundless capacity of Ramos-Horta for fantasizing and concocting all kinds of ludicrous tales regarding developments in Indonesia and East Timor. But he has managed to outdo himself this time, for now he is seeing ghosts in broad daylight.

Ali Alatas
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of
Indonesia. Jakarta

BISHOP BELO IN EUROPE

BISHOP BELO TO VISIT PORTUGAL

Lisbon, March 22 (LUSA) - Bishop Belo will visit Portugal on May 20 and 21 in order to preside to the pilgrimage of the Salesians to the Fatima Sanctuary. This is the first visit of the Bishop to Portugal since October 1990, when he celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Dili Diocese. Bishop Belo studied at the Salesian and Manique institutes in Lisbon and was ordained a priest in Lisbon on July 26, 1980.

Speaking to Radio Renascenca [a Catholic radio station], the Bishop stated he would go to Fatima upon invitation by the Salesians, the congregation to which he belongs.

On April 24 and 26, the Bishop will act as an observer at the Salzburg, Austria, Timorese meeting organized by the UN.

BELO: INDONESIANS ARE WORSE THAN COMMUNISTS AND ATHEISTS

Publico, 23 March 1995. By Paulo Nogueira. Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon - Bishop Ximenes Belo accuses the Indonesian military of having made attempts on his life on two occasions, in 1989 and 1991, and admits that the Holy See gives in to pressure from Jakarta, but says he is prepared to face anything, "even to go to hell." In an interview last November with Lusa's special correspondent, the prelate explained his support for a referendum, reiterated his belief that over 250,000 people may have died in the Timorese tragedy, and sent a very specific message to Portuguese politicians: "For the love of God, do not change what is written in the Constitution on East Timor, because that is precisely what Indonesia most wants."

These, and other statements come to light, by interesting coincidence, at the same time as confirmation of the Bishop's wish to participate, even "just as an observer," in the April meeting in Austria, organised by the UN, and while Resistance leaders in Lisbon are attempting unity, and while Indonesian members of the opposition join with supporters of the Timorese cause in the VI Days (whose theme this year has been "East Timor, an international responsibility"), organised by the University of Oporto. Ximenes Belo is expected to take part in the pilgrimage to Fatima on 13 May, following a visit to some capital cities where influential celebrities have, once again, pro-

posed his candidature for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Dili, late 1994. The Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, 46-year-old Ximenes Belo, makes a point of talking to the Portuguese journalist without the presence of other special correspondents, in spite of their eagerness to get his comments on the incidents which have occurred in the city during the last two weeks of November.

The meeting took place at his residence, in the Avenida Marginal, near the Hotel Turismo and the ICRC delegation, and ended with dinner with two of the eight young people who are currently living with the Timorese Bishop. "They are orphans. They lost their parents in various circumstances - they were either killed or 'disappeared' - and I look after them and send them to school. Later on, they will get on with their own lives, or they will go off and others will take their place," the Bishop explained.

They say he is shy, but that when he talks he is firm and that the people pay attention to him. Some of the more radical Timorese politicians accuse him of being somewhat "soft" on the Indonesians. "I accept their criticism," he says, laughing. "Let them come and take my place. Let another, harder, Bishop come and take my place."

Throughout the hour-long conversation, the serious manner he adopted when referring to the situation in Timor gave way to smiles and a more relaxed air when the questions were personal. Also smiling, he pointed out that he was not afraid of what might happen to him, and that neither did he fear death or even hell.

He confirmed that he had been the target of "two murder attempts," planned by the Indonesian military, who ordered that the killing be done by Timorese soldiers "so that afterwards they could say it had been the work of Fretilin." "One attempt was in June 1989, after that letter (in which the prelate had asked the UN Secretary General for a referendum in East Timor), when I was on my way to Baucau. The other was just before November 1991, when there was talk about the visit of Portuguese MPs. That one was supposed to have happened on the way to Viqueque," he recounted.

According to the Bishop, the attempts failed because the Timorese soldiers, in the pay of the Indonesians, who were supposed to carry out the murder, repented at the last minute (because they were Catholics, he explained) and warned him of the imminent danger. One of those soldiers, Commander Felisberto, later "disappeared" following a mysterious helicopter accident, because he "knew too much."

The Bishop's assistants say that he is particularly careful about his food, and refuses to eat anything sent to him from outside, especially since the reported attempt to poison and kill the former Governor, Mario Carrascalão, after the Santa Cruz massacre..

Jakarta exerts pressure, the Indonesian Church collaborates

The Apostolic Administrator is under another kind of threat, one which he finds more worrying because it involves the Holy See, that is to say, the Pope himself. It is the threat of being removed from Dili, or even from East Timor itself, as happened to his predecessor, Mnsgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, in 1988.

"They (the Indonesian governors) see me as an enemy. They say that it is I who am holding back the integration process, and there are rumours and even governmental meetings about sending me away from here," he said. While refusing to give any names, the prelate accused "Well-placed Timorese in Jakarta" and in Dili, of having written to the Indonesian Government urging that it put pressure on the Holy See to "substitute Bishop Belo."

"They could substitute the Bishop, as they did Mnsgr. Lopes. Anything is possible. Unfortunately, politics and diplomacy enter into in religious affairs, and sometimes carry more weight, and Bishops are changed according to the wishes of the powers that be," he pointed out bitterly.

The threat could materialise in two ways: by removing him from East Timor altogether, or diminishing his influence by transferring him to Baucau or Maliana where new diocese are needed. The creation of a second diocese "depends on the Holy See, and the final decision is made by the Pope," he said, adding that in his view the "problem is becoming very politicised" because "even the ministers in Jakarta are talking about it."

Speaking ironically, he explained: "It has become politicised because they have to quickly create another diocese, find another, more flexible Bishop, because Bishop Belo does not want to enter into a dialogue. I am waiting. If they send me to Africa, I shall go to Africa. If I have to go to hell, then I'll go to hell. My duty is obedience."

The possible creation of new diocese stems from the increasing number of Timorese Catholics - over 718,000 in 1992, according to official statistics. Given the Vatican's official position on East Timor, there are fears that Indonesian bishops will be appointed.

"The Holy See does not want problems with Indonesia, which is a huge nation, and whose Catholic community is influential in schools and hospitals," commented the

Timorese Bishop. "In 1985, when I met the Pope, His Holiness said to me "I understand your position. I pray for Timor. I suffer with Timor. But, on the other hand, the Church in Indonesia also needs our attention."

The Church in Indonesia represents about four million faithful - a substantially greater number than the Timorese Catholics but, for Ximenes Belo, "the human person is more important than numbers." "Even though we are few, I believe that over the years we have all contributed towards a Church which is on the side of the poor and oppressed, which the Indonesian Catholic Church has not done because, just like in the times of Fascism in Portugal, it is a Church that collaborates with the authorities. This is what happened in Chile, Brazil and Portugal. Only a democratic revolution will change things."

But in spite of Indonesian accusations that the Timorese Church protects the underground resistance, something which Ximenes Belo denies, at times Jakarta's military themselves turn to the Diocese for help in resolving conflict situations, such as the surrounding of the Se Cathedral, after the protest on 18 November, the end to which was negotiated by the Bishop.

"Let them keep the oil, but give us our Freedom"

"The Church is not here to be a political instrument or to be politicised. The Church is here to carry out its mission as intermediary. It is here with everyone, and for everyone," Ximenes Belo said, stressing that two years ago he published a pastoral letter, forbidding all protests on Diocese premises, which is not being respected.

"There is a lot of suffering, a lot of pain," complained the Bishop. "I am deeply distressed when young people are taken away, interrogated, tortured. Their courage and strength to resist impresses me. They tell me: 'It matters not that we suffer and die. This is our country.' But what most troubles me is that the Indonesians order us to eat and swallow holy pictures, the rosary and beads. They say to young people 'Go on, eat your God, so He can come and help you to escape from this prison and this torture...' They come to me and say 'Bishop, physical suffering does not matter. What is most painful is the enjoyment they get out of (mocking) our faith and our religious sentiment...' How is it that this country (Indonesia), whose guiding principle is the belief in the absolute being, in divinity, is worse than the Communists, and worse than atheists?..."

Ximenes Belo also accused the Indonesian military of carrying out frequent house searches "in order to arrest young people,"

and said they "are everywhere, in taxis, in the post office, in telecommunications operations, in the airport." "Telephones are bugged, and they have special equipment" to photocopy Faxes coming from abroad." In the post office, the men who see the letters are all military, and I am told that sometimes they tear up or burn letters that arrive or which are being sent out."

"People take a lot of chances (when they try to contact the outside), but there is no alternative. People have to live, and their sense of survival outweighs the risks. The Timorese have no opportunity whatsoever in their own country because the structure is set up in such a way that they are becoming increasingly relegated to an inferior level."

"Just take a look at the Governor - he has no authority. It is the military who give the orders around here, and the Indonesians who control the business. It is like colonial times. The controls were in the hands of the Portuguese, and are now in the hands of the Indonesians. The Timorese people carry on with their traditional subsistence farming."

This situation was one of the main reasons behind the uprising of the young Timorese against the Indonesian emigrants, which followed the murder by an Indonesian trader from Sulawesi of Mario Vicente on 12 November in the Becora marketplace.

"It was the first time that this happened - an uprising throughout the city, with everyone in the streets shouting that the Timorese are also a people, with their dignity. It means that the patience of the Timorese is running out. The Government says that everything is all right, and the Governor makes promises, but they have not taken steps to correct the errors. I think the Government understood the message, but it will not sit down at the table to talk to the people because it is an arrogant, military, dictatorial Government, and only they can be right. As long as there is no democratic spirit in midst of the military ranks, nothing will ever be achieved."

Ximenes Belo believed that the involvement of the young people in the uprising was, in a way, ironic, given that they are the ones who "are studying the State ideology and the Indonesian Constitution, whose preamble says that colonialism should be eradicated from the world and that all peoples have the right to freedom." Unintentionally and indirectly, the Indonesians are teaching this to our young ones, and the children ask their teachers why the people of Timor cannot enjoy the freedom referred to in the Constitution."

It is a question to which Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo does not know how to respond. "Perhaps it is because of the oil in the Sea of Timor. But then, sometimes I think to myself, let them keep the oil but give us our

freedom. But they give us neither the oil nor our freedom."

Mnsgr. Belo believes that a referendum would be the solution to the Timorese question because it would be "the only fair, democratic, free and secret plebiscite which would find out how many Timorese want Indonesia and how many Timorese want independence."

"If the majority want to stay with Indonesia, then we stay, but at least allow those who do not accept integration to leave. Let them go to Portugal or to Australia, or to wherever they wish."

"The problem will never be solved if there is no referendum," he said. He admitted, however, that it is unlikely that Jakarta would agree to the idea unless there were "a certain democratisation movement in Indonesia, like there was in Portugal, because as long as there is no democratisation within the army, nothing will change."

Ximenes Belo said he could not predict the outcome of a referendum if it were held now ("I cannot imagine, I am not a prophet") because "the Timorese are very divided." "The Timorese question is not an easy one, because the community is very divided, and even some of the founding members of APODETI (the party in favour of integration in Indonesia) are now complaining that this is not the kind of integration, in which we are slaves in our own homes, which they had envisaged.

He went on to say that there is a group that awaits the return of Portugal to carry out the decolonisation process, and another group that believes the Timorese are entitled to freedom and independence as a people. "I do not know which of these three groups dominates, but anti-Indonesia sentiment is to be found at all levels, even among those who are well placed close to central Government - they are all smiles towards the Government, but then criticise the Indonesians behind their backs."

In addition to the referendum, Ximenes Belo thought East Timor should immediately be given a special status, which would enable it to have a local government "along the lines of that in Madeira or the Azores, in which the Timorese would have decision-making powers." But this proposal, renewed in a letter dated 31 July, "fell on stony ground."

Mnsgr. Belo was also aware that the civil war in East Timor had caused many wounds which may not yet have healed completely. For this reason he was not absolutely convinced that the Timorese family feud could never resuscitate. He did believe, however, that "the Timorese learned a lesson from what happened in 1974-75."

Nobody knows exactly how many Timorese people have died since then, but

the Bishop believes that "over 250,000 people" had lost their lives. "The dead are beginning to be noticed," he concluded.

He ended with an appeal to Portugal's politicians: "For the love of God, do not change what is written in the Constitution about East Timor, because that is precisely what Indonesia most wants."

THE SHY BISHOP WITH MANY HEADACHES

Publico, 23 March 1995. By Paulo Nogueira. Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon - In Jakarta, they do not want to hear about him (they say he should stick to taking care of souls and not meddle with mundane matters) but, for the majority of Timorese, he is the shepherd who fends off the hungry wolves from his flock.

Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo was born in Baucau on 3 February 1948, and attended the Dare seminary, about 12 kms. from Dili. One of his old teachers, who now lives in Macao, described him as being a shy young man who was very methodical.

In 1969, he was sent to Lisbon to study at the Estoril secondary school. He returned to Dili in 1974, but left straight after the UDT coup in August the following year, and helped the refugees in Atambua (Indonesian Timor), before going on to Macao, where he stayed until July 1976.

He returned that year to Lisbon to continue with his studies in Theology at the Catholic University until 1979. Before going to the Salesian University in Rome, where he stayed for two years, he was ordained a priest on 26 July 1980. He then returned to East Timor and was sent to the Salesian school in Fatumaca, Baucau, where he worked until transferring to Dili 1983.

In 1985, following the forced resignation of Mnsgr. Martinho Lopes, the Pope appointed him Apostolic Administrator of Dili, and was ordained Bishop in 1988. Ximenes Belo is not the titular Bishop of Dili, but just the resident Bishop, and is titular Bishop of Lorium, a now extinct diocese of Lazio, Rome. "Formally, the Bishop of Dili is the Pope, but I am the one with the headaches," he explains. In contrast to the titular Bishop, who is responsible to a specific Episcopal conference, a resident Bishop is answerable directly to the Pope, who has the final word on certain issues, such as those involving property transactions or taking up fundamental political positions.

The Vatican's choice of a resident Bishop for Dili rather than a titular Bishop was basically a result of its attitude towards the status of East Timor following Indonesia's invasion on 7 December 1975 and the subsequent "de facto" integration of East Timor

on 17 July 1976 in the Republic of Indonesia.

The Holy See's Dilemma

In view of the new political status of East Timor, and in spite of the fact that the UN considered Portugal to be the territory's administrating power, the Holy See was faced with the dilemma of having to choose between the "de jure" situation (recognition of Portuguese sovereignty) or the "de facto" situation (recognition of Indonesian sovereignty).

Therefore, if the Vatican recognised Portugal's sovereignty, it would have to nominate a titular Bishop who would belong to the Portuguese Episcopal Conference. On the other hand, if it opted for recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, the titular Bishop of Dili would have to belong to the Indonesian Episcopal Conference.

By not siding with either party, the Holy See may have favoured the Indonesian side by choosing not to directly question the integration of East Timor, which is what would have happened if it had recognised Portugal's sovereignty, appointing a Bishop who would belong to the Portuguese Episcopal Conference.

Some priests, even Timorese, see this position as a clever move on the part of the Holy See to secure some independence for the Church of East Timor, without the Vatican being subjected to Jakarta's constant pressure (and without the Indonesian Catholics having to suffer the consequences of what Suharto would see as a real affront).

But this position has also brought criticism of the Vatican from various supporters of the Timorese cause. The Bishop himself does not hide a degree of disappointment at the Holy See's attitude, as can be seen from his comment that what really matters is the human being.

Throughout the over 450 years of Catholic presence in the territory, there have been just two titular Bishops: Jaime Garcia Goulart (currently living in the Azores) between 1940 and 1967, and José Joaquim Ribeiro (living in Evora), from 1967 until his resignation in 1978. This is because until 4 September 1940 the Timorese diocese was part of the diocese of Macao, when the former Portuguese province of East Timor was governed by Captain Manuel de Abreu Ferreira de Carvalho.

According to various historians, East Timor was, over the centuries, a victim of Portugal's inability to manage an empire that stretched to the other side of the world, and so the territory was bounced, in terms of administrative tutelage (political and religious) from Goa to Malacca and, finally to Macao.

"East Timor was always very far away from Lisbon and it was, therefore, managed by way of direct administration, which affected not only its colonisation but also its own economic development," says a Timorese living in Macao.

SOARES BACKS EAST TIMOR BISHOP

Irish Times, March 28. By David Shanks. slightly abridged

Lisbon – President Mario Soares of Portugal has betrayed his irritation with the Vatican over a suggestion that the outspoken Bishop of Dili, in East Timor, might be transferred.

Speaking at a conference in Lisbon that drew together leading international academics, young East Timorese exiles, resistance leaders and solidarity activists, the President assured East Timorese activists of Portugal's "unbreakable" commitment to its historic responsibility to its former colony. He also said he would support Bishop Carlos Belo as a Nobel Prize nominee.

Referring to an interview last week in the Portuguese daily *Publico*, in which the Bishop had said "maybe I won't be bishop for much longer," President Soares declared that his removal "wouldn't be tolerated by Catholics throughout the world."

At lunch earlier with a small group from the conference, organised by Prof. Barbedo de Magalhaes of Oporto University, the President had spoken more frankly of his feelings about Pope John Paul's "double-faced" attitude to the East Timor issue and the bishop, according to Prof. Benedict Anderson of Cornell University.

The President's personal secretary had no problem about the professor telling *The Irish Times* of the lunch conversation – a further indication of a new forthrightness by Portugal over East Timor. It may have something to do with the approaching end to the 71-year-old President's term of office and a wish to be remembered for a strong role in expiating Portuguese guilt at its neglect of its colonial responsibilities. But several leading politicians attested to the all-party support the East Timor issue enjoys in Portugal.

But though "they (the Portuguese) have never been more eloquent" – as Mr. José Ramos Horta, an East Timor leader abroad put it – a meeting with several from the group of 29 East Timorese who occupied the US Embassy in Jakarta during last November's Asia-Pacific summit indicated that these young men now feel only a little better than stateless in Portugal.

In what used to be a more hospitable environment, these students find that their

Indonesian qualifications are not recognised. After six months of social assistance they stand a good chance of joining the thousands of unemployed from Portugal's former colonies.

Irish solidarity was praised and the attention-grabbing expulsion last year of Mr. Tom Hyland, of the Dublin group, from Manila was cited as an example of actions that had helped publicise "the illegal occupation and ongoing human rights abuses in East Timor."

Mr. Paul Hainsworth, from a newly formed Northern Ireland solidarity group, spoke of three Unionist politicians – Mr. Patrick Nicholls [sic – he's actually a Tory], Mr. Roy Beggs and the late Sir James Kilfedder – who had visited East Timor last year "for the wrong reasons." And Dr. Peter Carey, a modern history fellow and tutor at Oxford, drew another Irish parallel when he said that there was a racist attitude in Indonesia's main island of Java towards the country's eastern islands that reminded him of "how the English at the time of Cromwell might have viewed the Irish."

BELO TO PORTUGAL AND SALZBURG "ON VATICAN ORDERS"

Publico, 20 April 1995. By Adelino Gomes. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Bishop of Dili asks for reporters' discretion in Portugal, and announces his participation in Salzburg.

The Bishop of Dili, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, is to take part, on behalf of the Vatican, in the inter-Timorese talks which the UN is preparing for early June in the Austrian city of Salzburg. "My attendance does not depend on me alone, but also on the wishes of the Vatican," explained the Bishop, confirming his statements at a press conference held in Dili last Monday, which were published by the Timorese daily "Suara Pembaruan."

Ximenes Belo said he intends to be an "active participant" in the meeting between the representatives of the anti- and pro-Indonesia factions, originally scheduled for April, but postponed because of discontent, expressed by the Indonesian authorities and Abilio Araujo, the organiser of the London "reconciliation" meeting held in December 1993. An active observer, the Bishop explained, is someone who "seeks unity and gives guidance" in the search for agreement, but without controlling the interventions.

The Timorese Bishop asked the Portuguese journalists to give only discreet coverage of his stay in Portugal, planned for mid-May, and during which he will take part in the 100 year commemorations of the Sale-

sian Fathers, in Fatima. "For the love of God, make my return here easier for me. It is very important that I come back. Look at what is happening with the trial of the Indonesians, especially that deputy (Sri Bintang Pamungkas), accused of taking part in the protests against Suharto's visit to Germany."

The exact date of Bishop Belo's arrival to Portugal, which should be in mid-May, depends on when the Indonesian authorities issue him with an exit visa. While he is here, in addition to the Salesian commemorations, Ximenes Belo intends to take a short holiday and have a taste of "vinho verde and roast sausage" again.

He did insist, however, that Portuguese reporters respect his wish not to make many public statements. "What is the point in being in Lisbon and then not being able to come back here (East Timor) to defend the Timorese cause?"

Meanwhile, Xanana Gusmão's special representative, José Ramos Horta, has predicted that within two years, Australia could change its policy on East Timor "and even cease to recognise annexation" of the territory by Indonesia. Horta, speaking in the Casa do Brasil in Lisbon, said he has been "horrified and surprised by the total unawareness, on the other side of the Atlantic, of the Maubere people's struggle," and asked what the "colossus of South America" could have to fear from supporting the Timorese. However, in the case of the outgoing Ambassador of Brazil to Portugal, José Aparecido de Oliveira, he promised that "a sacred tree" would be planted in his honour in a street in Dili.

BELO PRAYS FOR SALZBURG TALKS

Publico, 13 May 1995. By Nuno Ribeiro. Translated from Portuguese

Madrid – Yesterday in Madrid, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili said that when at Fatima he would be praying for a blessing for the Salzburg talks." The Bishop was stopping over in the Spanish capital on his way to Lisbon, where he will be attending the Salesian Fathers' Centenary commemorations.

"There are no plans for any meeting with Portuguese authorities about Timor," he said, adding that the forthcoming meeting between the various Timorese political lines, scheduled for 3 to 5 June in Salzburg under UN sponsorship, would be of utmost importance: "The dialogue is a start and the important thing is to make a start." Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo is now visiting Fatima with the hope that "faith enlightens the Timorese."

The Bishop described the situation in Timor at the time he left the territory as "normal." Asked about his return to Portugal, Mnsgr. Ximenes became emotional: "To see Portugal, Portuguese land, is a very moving experience for me."

XIMENES BELO CAUTIOUS IN MADRID

Publico, 13 May 1995. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Madrid – The Bishop of Dili, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, said yesterday in Madrid, during a stopover on his way to Lisbon, that he had not been invited to attend the Inter-parliamentary Conference on East Timor, scheduled to start on 31 May in Lisbon. His priority, he said, was to take part in a different conference - the Timorese reconciliation meeting, to be held in Austria in early June. Apart from not being invited, he gave another reason for not attending the Lisbon meeting: "I can't, I cannot attend. They would cut off my legs afterwards."

Meanwhile, Social Democrat MP, Fernando Amaral, who chairs the parliamentary committee on Timor, yesterday confirmed the attendance of Indonesians at the International and Inter-parliamentary Conference on East Timor.

News of the International Conference, which is to last for 3 days and be attended by 90 MPs and senators from several countries, was broken yesterday in a press conference given by Fernando Amaral. The MP stressed the fact that "the conflict in East Timor is not between Portugal and Indonesia, but between the international community and Indonesia." He referred to the fact that the Jakarta Government is ignoring UN directives on respect for human rights. According to LUSA, Amaral also mentioned that Portugal is taking part in the negotiations in its capacity as administering power appointed by the UN.

There will be a ceremonial opening of the Lisbon Conference by the President of the Republic, who will be followed by parliamentary leaders. The sessions will be held in the Belem Cultural Centre (Lisbon), and will include addresses by the Foreign Minister and President of the Assembly of the European Council.

The representative of the Maubere Resistance National Council, Ramos Horta, will read out a message from Xanana Gusmão. A statement is being drafted by MPs Correia Afonso (PSD), Eduardo Pereira (PS) and Miguel Urbano Rodrigues (PCP), which will be put forward for approval at the Conference. The statement has been described by Amaral as a "fundamental document," as it will serve as a "vehicle for the concerns of

Portuguese MPs" about human rights in Timor and the rest of the world, as well as the right of peoples to self-determination. The "message" will be publicised internationally by the nine dozen participants.

Ximenes Belo, for his part, will be travelling to Rome from Fatima (where he is attending the Salesian Fathers' religious centenary commemorations), and from Rome to Austria, where he will attend the inter-Timorese meeting organised by the UN, taking place from 2 to 6 June.

Xanana Sick

Ramos Horta told LUSA that, following medical tests, X-rays and ultra-sound, doctors at a Jakarta clinic concluded on Tuesday that Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão is suffering from a stone in the urethra and another in the left kidney. He was returned to prison, but is expected to have to return to the clinic shortly.

In his article entitled Fifth Column, published in the latest edition of Far Eastern Economic Review, Ramos Horta claims that the election of the Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to UN Secretary General in 1992 was prevented by the problem of East Timor. He says that "in two years time, Alatas will have another opportunity, but as long as East Timor is under Indonesian military occupation, his nomination to the post of Secretary General would be scandalous."

TIMOR - IN BETWEEN THE LINES

Publico, 20 May 1995. By Antonio Marujo. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon – Although it was already known that Ximenes Belo was not going to make any political references to Indonesia or Timor, the Timorese Bishop's silence, together with the Catholic hierarchy's absence, and the lack of any mention of the situation in the territory was beyond the worst expectations.

The Salesian Fathers' pilgrimage to Fatima was saved by two small gestures. At the end of mass, Father Simao Cruz, Superior of the Salesian Fathers in Portugal, said that those present had also been there "praying for peace and liberty for the people of Timor." A few moments before, the Sanctuary's usual formality was broken by a group of young Timorese wearing their traditional dress, who sang an "appeal to all the children of Timor to unite" in Tetum. Although there was no direct reference to what is going on in the territory, Timor was there, in between the lines.

Translated, the words of the song ... said "We, children of Timor who wander the world, hold hands and raise our eyes, with our brothers we raise our eyes." The person

leading the singers ... explained it was a call for unity to the people who have been torn apart by war, by in-fighting, and by foreign occupation.

Nobody would have expected the pilgrimage commemorating the centenary of Salesians' presence in Portugal to turn into any kind of political demonstration, but the central figure the weekend was Ximenes Belo, himself a member of the Salesian congregation. But he was quite alone - to be joined only on Saturday by the Bishop of Leiria-Fatima, Serafim Ferreira e Silva. The rest of the time, no other member of the Portuguese Catholic hierarchy took part in the pilgrimage, which was of greater significance than that at first met the eye.

At the start of yesterday's mass ... Ximenes Belo thanked the Bishop of Leiria-Fatima for his "support for the people of Timor and the Diocese of Dili." The Sanctuary's Superior, Father Luciano Guerra, also turned to the Timorese Bishop and said "We all join you in this great prayer" for Timor. But neither hide nor hair was seen of the Portuguese Bishops - weren't they invited? During his first week in Portugal Ximenes Belo mentioned that the Portuguese Episcopal Conference (contrary to the Indonesian Bishops' Conference) had never invited him to attend as an observer.

Even during the Offertory, Timor was suppressed: the 21 young Timorese went up to the altar, together with pupils from Salesian schools ... while two girls from the group played a traditional batuque. Only those nearby were aware of the gesture and the music - the Sanctuary's sound equipment played organ and choir music. Among the crowd, there were many Timorese faces, trying to see their Bishop close up.

The Timorese Bishop otherwise only mentioned Timor in passing when he spoke of the Salesians' work throughout the world. He did not even offer a prayer (publicly) for the inter-Timorese Salzburg meeting, as he had said he would. As he later explained ... this was because "You don't talk about these things, you feel them in your heart" ... Let "the media" get on with talking about it. More references were not necessary.

DURÃO'S SECRET MEETING WITH XIMENES BELO

Expresso, 20 May 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Durão Barroso and Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo met secretly at the school in which the Foreign Minister's three sons are studying. The meeting took place on Tuesday morning, in the offices of St. Joseph's, an institution run by the Salesian Congrega-

tion of St. John Bosco, to which the Bishop belongs.

This venue was chosen because not only is Durão Barroso no stranger to the school where his children are attending, but also because the Residence of the Salesian Fathers, where Mnsgr. Belo was staying, is just next door. The Bishop of Dili and the Minister met alone for one and a half hours. All that is known about what transpired is that Mnsgr. Ximenes described the current atmosphere in East Timor. Durão Barroso would neither confirm nor deny that he had met with the Timorese Bishop.

Meanwhile, in a message addressed to the Timorese people via RDP International, Xanana Gusmão expresses his decision to continue "the fight against the enemy."

Dated 10 February, the document first addresses the "heroic guerrillas." But Xanana, who still considers himself the "Commander of the Falintil (the armed wing of the Resistance)," devotes much of his message to expressions of appreciation to the Portuguese authorities, specifically to the President of the Republic, "for his compassion for our land" and the Assembly of the Republic, for having held the international parliamentary meeting on East Timor.

After expressing his "heart-felt" thanks to Minister Durão Barroso for the meetings with Ali Alatas under the auspices of the UN, Xanana goes on to describe the Indonesian Foreign Minister as a "deceiver."

The Portuguese Foreign Minister said he found it "surprising" that a Portuguese newspaper (O Independente) had involved itself in "illegal conduct" by helping an Indonesian citizen to enter Portugal via the border at Caia, where no checks are carried out. The border authorities have stated that the journalist's action "will be reported to the office of the public prosecutor for relevant action."

PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE DYING OUT IN TIMOR – BISHOP

Lisbon, May 20 (Reuter) – The Portuguese language is disappearing from East Timor and the Roman Catholic church lacks the resources to maintain it, East Timor's Roman Catholic leader was quoted as saying on Saturday.

"It (Portuguese) is disappearing. No one is trying to keep it," the Bishop of Dili, Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, told *Publico* newspaper in an interview during a visit to Portugal.

"We want to reintroduce it in church schools. But we don't have the means, we don't have teachers and, above all, we don't have an understanding between the two

governments (Portugal and Indonesia) to reintroduce it. It will be difficult," he said.

BELO: NO RESOURCES TO REINTRODUCE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE

Publico, 20 May 1995. By A. Gomes & a. Marujo. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon – The Salesian Father Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, Titular Bishop of Lazio, and Apostolic Administrator of Dili, while attending this afternoon in Fatima the centenary of his congregation's presence in Portugal, prayed for the inter-Timorese talks, which are expected to be held early in June in Austria. It was the Timorese themselves who dug the pit which divides them, and who now have to unite. Only then, he says, will they be able to talk to Indonesia and Portugal. The following interview took place on Thursday afternoon in .. Lisbon. Ximenes Belo talks mainly about the presence of the Church and the Salesian congregation in Timor. The Church is "alive," he says, and the priests, nuns and missionaries in the territory are certainly never idle. The congregation, founded by St. John Bosco, whose principle work was to help youngsters "especially the underprivileged," runs several teaching and social service institutions. ...

... 47-year-old Mnsgr. Belo studied at the Dare Seminary, with the Salesians in Estoril, at the Universidade Catolica in Lisbon and in Rome. Since 1988 he is Titular Bishop of Lazio and Apostolic Administrator of Dili. Circumstances have brought him increasingly to the forefront of the Timor issue. Prudent, open to dialogue, but firm, he wants to be able to return to Dili at all costs. He sees his duty as being not only to care about the souls but also the happiness of the inhabitants of his own native land. To be a priest today in Timor is "above all, to be on the people's side, help them and defend them against the injustice." To do so, Bishop Belo is "prepared to die," just as young Timorese themselves are. It is because of this attitude, and other positions he has taken in Timor, that some say that awarding him the Nobel Peace Prize would be deserving and serve to remind the world about the defence of just causes forgotten by the international community.

Publico: What is the Church of Timor's current situation?

Mnsgr. Belo: It is a growing, active and alive Church, full of youth and vitality. Evangelical work, schools, orphanages, health services and humanitarian work at the technical and agricultural college keep the missionaries

- priests, brothers and nuns - rushed off their feet.

Q: How many Catholics are there today in Timor?

A: About 700,000, in 30 parishes, attended by only 72 priests, 66 missionary posts, 98 pastoral centres. There is a tremendous amount of work, and very few people to carry it out. That is why we built a seminary in the diocese, which is able to provide training for between 130 and 150 pupils for the future.

Q: Is the seminary now functioning?

A: Not yet. We still need help. Perhaps in October.

Q: In addition to the Fathers, are there any other religious workers?

A: 25 of the Fathers are diocesan - 3 from Goa and 22 Timorese. The rest are Salesians, Jesuits, Franciscans, and other missionaries. Then we have a congregation of Dutch brothers, and about 130 nuns from 18 congregations, in small communities.

We have 70 pupils in the seminary. We do not have a higher seminary. We send the Philosophy and Theology students abroad - at the moment there are 54 students: a group in Mala, another in East Java near Surabaya, another in Flores, and another in Kupang in West Timor. The Salesians teach Philosophy in Jakarta and Theology in Manila.

Q: Are any seminarians sent to Portugal to complete their studies?

A: No, not any more. The last two went to Braga, but that was several years ago.

Q: Is that because of political reasons?

A: No. It was because, back in 1977, Mnsgr. Martinho Lopes decided to send them to Flores instead. It would be hard now for them to come here (to Portugal), also because they do not speak Portuguese anymore.

Q: Do you think that the vitality you have described could be because people seek out the Church in times of social hardship and political difficulty, as they did in Communist Poland, for example?

A: There is a danger that only in times of suffering people turn to God and cling to the Church, because they are helped, taken in, and respected, and then later, once they have their liberty, they start to leave the Church. For this very reason, we are concerned less with quantity, and more with quality. This is why we opened a school for training catechists.

Islam has bread and butter to offer

Q: You mentioned 700,000 Catholics - isn't the population less than that?

A: According to Government statistics (based on figures supplied by the sucos - administrative units), published about two years ago, the population is now over 820,000.

Q: The population has increased considerably - is that due to births or increased numbers of immigrants from other parts of Indonesia?

A: Both, but there are many children in Timor. The streets are just full of young people.

Q: Does the Protestant Church have any influence?

A: The Protestant Church is based entirely on the military. The military commanders are all Protestants. Mario Carrascalao's Deputy Governor was a Protestant Colonel, who is the President of Hossana, a Foundation that provides welfare assistance to the needy. Their influence is increasing.

Q: Don't the Moslems have any influence?

A: Oh yes, they are the ones with most influence..

Q: But how come, if 700,000 out of the 830,000 population are Catholics?

A: They have the authority, and bread and butter to offer.

Q: Is the Islamic faith spreading?

A: Yes. There is an association of Moslem intellectuals, the ICMI (whose leader, Habibi, is the Minister of Technology) which seeks to congregate all Moslems, and it wants to become established in Timor.

Q: In terms of percentage, could we speak of 90 per cent Catholic?

A: Less - about 83 to 85 per cent, the remainder being divided between Protestants and Islam. There are also Hindus, and the Chinese are Buddhists.

Q: Have the Animists disappeared?

A: No, there are still about 50,000, but the rest converted.

Q: It is often said that the Portuguese language, on one hand, and religion, on the other, were adopted as a form of resistance.

A: The Portuguese language cannot be included since it is disappearing, and no one is making any effort to keep it.

Q: Not even the Church?

A: ... although we would like to reintroduce Portuguese in the Church schools. But we have neither the resources nor the teachers and, above all, the two governments concerned do not agree with each other, so reintroducing it would be difficult. The two governments would have to take the initiative, reach an agreement and provide the necessary resources.

Colonisation only began in the late 19th Century

Q: It is commonly believed that it was the Dominicans who colonised Timor - why have they disappeared from the territory?

A: Colonisation really only began late in the last century and in the early 20th century. Until then, there were lost, isolated military posts, that cannot be described as colonisation. The Dominican period from 1556 to 1834 would be an interesting subject for a thesis. Their disappearance coincided with the liberal revolution here in Portugal. Only 3 or 4 dioceses remained. When, in 1875, the Bishop - who was then still a Father - José Antonio Madeiros, visited Timor, he wrote a report to the Bishop of Macao, who in turn sent a group of 12 missionaries. That is really when systematic evangelisation recommenced, which not only opened the way for new missions - Ocussi, Manatutu, Lacluta, Soibada - but also for primary schools and the agricultural college in Dare. Bishop Madeiros introduced coffee, camphor, and cinnamon brought from the Philippines to Dare, and also opened a technical college in Dili which was handed over to the Salesians in the '60s.

Q: They say that the missionaries educated everyone - both the pro-Indonesians and the resistance people. Who was responsible for that education - the Jesuits?

A: The Jesuits and the others, mainly Salesians. There were 4 or 5 Jesuits in the Dare seminary. They ran the seminary, where both Lopes da Cruz and Xanana Gusmão used to go..

Q: How important are the Salesians in Timor today, apart from the fact that they have a Bishop?

A: All the orders are important, not just the Salesians. The Salesians have a technical college in Fatumaca where carpentry, mechanics and electronics are taught. They are soon going to open another department for computer studies. Then, in Filoro there is an agricultural college. In Dili they opened up a vocational training centre, which provides 3 to 6 months training courses for school leavers.

Q: What are the priorities for the Dili diocese's pastoral work?

A: Our next priority is the training qualified workers: diocesan clergy, religious and lay. In 1993 we focused our attention on young people. In '94 it was on families. This year we are focusing on children and adolescents.

Q: What kind of activities do you organise?

A: Religious and literary instruction, sports, outings. I myself, as Bishop, organise a football championship for under 14 year olds in Dili. ...

Q: What is it like to be a priest in Timor today?

A: It's like being a priest anywhere else. A priest serves the people, and is Christ's representative. But, more than anything else, being a priest in Timor is ... being on the people's side, to support them and advise them in their times of trouble, to help them and defend them against injustice...

Q: We know you are stopping off in Rome before going to the Salzburg meeting ... Are you going to get instructions from the Pope?

A: No. I'm going to report that I'm back from Fatima. I'll be on my way to Austria.

Q: But you said you are going to Salzburg because the Nuncio in Jakarta gave you the green light..

A: That's right. That was a few months ago ... I myself told the Nuncio that I did not want to go because I had not attended the London meeting. I thought it better to stay in the background, and to send the Vicar-General, Father Antonio Costa. But the Nuncio, after consulting the Vatican, said that the Bishop had greater moral authority and force, which were important elements for reconciliation and peace.

Q: Are you really not going to say anything during the meeting?

A: We will see. My intention is to just go and listen, and let them speak. They are the ones who messed up the process in Timor, now let them try to sort it out.

Q: But many of those who "messed up" the process are dead.

A: They are alive.

Q: You said you were an active observer ...

A: I didn't say that. I have always said that I was merely an observer. Journalists are the active ones, who add on comments which I have not made. I am active in the sense that I say: "My friends, before talking, accept each other, try to come together and look for what is in Timor's best interests."

Q: Don't you think that the gap separating them has not been dug by them but by an outside force?

A: Not been dug by them? They are the ones who broke up the alliances in March 1975.. After that, the outside forces came and added to the confusion. But now, they have to overcome all that and concentrate on what is best for Timor.

Q: Let's imagine that they embrace each other and say "let's go for unity" and then, back in Jakarta, they go back on their words ..

A: It is important that the Timorese meet, talk to each other, but that is not enough.

That is placing just one foot inside the door. There is still the other foot. The Timorese then have to talk to Indonesia, and talk to Portugal. That also has to be done to complete the process. As I said the other day to Abilio Araujo and Francisco Lopes da Cruz: What good does it do for you all to be there in London in nice hotels when, back here, everything's stayed just the same? Going to talks abroad is fine, but what is more important is talking here, at home.

Q: Is this group representative?

A: It is naturally much more representative than the other.

Q: Might the Vatican be able to help in this process?

A: I don't know. Right now, it is just a matter between the Timorese themselves.

Q: What about in the future?

A: Perhaps it could be of help, like Portugal, but for the time being it is just between the Timorese themselves. ...

Q: Do you realise that people see you as a mediator?

A: Yes, unfortunately, unfortunately, ..

BISHOP WITH CHARISMA TO UNITE SQUABBLING TIMORESE FACTIONS

The Irish Times, 5 June. By Jill Jolliffe

At 47, Carlos Ximenes Belo is one of the Vatican's youngest bishops, but in his 12 years as the embattled church leader of Indonesian-occupied East Timor, he has accumulated an experience of which few senior clerics could boast. At considerable personal risk, he has defended the East Timorese against persistent human rights violations by the Indonesian army. He has been threatened and abused as a result, living at times under siege in his residence, with the Indonesian government pressuring the Vatican to remove him. "When the Holy Father asked me to become bishop in Dili, I felt like I was entering hermitage to become a recluse," he said recently. "And indeed I was. I am still alone."

A strong candidate for this year's Nobel Peace Prize, the bishop has just ended a private visit to Portugal, including a pilgrimage to the Marian shrine of Fatima, where he has measured his words for fear the Indonesian government might prevent his return to East Timor.

East Timorese abroad, as in Timor, are bitterly divided - a fact which the Indonesian government has exploited. War has taken its psychological toll on them, sowing rage and even hatred. Feelings are so strong that families are divided and old friends don't speak to each other. As a neutral, non-

political figure with nationalist credentials, Dr. Belo is one of the few figures capable of pacifying the squabbling factions.

The bishop's role in Timor has made him immensely popular with the refugees, and they put their differences aside to acclaim this small handsome man bursting with energy. On arrival in Fatima, a swelling chant went up from the normally sedate congregation: "Belo, amigo! O povo esta contigo!" ("Belo, friend! The people are with you!").

At a mass in Lisbon he chose the Bible reading, in Portuguese, from the story of the Israelites cast out. It was a text redolent with meaning for the East Timorese, who have been dispersed in Australia, Macau and Portugal by the Indonesian invasion.

He then changed to Tetum, the main Timorese language, addressing the anxious crowd in intimate, soothing style, telling them of his visits to the Timorese community in Australia, describing the divisions everywhere which are tearing them apart, and urging them to unite.

"What are we fighting for in Timor is democracy," he said, "and in a democracy it's normal to have conflicting ideas, and to respect each other." To most who attended he was a healing presence.

He said in an interview later he was hopeful of success at the Australian meeting: "It's the first time we've met like this, and concessions are being made on all sides. But things can't be achieved in just one meeting - it must be the first of many." He said he had held preliminary talks with some of the other participants, in Dili, Jakarta and Lisbon.

He is not hopeful of change within Indonesia, and is cynical of claims from some Timorese factions that there are signs of a wish for military disengagement from East Timor in some Jakarta ruling circles. "They've been in East Timor 20 years, and I haven't seen any signs of goodwill yet," he asserted.

BELO SEEN AS MISREPRESENTING STRUGGLE AS A RELIGIOUS WAR

Part 2 - Irish Times, 6 June. Jill Jolliffe concludes her profile of Bishop Carlos Belo

Like many of the Timorese resistance leaders, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, was born in the Melanesian-influenced eastern zone of East Timor - near Baucau, the second city - in February, 1948, during Portugal's Salazar dictatorship. His parents were of noble Timorese stock, and he was one of six children. His father was a schoolteacher.

It was a family that was later known, after Portugal's 1974 decolonisation, as being divided politically between Fretilin, the main pro-independence party, and the pro-Indonesian Apodeti.

Belo had his early primary education near Baucau, transferring to the Catholic seminary at Dare, near Dili, in 1963, and in 1968 to Portugal for higher education with the Salesian order, to which he now belongs.

Ordained in 1980, he returned to Timor in 1981. In 1983, aged 35, he was appointed Apostolic Administrator in Dili to replace the popular bishop, Dom Martinho Costa Lopes, an outspoken nationalist who had been recalled by the Vatican under Indonesian pressure. He was thus seen originally as pro-Indonesian. However, soon after he took office, hundreds of villagers were executed in the south east coast town of Kraras, in reprisal for a guerrilla raid. Bishop Belo travelled there and told the press what he saw. From then on, his credentials were unquestioned.

He was ordained as Bishop of Lorium in 1988 and has lived through trying ordeals since: demonstrations during the Pope's 1989 visit, when he gave refuge to youths hunted by the Indonesian military and negotiated to save them from prison and torture, and the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, in which around 200 unarmed youths were shot dead. He and his priests were subject to tightening Indonesian pressure when they denounced the massacre.

The Catholic Church has grown enormously in his time, and the Vatican is to create a new diocese, in Baucau. Like the Dili diocese, it will answer directly to Rome rather than the Indonesian Council of Bishops. The reality behind claims of growth is that most Timorese retain their traditional animist beliefs and are only nominal Catholics. For his stand, Bishop Belo has earned the nickname "hard head" from the Indonesians. He is a man without fear, confident in his mission, yet he is not without critics in resistance circles who see the Catholic Church as misrepresenting their nationalist struggle as a religious war, against Islam - a war they say is, firstly, unwinnable because it pits East Timor's small population against Indonesia's 186 million Muslims and, secondly, undesirable, because the resistance seeks a political solution and is building bridges with Muslims of goodwill. They also criticise the church's suppression of traditional religious belief.

Nevertheless, Belo remains one of East Timor's most popular and prestigious nationalist leaders, whose inclusion in the Austrian talks - after initial doubts about his presence - marks a turning point in the UN negotiations on Timor, and the hope of unity for a population longing for peace.

JOHN PAUL II ADDRESSES NEW INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR

translated from the Portuguese

Vatican City, June 16 (LUSA) - Pope John Paul II today defended the need for "concrete measures" to guarantee the respect for human rights and cultural and religious values in East Timor, in address to the newly appointed Indonesian ambassador who presented his credentials.

John Paul II stated to the new ambassador that he follows the developments in East Timor with "interest and concern."

"Allow me to express the hope that the most appropriate measures will be adopted to guarantee the respect for the human rights and the protection and promotion of the cultural and religious values [of the East Timor people]," said the Pope to Radin Suharjono.

John Paul II added that he is encouraging the dialogue aimed at bettering social and political conditions, so that these may correspond to the "aspirations of the inhabitants of East Timor."

EAST TIMOR-PAPAL PLEA

The Irish Independent June 17th 1995

Pope John Paul said yesterday that the Indonesian authorities must respect the human rights of the people of East Timor, which it annexed 20 years ago.

"I cannot but turn my attention to the difficult situation in East Timor," he told Indonesia's new ambassador, Radin Suharjono, in a message accepting his credentials. Indonesia seized East Timor soon after Portugal left in 1975 and annexed it a year later.

EAST TIMORESE PRISONERS AND THEIR TRIALS

COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ASKS FOR REDUCED SENTENCES FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

LUSA, March 18, Translated from Portuguese

Jakarta, March 18 - The Indonesian Commission for Human Rights asked Suharto for a reduction in sentences for political prisoners, including supporters of ET resistance [...] informed today ANTARA. The appeal is prompted by the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's independence. Al Said, president of the govern-

ment-supported Commission sent a letter to Suharto with a list of names. There are currently about 350 political prisoners in Indonesia.

TRIAL OF 13 TIMORESE DEMONSTRATORS STARTED

LUSA, March 28 and 30, Translated from Portuguese

Dili, March 28 and 30 - Inacio de Jesus dos Santos, an East Timorese fisherman, went to trial March 28 on accusations of opposing the Indonesian rule, for having participated in a demonstration for independence at the University of East Timor on January 9, the day when the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia were meeting in Geneva with UN Secretary General. Thirteen Timorese were arrested at this demonstration. Inacio Santos faces a maximum five-year sentence. The trial proceeds Monday with the testimony of prosecution witnesses.

The other twelve Timorese youths went on trial March 30. They are accused of publicly expressing hatred and hostility towards Indonesia, and face a maximum seven-year sentence. The youths entered the court voicing pro-independence slogans and refused to be defended by lawyers. They also negated being Indonesian nationals: "We are not Indonesian. Our nationality is Timorese," shouted a 19 year-old defendant. The trials will proceed separately for each defendant. Next week prosecution witnesses will be heard. The identities of the twelve were not disclosed.

COURT TRIES DEMONSTRATOR

Jakarta Post, 29 March 1995. Dateline: Dili

Dili - The local district court yesterday convened the trial of Ignacio de Jesus dos Santos, who is accused of organising an anti-government demonstration on the University of East Timor campus last January.

Ignacio is one of thirteen that the government plans to bring before the court in connection with a demonstration at the state-run university on Jan 9. He is being charged under the subversion law.

Abdul Hasan, the government prosecutor, told the court that the demonstration was planned at a meeting in Ignacio's house two days before it was held. He said the demonstrators used abusive language and insulting (to) the government during the campus protest.

TIMORESE JAILED FOR JANUARY PROTEST

Associated Press, April 26, 1995

Dili, Indonesia (sic) - Five East Timorese youths have been sentenced to prison for taking part in a pro-independence demonstration.

José Pinto, Pedro da Costa, Alex Sandiko da Costa, Carlos Bernes Bareto and Paulo José Amaral were found guilty Tuesday of publicly expressing hatred and hostility and insulting the Indonesian government.

Bareto, 24, and Amaral, 23, were sentenced to 30 months each. Pinto, 22, and the two da Costas, 18 and 20, who rejected defense lawyers, were sentenced to 26 months.

"Since East Timor has become part of Indonesia, there is no reason for the suspects to deny the legitimacy of law applied in the country," said District Court Judge Agustinus L. Rungng, who led a three-member judicial team.

"You have the right to seek presidential clemency in case you are not satisfied with the verdicts," he added.

The five were among 13 people arrested following a Jan. 9 demonstration at Dili's East Timor University. The others also face trial.

At the protest, which coincided with U.N.-sponsored talks on East Timor between Indonesia and Portugal in Geneva, the demonstrators unfurled banners and chanted anti-Indonesia slogans.

Meanwhile, East Timor Police Chief Col. Andreas Sugianto said another four pro-independence activists were arrested Monday for planning a protest to coincide with the recent visit to Indonesia of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Pro-independence militants often time their protests to take advantage of international events at home and abroad.

EAST TIMOR DISSIDENTS JAILED

Jakarta, April 27 (UPI) - An Indonesian court Thursday sentenced two East Timorese dissidents to two-year prison terms respectively for taking part in a pro-independence demonstration in the former Portuguese colony.

The two, aged 22 and 23, were found guilty by East Timor's Dili district court of publicly expressing hatred and hostility and insulting the Indonesian government.

On Tuesday, the same court sentenced five other East Timorese to prison sentences ranging from 26 to 30 months.

The defendants were among 13 people arrested in the wake of a January 9 demonstration at Dili's East Timor University. The six others also face trial.

During a trial session the two sentenced Thursday had said the demonstration was staged to influence other Timorese people as part of efforts to end Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

INDONESIA POLICE ARREST 4 EAST TIMORESE

Reuter, April 26, 1995

Dili, East Timor, April 26 – Indonesian police said on Wednesday they had arrested four East Timorese who planned to stage a demonstration against Jakarta's rule over the territory.

Indonesia's police chief in East Timor, Colonel Andreas Sugianto, said the four were arrested late on Tuesday in Dili on suspicion of trying to join a planned protest in front of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

"They hoped to launch a demonstration related to the appearance of the secretary-general who at this time is joining a meeting in Bandung. They hoped to show to the world that their struggle is not yet over," Sugianto said.

About 20 East Timorese were questioned by police on Tuesday soon after they landed at Jakarta's Tanjung Priok port.

East Timorese sources said the Timorese were questioned because they were suspected of planning protests in the nearby town of Bandung where the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is meeting this week.

17 EAST TIMORESE FACE TRIAL ON NINJA ISSUE

Reuter, April 28, 1995

Jakarta – Indonesia said on Friday 17 East Timorese would be brought to court soon to answer charges of disturbing public order.

The 17 were arrested in crackdowns on so-called Ninja gangs, groups of hooded youths that East Timorese people believe are hired by the military to fill opponents of Indonesian rule in East Timor with fear.

"We have submitted the documents to the court. Now we are awaiting the court decision on when the trial will begin," a legal official told Reuters by telephone from Dili, East Timor's capital.

"They are charged of crime and disturbing public order," military spokesman Laedan Simbolon said.

JOSÉ ANTONIO BELO JAILED

Reuter, 8 May 1995. Abridged

Dili – An Indonesian court on Monday jailed José Antonio Belo, an East Timorese

student arrested during a January protest and accused of being the leader of an underground movement opposing Jakarta's rule.

The court sentenced Belo, one of 13 youths to be tried after a brief demonstration outside Dili's university on January 9, to 18 months' jail after finding him guilty of "expressing hostility to the government."

The presiding judge said Belo had engaged in activities against Indonesia. The prosecutor earlier asked the court to sentence him to three years in prison.

Belo said he felt the sentence was too light, given what he said was his position as leader of the clandestine movement – an organisation linked to exiles and a small hill-bound guerrilla army fighting Indonesian rule in East Timor.

According to an earlier Reuter report on 4 May, fifteen other Timorese are also on trial for the involvement in the 'ninja' gangs.

"The defendants are charged with damaging the people's property such as houses and cars as well as disturbing the peace," the prosecutors said in their indictment read at the Dili district court on Thursday.

The 15 East Timorese, along with two other who have yet to face trial, were arrested in crackdowns on the Ninja gangs since they emerged in January.

Officials at the court said the what the defendants had done was purely criminal and not political.

INDONESIAN 'LEGAL' PROCESS (J.A. BELO TRIAL)

From CNRM, National Council of Maubere Resistance, 19 May 1995

Background to East Timorese student leader José Antonio Belo's recent Dili trial

At 10.30 am on May 8, 1995, José Antonio Belo (23), a student of English Literature at Dili University, was escorted into the local court in the East Timor capital Dili by armed plain-clothed members of the Indonesian military intelligence. He was standing trial after being detained on 9 January for leading a peaceful student demonstration at the university against the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia.

The demonstration was witnessed by four foreign tourists who happened to be in the area at the time. These commented on the excessive brutality with which the peaceful demonstration was broken up by security forces, and the strong violence with which they treated the arrested youths. The foreigners were immediately expelled from East Timor, after confiscation of their photographic films of the incident.

The following are excerpts of a Bahasa Indonesia report received from Dili on 15 May 1995 regarding the manner in which

José Antonio Belo was coerced into making statements admitting charges against himself. It also refers to the way the court ignored this coercion, and other procedural irregularities.

begin excerpts

In the afternoon of May 5, four SGI (Indonesian intelligence) officers visited José Antonio Belo in his detention cell, and forced him by torture to sign statements they had prepared. As a result of the visit, José A. Belo was badly injured on the pit of the stomach and developed grey bumps on his head and face.

During the following court session, José Antonio Belo was forced to read three of the statements been prepared by the SGI in Dili. Their contents were far from the true thoughts held by the victim and most inconsistent with his declarations at a previous court session.

When the panel of judges asked the victim if 'his' statements represented his genuine position he did not reply to the question. Instead of replying he asked:

Does a just and God inspired court case have to be preceded by force, oppression, torture and distortion of facts?

The judges ignored him.

After José Antonio Belo finished the reading of 'his' statements, the panel of judges immediately sentenced him to 18 months jail. He was granted 7 days to decide whether he wanted to appeal or plead for clemency.

At the end of the session, in defiance of the unjust proceedings, José Antonio Belo shouted nationalistic slogans such as:

Long Live Xanana Gusmão, Long Live the Maubere People, Long Live East Timor!

The victim was then whisked away not in a prison vehicle by prison personnel, but by SGI members in a special car. According to eye witnesses, he was badly mistreated inside the car in retaliation for his defiant stance.

Since then, José A. Belo has been kept in isolation. Request of visits by the family have been refused by prison officials with a variety of incoherent excuses.

The authors of the document sent to Australia then ask:

Is it acceptable that a prison institution allows armed men without uniform entering its premises so as to interrogate and to torture inmates?

Is it acceptable that security forces display their weapons in front of the court with the aim to intimidate those in attendance related to the victim?

Is it true that the victim can be taken away from the court to an unknown place by armed men, not prison officials, in a vehicle not belonging to the prison?

On the basis of all this the accused is likely to appeal against the unjust sentence.

end excerpts

José Antonio Belo is yet another victim of the brutal and arbitrary illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor. His case shows again how the blatant human rights violations are compounded by a woefully deficient legal system, which does not meet the most basic international legal standards.

East Timorese are arbitrarily arrested for peacefully protesting about the intolerable situation in their occupied country. They are unjustly sentenced, tortured and often disappear. Pressure urgently needs to be applied on Indonesian authorities to allow greater outside scrutiny of trials, and permit greater access to the prison system by international human rights bodies, NGOs and families of the victims. The infrequent visits allowed to the ICRC are simply not sufficient to prevent the gross mistreatments constantly recurring.

30 EAST TIMORESE YOUTHS ARRESTED.

AKSI NEWS SERVICE, June 6

The following information has been received from Solidaritas Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia dan Maubere (SPRIM - Maubere and Indonesian Peoples Solidarity Struggle), a coalition of Indonesian and East Timorese supporting self-determination in East Timor.

30 East Timorese youths, comprising 22 unemployed workers and university students, were taken at 2.00 am in the morning in Tanah Abang, South Jakarta on Monday 4 June. The 22 workers had been brought to Jakarta 4 years ago by the Ministry for Labour and the Tiara Foundation, associated with members of the Suharto family. Three of the students were from colleges in Malang. Two were students based in Jakarta.

They were taken on their way to the residence of one of the group. A truck carrying one platoon of police appeared and forcibly took them to Kramat Raya police station in Central Jakarta. Here they were interrogated, photographed and some had their fingerprints taken. The students refused to have finger prints taken or to give their identities stating that there were no legal grounds to their detentions.

The workers were arrested later in the morning but the students were kept beyond the statutory 24 hours and not released until 2 in the afternoon the following day. A sharp debate took place between some of

the students and the investigating police. When asked what were the students doing at the area where they arrested, the students countered that they should ask the head of the Tara Foundation who brought the East Timorese to Jakarta with false promises of work and then abandoned them.

The students were released unconditionally being warned not to emulate the actions of the 29 East Timorese who occupied the US Embassy last year. On June 6, SPRIM issued a statement to the media reporting on these events and demanding:

1. that arrests by the police and military be in accordance with legal procedures. (No warrants were ever produced during this incident.)
2. improve the welfare of the East Timorese workers who were brought to Jakarta by the Tiara Foundation and then abandoned four years ago
3. provide employment with fair wages sufficient for a decent living in Jakarta and enough to be able to assist their families in East Timor
4. provide appropriate training to East Timorese workers so that they will acquire new skills that can be of benefit to the development of East Timor when they return
5. Give the right to speak out to these workers so that they can express their desires and complaints in a democratic manner, so long as it does not contravene the Constitution or Pancasila;
6. End all harassment of the community of East Timorese casual workers resident at Tanah Abang, harassment which, according to members of the community have been regularly harassed by the authorities because they have not been paying protection money.
7. To end intimidation of all East Timorese resident anywhere in Indonesia, especially those in Jakarta. and to give them the freedom to state their views and desires as regards the issue of East Timor.

This is the view of SPRIM. The rights of the East Timorese as a free and independent people must be honoured, just as the Indonesian people value their freedom having once tasted the bitterness of living as a colonised people.

Long live democracy,
SPRIM, Jakarta, June 6, 1995.

From CNRM East Timor, 5 June 1995:

According to information received from East Timor Resistance sources in Jakarta, all of 24 East Timorese youths arbitrarily arrested by Indonesian police in Jakarta on Sunday 4 June, had been released by Monday 5 June.

LETTER FROM TIMORESE PRISONERS IN EAST JAVA (MALANG AND SEMARANG)

Translated by CDPM (Comissao para os Direitos do Povo Maubere), Lisbon. Received by TAPOL 3 June 1995.

Arrest, Interrogation & Trial

During his first meeting, on 29 May 1995, with the human rights activist from Timor, the Timorese prisoner José Antonio Neves talked about his trial and his current conditions within the prison.

José Antonio was captured on 19 May 1994 by Indonesian intelligence posted in the Malang post office. He was taken to the local police, who kept him in detention for 58 days. He had a nervous breakdown as a result of the intense questioning: he was interrogated by members of the police, Kodim, Korem, and Kodam all at the same time. Sometimes, they all fired questions at him without stopping, and terrorised him to such an extent that he no longer knew who or what to answer. They never allowed him to contact a lawyer.

On 26/27 May 1994 he was taken to Surabaya and subjected to another intense interrogation lasting from 21.00 to 04.00 hours. This time he was questioned by a major and a sergeant from the Brawijaya (Kodam Brawijaya) military command of the East Javanese capital.

On 16 July 1994 he was transferred to the central prison in Malang (LP Lowokwaru-Tahanan Jaksa) to await trial proceedings.

The trial commenced on 12 October 1994 and ended on 16 February 1995, the day sentence was passed. During the course of the trial he protested on 17 occasions in court. Rather than waste time lodging an appeal, he decided not to contest the sentence, and he signed his compliance with the judge's decision on 23 February.

Current Situation

José is dissatisfied with his current situation because he is still confined to his cell, and is under the close surveillance of two agents (Sugianto and Mujono) planted by intelligence. The cell measures only 1.8 metres wide by 1.8 metres long.. Although he was told he would be able to do some work in the church, until he is called to do so, he cannot leave his cell.

He was sad because he rarely receives visits. The reason for this is that, with the exception of relatives, no facilities are provided for Timorese visitors. He has been visited three times so far by the university students, and once by a woman activist living in Malang. His physical health is not too bad. He has a few colleagues - some

Moslem Fundamentalists, and even one of the prison guards who occasionally helps him out.

He said that in order make life in prison more bearable i.e., having a different cell, one's own key, being able to study, and have food fit for human consumption, either one needs to have some money or to have plenty of visitors for conversation and company.

The food is as follows: in the morning, a small amount of dry rice mixed with ground coconut and warm water. Lunch is badly made rice, "tahu" and "tempe" and salted water. Dinner is dry rice, "tahu" and "tempo."

He has never been given any proper medical treatment - vitamins are prescribed for all illnesses. The medicines provided by the Red Cross are sold by the prison hospital staff.

José is now in Block 13, cell no. 5. When he was chosen to help in the prison chapel, he had to sign a statement in which he promised to: 1. work according to the rules, 2. comply with all the prison regulations, and 3. never again commit the offence of sending letters abroad.

He appealed to his companions to visit him frequently. He appealed to colleagues, lawyers, and human rights organisations to help to get him transferred to the Jakarta prison (LP Cipinang), and he addressed a message to Resistance leaders and to the UN to make every effort to reach a favourable outcome at the All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue.

SEMARANG

The six Timorese prisoners transferred to Semarang, East Java, on 10 July 1994, are also dissatisfied with their situation and prison conditions, which are similar to those of José in Malang.

From 6 to 16 January 1995 they went on hunger strike, to protest against the Indonesian Justice Department's refusal to transfer them to East Timor, nearer to their families (with the exception of Gregorio da C. Saldanha, who requested transfer to LP Cipinang, Jakarta). The six said that they were still going ahead with the hunger strike, but that it had just been postponed. They have no good communications channel to outside the prison, and for this reason their protest went unnoticed outside. Gregorio said they reached point where they could go on no longer, and yet there was not even a ripple of reaction or rumor on the outside of what they were doing.

Filomeno Ferreira and Juvencio J. Martins obtained special remittance of their sentences, and will be conditionally released as from August. Filomeno and Juvencio said that if they had been required to agree to

conditions (for example, signing the act of repentance, or accepting integration) they would have opted for completing their respective sentences (1996 and 1997) in prison.

The food is the usual. In terms of health, they are all well, except for Filomeno who has chronic bronchitis, and has been admitted to the hospital (which is outside the prison, organised by the Red Cross and local Catholic Church, but allowed to treat prisoners) three times for treatment. Jacinto Alves and Francisco Miranda Branco had also been ill and were taken to the hospital outside. They said that in each of these cases it was on the insistence of the Red Cross that the prisoners were allowed out for treatment. The medicine available inside the prison has never managed to cure any prisoner. The same is true in Malang.

Ever since being shot in the leg on 12 November 1991, Gregorio suffers from weakness and something like rheumatic pain in his leg.

The six are mixed in with common criminals which, from time to time, gives rise to tension and disputes. This is one of the reasons they want to be transferred to Jakarta (LP Cipinang), if transfer to Timor were impossible.

They appealed to all their friends in the solidarity movement, to lawyers, and to justice and human rights organisations, to help them to get transferred immediately to Jakarta.

They have been stopped from receiving and sending letters abroad. Letters from abroad, from Xanana and those with any political content from other colleagues have all been torn up or burned. Letters they send to their families and friends in Indonesia are rigorously censored. Having said that, during the visit which took place on 31 May, the prison official allowed them to send messages. On that occasion the six sent their messages to friends in LP Cipinang and to Xanana Gusmão. Although they were political messages, and subsequently censored, at least they were not prohibited altogether that day. They said that was the first time they were able to write to Xanana, Nando, João, and Marito, and they were very happy with my visit.

The six had already sent, through ... in Australia, a political statement concerning the All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue. They asked me to find out whether it had arrived. Their message was as follows:

We, six prisoners of Suharto's war, send this message to all our dear Timorese brothers, regardless of political ideology and race, who sit around the table to discuss our problem and seek its solution. We send you our embraces and our hopes that your meeting will be fruitful.

Central Prison of Semarang, 31 May 1995

Signed: Gregorio da C. Saldanha,
Francisco Miranda Branco, Jacinto Alves,
Saturnino B., Filomeno Ferreira, Juvencio J.
Martins.

HENRIQUE BELMIRO ON TRIAL

TAPOL Report, June 15, 1995

We have received information that Henrique Belmiro will be going on trial in Dili this week. Belmiro was arrested on December 4 last year, in connection with the protests in November - we do not know yet what the exact charges against him are.

After his arrest, he was held for three months by the SGI (special army intelligence unit) and was severely maltreated. He was tortured with electrical shocks delivered through his handcuffs; he was badly beaten, resulting in head injuries which required seven stitches. He was not handed over to the police until late February. Sources report that, as well as being physically unwell, he is in a very poor mental state.

We hope that further information will be available soon.

COURT SENTENCES THREE "NINJAS" TO FIVE MONTHS JAIL

JAKARTA, June 19 (Reuter) - An Indonesian court in East Timor sentenced on Monday three men to five months jail each for being involved in so-called "ninja" activity in the capital Dili, the official Antara news agency reported.

The three men, Antonio Soares, 38, Amando Dos Reis Lemos, 23, and Benyamin Da Costa, 20, were among 16 people arrested earlier this year when Dili was terrorised at night by gangs of hooded men, dubbed "ninjas" by local media and residents.

Antara, which said the Dili state court handed out the sentences, said all three men were entitled to appeal.

It said Soares would have his sentence reduced by the amount of time he had already spent in jail.

Antara did not say how long Soares had been in jail or if the other two would have their sentences cut. It was also unclear if any other suspected ninjas were being tried.

Residents had questioned if those captured were ninjas - believed to be linked to the military - or vigilantes helping residents to protect their neighbourhoods.

In sentencing Soares, chief judge T.H. Thennu said the accused was guilty because

he had engaged in a criminal and violent act by destroying a motorcycle.

Antara did not mention the maximum jail term demanded for Soares, although in separate trials the prosecution had asked for 10 months jail for Lemos and Da Costa.

The sentencing comes after reports of renewed incidents in Dili, which has remained calm in recent months after riots and unrest at the start of the year.

On Sunday night residents said youths returning home from a religious procession had scuffled with Indonesian soldiers in a Dili street.

Other sources on Monday said youths from a Dili junior high school rioted, destroying several classrooms after failing to graduate.

TIMORESE REFUGEES TRY TO GET OUT

HONG KONG & TIMORESE REFUGEES

From the South China Morning Post, 11 April 1995:

Hong Kong is being used as a springboard to freedom by East Timorese refugees using illegally obtained travel documents.

The asylum seekers, who have backed moves for an independent East Timor since the Indonesian invasion of the former Portuguese colony in 1975, are now part of a special programme headed by a Timorese priest in Macau.

Their plight has been recognised by Australia, the largest resettlement destination for East Timorese refugees, with the launch of a scheme to take in many of those who escaped.

In a deal brokered through the Australian Consulate-General in Hong Kong, an agreement has been reached to resettle people directly from Macau to avoid them having to make the long flight to Lisbon and then Australia.

Australia is faced with a sensitive political situation when dealing with the East Timorese because it is one of the few countries to recognise Indonesian sovereignty over the island. The United Nations does not recognise the annexing of East Timor.

Father Francisco Fernandes, the man who acts as the driving force behind the programme, said most of those leaving East Timor were ethnic Chinese.

He said in many cases, families had been saving money for several years to enable the eldest son to leave for Hong Kong.

"The refugees make their way to Bali, where there is an international airport, and

pay travel agents to bribe government officials for a passport. Then they pretend they are going to Hong Kong on holiday," Father Fernandes said.

He said the average cost for an illegal passport and an airline ticket was US\$3,000 (HK\$23,175).

On arrival in Hong Kong they caught a ferry to Macau, where they presented themselves to a police station and requested asylum. A claim was then forwarded to Lisbon for assessment.

While the assessment was carried out, the East Timorese were provided with accommodation and cash allowances by the Macau Government and permitted to work.

The direct resettlement scheme is applicable to about 100 people who arrived before the end of June last year.

Cesar Augusto, 49, last saw his wife and six children in February 1993 when they left for Hong Kong, then to Macau and Portugal.

He left separately and arrived in Macau last year. He hopes to be approved for resettlement in Australia.

Mr. Augusto said he had been saving to leave his home almost since the birth of his first son in the capital of Dili 20 years ago at the time of the Indonesian invasion.

He expects his family to join him in Australia one day and hopes to return to an independent East Timor before he dies.

José da Costa, 15, arrived last month and knows he may never see his family again.

Jose's uncle, a priest in East Timor, escorted him out on the pretence of a holiday in Hong Kong. After seeing him safely to Macau, Jose's uncle returned to his parishioners.

The boy is not eligible for direct resettlement to Australia because he arrived too late.

He lives in special accommodation waiting for his chance to go to Portugal.

[Accompanied by a photograph of José da Costa and Cesar Augusto]

THE PASSAGE TO FREEDOM

From South China Morning Post, 13 April 1995, by Scott McKenzie:

They made an unlikely lot of freedom fighters. To start with, they had no guns, no para-military clothing and not one of them had a maniacal gleam in his eye.

One, as it turned out, was a Catholic priest, another a lawyer. They discussed their resistance movement over several bottles of Portuguese wine and were more than happy to reveal their plans ... "but first," said the priest, "more wine."

These were the white collar soldiers of the East Timorese independence movement sequestered away in the tiny Portuguese

enclave of Macau helping lost, disillusioned people through the mire of refugee bureaucracy they too had once negotiated.

As the conversation developed, more people arrived, and the discussion took on a scene of a Portuguese cafe with opinions flying in all directions. The group, which eventually numbered five, was outspoken about the Indonesian invasion of their East Timorese homeland in 1975.

They were even more determined that one day, hopefully in their lifetime, there would be independence on the island, but for the time being the steady flow of asylum seekers through Macau negates such hopes.

Leading the group was Father Francisco Fernandes, who left East Timor shortly after the invasion and ended up in Western Australia. Six years ago he arrived in Macau.

Since then, he has juggled politics, religion and the lives of those who seek his help. His skills and those of his colleagues are remarkable. They even hold regular talks with the Indonesian consul general in Hong Kong about the asylum seekers they help.

Most come to them via Hong Kong, having escaped the island of Timor for Bali or Jakarta where they pay thousands of US dollars for a passport to freedom. East Timorese are denied Indonesian travel documents but money in the right places goes a long way towards a return airline ticket to Hong Kong and a valid passport. On the pretence of a holiday in Hong Kong, the asylum seekers leave knowing that they may never see their families again. From Kai Tak, they go to the nearest Portuguese territory via the well-trodden route to the Macau ferry terminal.

As the colonial ruler of East Timor before the Indonesian invasion, the Portuguese rightly or wrongly continue to offer a safe haven.

On landing and claiming asylum, the East Timorese are well cared for by their past masters. An up-front grant of 1,000 patacas, free accommodation, permission to seek employment, and daily cash allowances.

"This is very good, it is not like the Hong Kong refugee camps, these people work hard and they live good lives," Father Fernandes said. "The Macau Government is working for them all the time."

Most of the 100 or so asylum seekers in Macau are now awaiting the results of final medical tests before heading off for Australia where they will join family members.

That they can go directly to Australia rather than making the usually long and expensive trip via Portugal as has been the practice in the past is again thanks to Father Fernandes. His persistent approaches to the Australian consulate general in Hong Kong resulted in a direct resettlement programme which began earlier this year. Such a deci-

sion from the Australian Government had to be carefully measured against the likely Indonesian reaction. Australia is one of the few countries to recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. Even the United Nations has refused such acknowledgment.

"We are not so interested in politics, we are interested in helping these people to get back their respect," said lawyer Manuel Tilman.

One of the East Timorese waiting for permission to leave for Australia said: "The only way to get respect was to pay the Indonesian soldiers and be kind to them but I cannot do that anymore ... I need to get back my respect."

As his words are translated from the traditional language of East Timor, a colourful mix of Portuguese, Dutch, Chinese and Malay, a hearty rumble of assent is sounded by the others who gather around.

The East Timorese have a spirit they maintain will never die. One, Caesar Augusto, tells how he began saving to get out from the first day of the invasion. Another tells of the sacrifices he made for his children.

"I had to get them out so they could have a life of their own and not a life that someone else [Indonesia] says they must live," said the man.

Many of the East Timorese are camera shy, especially the new arrivals and they have learned the hard way to be suspicious of outsiders.

Jaime Ximenes is one of the younger members of the Macau support group, but his membership of the tough Fretilin pro-independence movement assures him authority. Fretilin is the organisation which jailed leader José Xanana Gusmão continues to direct from his cell.

Mr. Ximenes believes the tide of people fleeing East Timor has ebbed and "all who want to leave have left."

However, he said most of the departures have been by people with money and often they were from the intellectual class. Doctors, engineers and lawyers have left behind a brain drain that he says the Indonesians can never refill.

"The poor people who know they can never leave are the ones who have taken up arms and continue to confront the Indonesian military," he said. "They are fighting from inside the country, we are fighting in a peaceful but constructive way outside the country."

And, as that fight goes on and the international community gently scolds the Indonesian authorities for their brutal methods, little has changed for the people living there. Jakarta continues to refuse a referendum on the territory's future and United Nations watchdogs continue to criticise the Indone-

sian occupation without moving to find a solution.

Twenty years on from the invasion, UN human rights rapporteur Bacre Waly Ndiaye reports the Indonesian authorities have generated a "climate of fear and suspicion" in the territory. Ask the Timorese who have fled to Macau; they will agree.

700 TIMORESE ASK ASYLUM IN OZ

Sydney, Australia, April 17 (LUSA) - summarized.

The Australian government wants that it be Portugal to receive East Timorese exiles and in May the government will present legislation to the Refugee Review Tribunal in Canberra reducing the concession of political asylum in Oz to ET refugees. Only in exceptional situations would Australia grant political asylum to East Timorese. This new legislation should specify very clearly who would be considered East Timorese and who would be considered an Indonesian citizen.

This decision is related to the fact that, since the start of the year, hundreds of East Timorese have solicited political asylum from Oz, including a group of 700 who obtained tourist visas at an Australian consulate in Bali, during the months of October and November of 94.

An official Australian source told LUSA that Canberra can not tell Portugal to receive the Timorese for the reason of their being Portuguese nationals, as that would go against its own policy of recognition of ET's annexation by Indonesia. Thus, Oz suggests that Portugal receive East Timorese exiles as political exiles.

The same source indicated that the situation of the East Timorese refugees "is presently very confusing" because the Oz government "wants to avoid more contradictions between its immigration policy and its foreign affairs policy." While the Immigration Ministry classifies the East Timorese separately from Indonesian citizens, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs considers the East Timorese to be Indonesian citizens.

The spokesperson for the group of Parliamentarians for East Timor, Laurie Ferguson, expressed preoccupation with the situation of the East Timorese refugees and with the uncertainties of the rules to be applied in the whole process. Ferguson added that it seems incredible that while so many Oz tourist visas are refused all over the world, one consulate would emit hundreds of such visas over such a short period of time.

The revision of the refugee policies towards East Timorese is part of a broad revi-

sion of refugee politics in Canberra, which has been criticized by Oz NGOs. The most polemic has been the case of Vietnam refugees, who arrive in Oz annually and are retained over long periods of time while their asylum requests are processed.

AP as reproduced in IHT, 15-16 April 1995

Hundreds of East Timorese granted visitor visas to Australia have applied for asylum, creating a potential predicament for Australians relations with Indonesia. About 700 East Timorese were granted visas in October and November from the Australian Consulate in Bali, according to Immigration Department sources. Most have applied for asylum. A test case is to come before the federal Refugee Review Tribunal next month, the sources said. The government's willingness to review the claims of refugee status appears to conflict with Australia's view that Indonesia should be regarded as the administrative authority in East Timor. Australia maintained that view before the International Court of Justice this year to Portugal's challenge to the validity of the Timor Gap oil treaty.

ABIDIN: NO LONGER CITIZENS

Jakarta, April 19 (LUSA) - summarized

Irawan Abidin stated today that the 700 East Timorese who requested asylum from Oz are no longer Indonesian citizens, and must request entry visas in order to return to ET or enter Indonesia. Abidin also expressed doubt over the quoted number of 700.

On the other hand, Nick Bolkus, Oz Minister of Immigration and Ethnic Issues, stated Tuesday that Oz has rejected granting asylum and that the East Timorese in question had already exceeded their allowed stay time as tourist visas. Bolkus stated that the court [the Refugee Review Tribunal, I presume] had ruled that the East Timorese that had asked for asylum are not refugees and should therefore return to their homeland.

Response from Charlie Scheiner

I asked an Australian friend who has much experience and knowledge about the East Timorese community there about the 700 figure. She said that many East Timorese visit Australia for 1-3 months to visit their relatives who have emigrated, and then return to ET. It wouldn't be inconceivable for there to be more than 700 in Oz at any particular time.

What is strange is that 700 seem to have applied for asylum at one time. But the IHT article talks of people applying for visas in October and November - to go to Oz for the Christmas-New Years holiday. If the 700 represents the total for, say, the first quarter

of 1995, it might not be in response to anything other than the increasing level of violence and repression in ET, and a feeling that Australia's bind created by the Timor Gap case might make it easier to get asylum.

Incidentally, until a few years ago, Australia categorized East Timorese refugees the same as Portuguese immigrants, making it impossible to get any statistical history which would show if the refugee flow is increasing or not. The issues in the Timor Gap Treaty made this untenable – they couldn't baldly argue that the land, sea, and oil were Indonesian but the people were Portuguese!

Amplifications and clarifications from people who know more would be welcome – I'm half a world away.

Sydney, April 24 (LUSA) - abridged

The future of the 900 [sic] Timorese that have arrived in Oz since November remains uncertain. Sources from the Oz government admitted to LUSA today that the group could be deported. The Timorese are among over 3,000 people who since last August obtained tourist visas to Oz through the consulate in Bali. Upon their arrival in Oz, 900 Timorese and about 500 Indonesian citizens requested political asylum, having then been granted temporary visas that allow them to move freely in the country.

The spokesperson for the Oz Ministry of Immigration, Ruth Dewsbury, told LUSA that the Timorese cases are in the first phase of study, and that the Timorese can appeal to the courts in case that their requests for asylum are rejected. [This seems in conflict with the statements on April 17 by the Minister of Immigration, Nick Bolkus, that the court had rejected the requests for asylum of the Timorese.] Ruth Dewsbury stated that each case is being studied individually and that all people who are not seen as true refugees will be deported, in accordance with Oz law. Dewsbury added that it is difficult to determine the number of Timorese among those requesting asylum, because according to Oz government policy all are classified as Indonesian citizens.

The case is raising much polemic on account of that the majority of those requesting political asylum have declared they paid over 250,000 escudos [roughly USD \$1,650] per person for their passports, guarantees of free passage [?] and Oz visas; and some of the people did not even present themselves in person at the Bali Oz consulate.

At a press release today, the Department of Immigration considered the situation "worrisome and problematic," and declared that an inquiry on the case had been initiated.

According to Timorese sources in Oz, the escape from ET is possible only through payments to clandestine networks that are controlled by the Indonesian secret police, INTEL, and which provide the necessary documentation including the entry visas.

Agio Pereira, Timorese activist of the Australian "East Timor Relief Association," accused the Oz authorities of hypocrisy in this case, for they "have long known about this issue." "For a long time now, the Timorese arriving to Australia and requesting political asylum have declared that they had to pay a bribe to leave East Timor and Indonesia, which includes obtaining a visa to Australia," stated Agio Pereira. "If the Timorese obtain a legal visa from the Australian consulate which is paid for by bribes handed out to Indonesian agents, that is because someone in the consulate is part of the network," added Pereira.

Last week, the Indonesian government refused to accept the possible deportation of the 900 Timorese to Indonesia, following Minister Nick Bolkus announcement that they would be deported back home.

Meanwhile, the Australian Supreme Court is soon to try the case of an East Timorese person who was refused political asylum two years ago. It seems likely that the court ruling on this case will be decisive in establishing the procedures to which the recent requests for asylum by East Timorese will be subjected.

EAST TIMORESE REFUSED ASYLUM

By Jon Lamb, Green Left, April 23

Up to 700 East Timorese who have applied for asylum in Australia face deportation because they entered Australia on tourist visas. Minister for immigration Senator Bolkus stated on April 17, during an official visit to Indonesia, that the Timorese had overstayed visiting privileges and that their requests for asylum had been rejected.

In turn, Jakarta has signalled that it will prevent the Timorese returning to Indonesia because they are no longer considered Indonesian nationals who would have to apply for visas to re-enter Indonesia. As most fled East Timor to escape continuing human rights violations, it is highly unlikely that the Timorese would seek to do so anyway.

Labor MP Laurie Ferguson called for the East Timorese to seek asylum in Portugal. Ferguson is a member of parliament's joint committee on migration, as well as, ironically, chairperson of Parliamentarians for East Timor.

Ferguson's suggestion flows from a decision earlier this year in a case before the Refugee Review Tribunal, which stated that East Timorese who qualified for Portuguese citizenship should seek asylum in Portugal.

This is in conflict with the federal government's official position that Indonesia should be regarded as the sole governing body over East Timor.

CHINESE BUSINESSMEN LEAVE TIMOR

Diario Economico, 12 May 1995. By Antonio Sampaio, LUSA. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

A Dili government official informed LUSA yesterday that many businessmen of Chinese origin, who are now living in East Timor wish to leave the territory and move to Australia or to other parts of Indonesia. According to the same source, over two thousand businessmen have already requested visas for Australia, because of "the atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity reigning in the territory."

Most of the entrepreneurs who own small and medium size businesses are unable to make them economically viable because East Timor's most profitable industries - marble, coffee, as well as forest resources - remain in the hands of Indonesia's politicians and military.

Businessmen linked to the tourist industry are also saying that the sector is in total disarray as there is no planning or promotion of East Timor's tourism.

The sources said that "attempts to attract foreign investment in East Timor failed because investment is only possible through joint ventures with Indonesian entrepreneurs, who are usually linked to the regime's people." The investors themselves indicated that the consortiums use East Timor's low production and labour costs to achieve high profits, without benefiting the territory itself.

The Indonesian Government announced that economic growth in East Timor increased by 1 per cent between 1993 and 1994 and that the industrial sector grew by 24,9 per cent between 1989 and 1994.

According to official statistics, the number of small and medium size businesses increased between 1993 and 1994, resulting in the creation of 10,000 jobs. Official figures also indicate that there are 3,240 businesses in East Timor, 98,3 of which are small or medium size.

Business people contacted have also reported that the official figures do not reflect the territory's current economic and social crisis, and pointed out that in 1991, of the 8,000 workers seeking employment only 500 found work.

"Most of the population lives in poverty, without any chance of social improvement because the entire economy con-

tinues to be in the hands of the Javanese," stated the investors.

EAST TIMOR 'BOAT PEOPLE' TO DARWIN

CNRM East Timor National Council of Maubere Resistance, 30 May 1995 MEDIA RELEASE

Group of young 17 refugees, including infants and baby, flee Indonesian oppression and demand true international action to resolve the East Timor problem

After 5 days on a small boat in rough seas, a group of 17 young East Timorese refugees are expected to arrive in the northern Australian city of Darwin early on May 30. The Coast Watch services have detected the presence of their vessel in Australian waters on 29 May in the afternoon, and are escorting it to Darwin. Several thousands of East Timorese have fled to freedom Australia by various means since the brutal 1975 invasion of their country, yet these 17 are the first refugees from Indonesian oppression coming directly to Australia by boat.

According to sources in Dili, the refugee seekers are all young people who have suffered constant persecutions, torture and imprisonment since the Santa Cruz massacre of November 1991, when the Indonesian army killed several hundred unarmed youths peacefully protesting the illegal occupation of their country. Two young girls and a two months year old baby are on board the vessel under the command of captain Alfredo.

The group wishes to draw international attention to the intolerable human rights conditions in their homeland, and to show their rejection of the oppressive illegal Indonesian occupation of their country. They also wish to express their protest at the slow pace of the so far fruitless UN-sponsored talks aimed at searching for a solution to the East Timor problem. They join several hundred East Timorese who have fled as tourists to Australia in recent months, aiming to escape the worsening human rights situation in the territory.

A vigil is being kept on the Darwin Harbour by local East Timorese residents and their supporters to welcome the refugee seekers, hear their stories and to try to preclude the Australian authorities from removing these people to an immigration detention camp in a totally remote location. This has recently been done to other 'boat people' so as to cut them off from sources of legal and moral support among the Australian community.

Darwin East Timorese community spokesperson, José Gusmão wrote today to Australian Immigration Minister Nick Bolkus conveying a commitment of the local

East Timorese community, some of which seem to have family ties to the refugees, to provide accommodation and support for them until their applications are being processed. This would reduce the distress of the arrived, and would save the Australian government significant expenses. Gusmão said it would be totally unacceptable for his country people to be removed from Darwin, and called upon the Australian Government and people to show compassion to these immediate neighbours fleeing the genocide in their own country.

This dramatic desperate action by 17 young East Timorese just arrived in Australia shows once again that despite pretences to the contrary by Indonesian authorities, the East Timor reality of human rights violations, Indonesian army terror, and general intimidation of the local population by the authorities, continues to be worsening.

For comment:

José Gusmão, +6189 275478, Kate Khori: +612 368 0396, José Ramos Horta: +3511 727 2121

NAMES OF YOUNG EAST TIMORESE BOAT PEOPLE SEEKING REFUGE IN AUSTRALIA

CNRM Media Release, May 31, 1995

The group of 17 East Timorese who fled their island by boat arrived in Darwin under Australian Coast Watch escort on Tuesday 30 May at about 02.00 a.m., after a 5 day trip, landing at a local Australian Navy base. All contact with the refugee seekers by members of the large East Timorese community resident in Darwin, which may include relatives, and by other members of the Darwin population, including journalists, has been strictly prevented by the authorities.

Written undertakings by the East Timorese community in Darwin that its members would accommodate and take care of the refugee seekers while their application was being processed, have been ignored by the authorities. Instead, the boat people have been taken to a closed area at Darwin's international airport, and are awaiting a special flight to an isolated immigration detention camp, at the very remote Curtin Air Base in Western Australia, some 1,000 km from Darwin.

Darwin East Timorese community members, as well as members of the wider Australian community, have expressed their shock and disgust at the heartless and insensitive treatment given by Australian authorities to this latest group of East Timorese victims of Indonesian terror, upon their arrival in this country.

Meanwhile, resistance sources in Dili have provided the names of members of the group:

1. Alfredo Alves Arranhado, 26 years, married, from Dili
2. Maria Fortunata Alves, 18, married, from Flores
3. Francisco Miranda, 23, single, from Manatuto
4. Antonio Pinto Gouveia, 23, single, from Baucau
5. Domingos Da Costa, 25, single, from Dili
6. Nicolau X. Fraga, 19, single, from Baucau
7. José Pinto Da Costa, 21, single, from Dili
8. Florentino Neves, 26, single, from Dili
9. Luisa Maria Ferreira, 18, single, from Laclubar
10. Mario Dos Reis, 21, single, from Baucau
11. Jacob Da Silva, 26, single, from Dili
12. Filipe Da Silva, 27, single, from Dili
13. Xisto, 22, single, from Viqueque
14. Domingos Savio De Jesus, 26, single, from Dili
15. Ship Captain (no name)
16. José Maria Auxiliadora Alves, 6 months baby, son of Alfredo and Maria 17. (one name to follow)

It is reported that all of these (except the baby and the captain) have been persecuted since 12 November 1991, having Indonesian military Intelligence (SGI) records accusing them of being members of the Clandestine Resistance front. These records were signed by the then SGI head, the much dreaded Col. Simbolon, who last week was appointed East Timor military commander.

HABIBIE ANGERED BY ARRIVAL OF EAST TIMORESE REFUGEES

From Simon Hayes, May 30

The [Australian] Federal Government has been placed in a potentially difficult position with the arrival of 18 East Timorese refugees during the official visit to Australia of Indonesian Research and Technology Minister and presidential confidant B.J. Habibie.

The group, the first to arrive in Australia since the Indonesian invasion of the tiny state 20 years ago, landed in Darwin after travelling by boat from East Timor.

The asylum-seekers today won a 24-hour Federal Court injunction preventing the Immigration Department from moving them to the isolated Port Hedland Detention Centre, and have remained in Darwin.

Officials from the East Timorese resistance movement, the National Council of Maubere Resistance, said the group had fled from Indonesian oppression. "The group wishes to draw international attention to the intolerable human rights conditions in their homeland and show their rejection of the

oppressive and illegal Indonesian occupation of their country," they said. Habibie, widely seen as President Suharto's right-hand man, was angered by questions put to him on the issue at the National Press Club in Canberra. He rejected Australian claims that human rights were universal, replying "The value of human rights is not an absolute thing, it's relative to your country."

Indonesian Ambassador Sabam Siagian earlier threatened to end the meeting after journalists concentrated on the subject of East Timor and failed to ask any questions about technological cooperation between Indonesia and Australia, the reason for Habibie's visit.

EAST TIMOR REFUGEES POSE DILEMMA FOR CANBERRA

By Kalinga Seneviratne

SYDNEY, May 31 (IPS) - The arrival of 18 East Timorese boat people in Darwin this week could not have come at a more awkward time for Australia, which has been trying to strengthen economic and political ties with neighbouring Indonesia.

The refugees, the first to leave East Timor since Jakarta annexed the territory 20 years ago, landed on Australia's northern shores Tuesday just as visiting Indonesian Research and Technology Minister B J Habibie signed cooperation accords with Canberra.

The two countries signed agreements to cooperate in developing high-tech industries from aerospace, radar and solar energy to construction, cars and coastal management.

Habibie said he had been instructed by President Suharto to explore during his 10-day visit the scope for stronger economic and technological linkages with Australia for the coming century.

Australia in turn said it was looking at Indonesia to commercialise some of its advanced technologies that have not found industry partners at home.

The arrival of the boat people, who include two women and a six-month-old baby, poses a politically sensitive dilemma for Australia, which recently gave Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas an Order of Australia award for his role in improving the traditionally difficult relations between the two countries.

Granting them refugee status is sure to anger Jakarta, but sending them back to East Timor will provoke strong condemnation from international human rights groups.

Last year, 700 East Timorese arrived on tourist visas and then applied for political asylum. The Refugee Review Tribunal and the Department of Immigration have yet to

decide whether to repatriate them or to send them to Portugal, which ruled East Timor before the Indonesian invasion. The United Nations does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over the territory.

A court injunction prevented authorities from moving the new arrivals to a detention camp in Western Australia until Wednesday night. The court ordered that they remain in Darwin, which has a large East Timorese community and thus a good support network of community members and legal advisers.

An immigration ministry spokesperson said the East Timorese would be treated as any other asylum seeker, but conceded that this particular batch of refugees has raised "complex issues" for the country's relationship with Indonesia.

The dilemma facing Canberra is whether to declare the boat people Indonesians, East Timorese or Portuguese.

"It's a highly complex question," David Bittel, a member of the International Commission of Jurists, told ABC radio Wednesday. "These people will probably argue that they are East Timorese first, that Portugal retains its colonial rule over East Timor and that they don't recognise the sovereignty of Indonesian rule."

Bittel believes Australia will accept the fact that they are East Timorese, but will say they are Indonesian as well. He said Australia would face problems if it asked Portugal to take the refugees.

Portugal is currently challenging in the International Court of Justice the Timor Gap Treaty between Australia and Indonesia to share any future oil and mineral revenue from the sea-bed. Australia has argued Indonesia is the legal ruler of East Timor.

Bittel said Lisbon is likely to tell Australia it cannot recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor in relation to oil and the Timor Gap Treaty, then expect Portugal to take in refugees to prevent an influx of asylum seekers in Australia.

He said that under international protocols ratified by Australia, it has a duty to consider asylum applications and if they are found to be acceptable, the refugees cannot be forced to return to their countries.

In recent months, the East Timorese community in Australia, as well as some Australians who have just visited the territory, have alleged widespread torture and human rights violations there by Indonesian forces.

Simon de Faux, a 24-year-old Melbourne nurse who returned home in April after two months of volunteer work in East Timor, said Australian diplomats had asked him not to tell the media that he had treated victims of rape and torture by Indonesian soldiers.

He said many of those he treated has been raped or tortured with electric shocks or cigarette butts. When he related his experience to the Australian ambassador in Jakarta and another diplomat who visited East Timor, they reacted with scepticism. "They gave me the impression they didn't believe it," he said.

José Gusmão, a spokesman for the East Timorese resistance movement in Darwin, said the boat people have all been tortured or persecuted, and predicted this was just the beginning of a wave of refugee setting sail across the Timor Gap.

The Indonesian government claims the arrival of the refugees in Australia had been timed to discredit Jakarta ahead of important talks on East Timor which will open in Vienna on Friday.

Australia is trying to play down the matter, aware of the sensitivity of the issue. If the torture claims are established and refugee status granted, Indonesia would see it as an official condemnation of its human rights record.

These sensitivities were clearly demonstrated in Canberra Tuesday night when Habibie, responding to journalists' questions on Jakarta's human rights record, argued it was a relative matter and that his country has made great strides in reducing poverty, creating jobs and holding elections.

But when two specific issues were raised concerning East Timor and Irian Jaya, Indonesian ambassador Sabam Siagian threatened to end the press conference if any more questions were asked on human rights. He pointed out that Habibie was not the justice minister or the foreign minister.

RED CROSS WARNS OTHERS MAY FOLLOW EAST TIMORESE

From Tom Hyland

MELBOURNE, May 31 AAP - Australia could face an influx of East Timorese boat people following the arrival of a boatload of 18 yesterday, a senior official of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) warned today.

The 18, who arrived in Darwin early yesterday, are the first to escape to Australia from East Timor by boat since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony 20 years ago.

"I am very concerned about the possibility this initiative by the 18 East Timorese might show a way for others to follow their example," said Henri Fournier, chief ICRC delegate in Jakarta.

The ICRC is the only international humanitarian agency allowed to operate in East Timor.

Its staff there monitor human rights, visit prisoners, and operate a restricted departure program for Timorese who want to leave the territory.

Speaking by phone from the Indonesian capital, Mr. Fournier said he had no details on the people who arrived in Darwin, or why they had left, and said he was surprised by their action.

"I'm very concerned. It could uncover the possibility for people who think they have no chance to leave under existing procedures, so they will take the initiative on their own," Mr. Fournier said.

"This is a very surprising initiative. It is the first time."

While other conflicts in East Asia had prompted refugees to the take to the sea, he said that up till now it was not a practice adopted by the Timorese.

Since 1988, the ICRC has helped 1,200 East Timorese leave the territory for Portugal.

But the departure program is restricted to former civil servants of the Portuguese colonial administration and their families.

Mr. Fournier said the Red Cross was still awaiting approval for further 240 who wanted to leave.

As well, the Red Cross had helped a "handful" leave under a special program involving "hardship cases."

This program, introduced after the November 1991 Dili massacre, was restricted to people who found it "an impossible situation to live within the framework of the Indonesian administration."

PORTUGAL SAYS E. TIMORESE AT RISK IF RETURNED HOME

by Mark Bendeich, abridged

Sydney, May 31 – A Portuguese diplomat warned Australian authorities on Wednesday they risked endangering the lives of 18 East Timorese boat people if they returned them to the troubled Indonesian territory.

The East Timorese arrived in the northern port of Darwin on Tuesday in a small wooden boat and are said to be seeking refugee status in Australia on the grounds of persecution in their Indonesian-ruled homeland.

"We would expect that these East Timorese would not be put in danger," said Perestrelo Cavaco, second-in-charge at Portugal's Australian embassy in Canberra.

"In case of return of these East Timorese you could imagine they could be under threat. Their security could not be guaranteed," Cavaco told Reuters, adding Portugal was following the case closely.

"It does not take much to understand that they are in danger and that's why they are leaving," he added.

DARWIN'S FIGHT FOR REFUGEES

From *AFFET*, May 31

The battle to prevent 18 Timorese refugees being sent to the Derby Detention Centre in Western Australia failed tonight the 31st May.

The battle began with members of Darwin's Timorese community and Affet members holding a vigil at the Federal Court building in Darwin.

Candles were placed at the entrance with banners and placards. In a packed Court Two, Lawyers Terry Senior and Colin McDonald were fighting to maintain an injunction preventing the federal government from moving the refugees to Derby, an incredibly isolated place near Curtin air base.

At 8.30pm the judge ruled that the Timorese were to go to Derby but he also set a precedent by allowing lawyer Colin McDonald and legal assistant, Martin Harding to accompany the refugees to Derby to make certain the refugees were properly informed of their rights.

The judge also made it clear that the governments attempts to rush the applications for refugee status would not be tolerated. Lawyer Colin McDonald told the judge he had not received any co-operation from federal authorities and when he was finally able to speak with them, they told him they had come to Darwin for help and instead had been treated as if they had murdered someone.

As the proceedings were progressing, the refugees were moved from the secret location when they had been detained for three days and moved to the International airport.

Supporters rush to the airport and to the fence overlooking the aircraft chartered by the immigration department and preceded to beat the iron fence for 2 and a half hours.

By chance, the ground level room where they were held was discovered and supporters rushed to greet a refugee who gave peace sign from behind the window before federal protection officers rushed in and closed the curtains.

At 11.30pm the aircraft was moved from sight and the refugees with their lawyers were loaded and departed.

José Gusmão who was granted access showed the crowd gathered outside, four posters drawn by the refugees. They read "Viva Xanana," "Viva CNRM," "Viva Timor Leste" and "A Luta Continua." Lawyer Terry Senior who was also granted ac-

cess address the crowd and delivered a message from the refugees. It read:

"We appreciate all the support you have shown us. We no longer feel alone as we have felt for these three days. We do not yet feel free, but we hope to be completely free soon. We would like you to pray for us and all East Timorese. Viva Timor Leste."

Terry Senior went on to explain that if a person murders in Australia, that person has an absolute right to seek legal advice. In this case the refugees were denied everything for three days and he had to battle the government for access. He believes that with Habibie presently visiting Australia, that political pressure from the government is being brought to bear on department personal. He believes a precedent was set and that the challenge to the Immigration Department's procedure had been successfully challenged in that access was gained by a number of important people who were able to provide and refugees with proper advice.

It should be noted that the government has favoured Derby Detention Centre because of its isolation from things including legal advice and the department has admitted in the past that it doesn't tell refugees all their rights because they "didn't ask."

Mr. Senior believes that with the glare of international media and the interest shown by the federal court, that the department will make sure all procedures will be followed carefully. Mr. Senior stressed as an experienced immigration lawyer who had once worked for the government that politics were well and truly at play in this case but that ordinary citizens had shown that they want the rule of law to determine the outcome over political expediency.

Habibie has released a press statement saying the whole thing is a stunt

Hugh Ekeberg

EAST TIMORESE BOAT PEOPLE MOVED FROM DARWIN TO ISOLATED LOCATION

Australia tries shielding Indonesia from embarrassment

CNRM update, June 1.

The young East Timorese boat people, plus one baby, who arrived in Darwin early on 30 May after a dangerous 5 day voyage on board a small boat, in order to escape years of Indonesian army persecution, torture, and harassment, have finally been moved from Darwin to the isolated Curtin Airbase in Western Australia. The move follows a legal battle in Darwin yesterday, aimed at allowing them to remain in this city

where legal and East Timorese community support was readily available.

The treatment given by Australian authorities to these victims of persecution has been extremely heartless, callous and borders on the illegal.

After their voyage in rough seas on a tiny craft, exposed to the danger of capture by the Indonesian authorities from whose constant persecution they were fleeing, this group of young people and a small baby, reached the freedom of Australia, to be treated with hostility, as if they were criminals.

The main motive for the harsh treatment given to the East Timorese refugees, seems once again to have been the aim to protect the Indonesian government from embarrassment by minimising public exposure of victims of their brutal East Timor policies.

In choosing to protect Indonesian interests, the Australian authorities not only have yet again betrayed basic human rights and humanitarian principles, but also have preferred to chose expensive and cumbersome alternatives, over simple and economical ones with regards to the processing of the refugees applications.

May be the profits expected as a retribution for protecting Indonesian Minister Habibie from loss of face during his current visit to Australia are taken to be worth the cost of the way this latest sad episode has been handled?

Chronology

Upon receiving advance notice from Dili about the impending arrival of the boat three days ago, local East Timor supporters advised the Coast Watch service. The Darwin East Timor community wrote to Immigration Minister Bolkus, offering to accommodate these people at their homes while their application was being processed, at no cost to the Australian government.

The refugee boat was brought into Darwin harbour on 30 May in the dark of the night (2.00 am), its passengers off loaded at a Navy base, and kept in total isolation from any supportive members of the Darwin community- both Timorese as well as non-Timorese. All requests to meet the refugees, assist with interpreting, and give them comfort, were refused by authorities. Instead, two interpreters were hurriedly found in Melbourne and flown to Darwin at great expense.

The original intention was to speedily transport the refugees the same day to Curtin Airbase Immigration holding camp, somewhere in the bush off Derby in WA. A flight was only available at 20.00 hrs that night, so they were kept waiting till then, again in complete isolation, confined to an inaccessible area at Darwin Airport. No contacts with outsiders were allowed.

Because no adequate legal representation for them is available at Derby, lawyer Colin McDonald of Darwin, an expert on refugee cases, applied for a court order preventing the transport of the refugees to Curtin. An injunction was granted for 24 hours shortly before the due departure of the group. A hearing was scheduled for the next day (31 May, yesterday) at 6.00 at the Federal Court in Darwin.

During the second day of the group's detention by the immigration authorities, again, no access to any sympathetic and supportive Darwin people was granted, they were again kept in total isolation.

Having heard allegations that the refugees had not been informed of their right to ask for lawyers, Colin McDonald filed a legal request for access to them in the afternoon of 31 May. It is reported that the Immigration authorities attempted to excuse the fact that no access to legal advice had been given to the refugees "because they had not asked for it."

A request was also made to the Immigration authorities for a Darwin priest, chaplain to the local East Timorese community, to be granted access to the group in line with their right to practice their faith.

By 5.00 pm a large group of East Timorese and Australian supporters gathered outside the Federal Court building for a prayer service led by Catholic priest, Father Pat Mullins.

By 8.30 pm the Court allowed the Immigration Department to transfer the East Timorese to Curtin Airbase, ruling that a two person legal team headed by Colin McDonald could accompany them to Curtin. McDonald, after being allowed to speak to them, told the court of the refugees complaint that "they had come to Australia seeking protection, and instead had been treated as if they had murdered someone."

A large number of Darwin East Timorese (some of which had relatives among the refugee group) and supporters then went to Darwin airport still hoping to be able to establish contact with the refugees. This was again denied by the authorities. A noisy demonstration then followed, which must have attracted the attention of the refugees. They were briefly seen to peep through a curtain behind a glass window at their Darwin supporters. Upon noticing this, an Immigration official quickly drew the curtain, preventing even this innocent contact.

Lawyers and East Timorese community leader and CNRM Representative José Gusmão were finally granted access to the refugee group, shortly before their 11.30 pm departure to Curtin. Gusmão then read a message for the supporters given to him by the refugees.

"We appreciate all the support you have shown us. We no longer feel alone as we have felt for these three days. We do not yet feel free, but we hope to be completely free soon. We would like you to pray for us and all East Timorese. Viva Timor Leste."

For details: José Gusmão +6189 275478, Kate Khoori +02 368 0396

LETTER TO DARWIN'S IMMIGRATION DEPT.

Letter to Darwin's Immigration Department from the East Timorese Community & supporters.

Friday 2/June/95

We address you on three main areas:

1. Complaint about your conduct Monday - Wednesday this week
2. Short term requests/demands
3. Medium term requests/demands

1. We consider that the immigration Dept. this week operated in a duplicitous and disreputable manner, which brings no credit to itself. The immigration act was interpreted in the harshest least generous way, unnecessarily. The 18 boat people arrivals were treated unfairly & probably illegally.

Misleading information included the indication to the media of the expected boat arrival time, that José Gusmão & others could talk to the new arrivals at about 11am Tuesday, that the new arrivals had been provided with beds and food and were comfortably sleeping and would be moved to the airport mid-afternoon (when in fact were being driven out of the naval base as soon as you realised we had temporarily ended our vigil based on the worthiness of you assurances). Initial denials by base officials of their arrival plus threats to us at the naval base gate, the denial that we first provided you with information of their imminent arrival of this refugees boat, etc.

The quite unnecessary refusal of information included the expected boat arrival time, the arrivals names and any other details, the denial of sighting them or they to us, to the news media. Denying them access to radio, TV or telephone and most importantly, to lawyers until court action was nearly complete.

As they said, they came seeking help and were treated like murderers.

The insistence of taking them to Curtin Air Base is basically fraudulent, as "detention" could have been arranged cheaply in Darwin and "consistent" immigration department actions should be to treat people humanely. It is not fair to treat refugees (already victims) harshly in order to discourage others, nor for these East Timorese boat

people to receive blatantly harsh treatment because Habibie was in Australia.

2.(a) As you have had the new arrivals in your detention for four days with legal access to all for a day, it is time to allow community members here to speak to them. We ask for the phone number to do that and we ask for you to arrange that access here and now from your office.

(b) Forming the view that these people are entitled to refugee status need not take long. We ask how long and when they will be brought back to Darwin? We suggest strongly that this should happen by next weekend when your minister is due in Darwin.

3. A review should take place of this weeks actions to avoid such unnecessary traumas in future, including the preparation of a standard form to be given to such new arrivals informing them of their rights and the whole of the immigration act and procedures should be reviewed again to ensure fair and decent treatment to people. We apply to keep the boat here in good condition as a historical vessel.

Yours sincerely,
Rob Wesley-Smith, José Gusmão

LET THE EAST TIMORESE BOAT PEOPLE STAY!

By Lisa Macdonald, *Green Left*, June 5, 1995

The arrival of 18 East Timorese boat people in Darwin on May 30 has created a major headache for the ALP federal government.

Several thousand East Timorese have fled to Australia by various means since the brutal invasion of their country by Indonesia in 1975. The latest arrivals are, however, the first to arrive illegally by boat.

According to sources in Dili, the refugees - 15 men and two women, accompanied by a six-month-old baby - have all suffered constant persecution, torture and imprisonment since the massacre of pro-independence protesters at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili in November 1991.

A statement issued by the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) on May 30 says that the group made the five-day trip by boat to "draw international attention to the intolerable human rights conditions in their homeland and to show their rejection of the oppressive illegal Indonesian occupation of their country."

The group also "wishes to express their protest at the slow pace of the so far fruitless UN-sponsored talks aimed at searching for a solution to the East Timor problem."

A vigil was begun on Darwin harbour by local East Timorese and solidarity activists the day the refugees arrived. The activists had hoped to prevent government authorities from sending the boat people to an immigration detention camp at the Curtin air base at Derby in north-west WA.

On May 30, a CNRM representative in Darwin, José Gusmão, wrote to the federal minister for immigration, Senator Nick Bolkus, conveying a commitment by the Darwin East Timorese community to provide accommodation and support for the refugees while their applications for refugee status were being processed. Gusmão argued that this course of action was both compassionate and would save the Australian government considerable expense.

On May 31, local lawyers Terry Senior and Colin McDonald lost their battle in the Darwin Federal Court for an injunction to prevent the relocation of the refugees to Derby. In his ruling, Judge O'Loughlin made it clear that his decision to relocate the refugees was based on advice he had received from Bolkus. Three hours later, the East Timorese were on a plane out of Darwin.

According to an account of events in Darwin by Australians for a Free East Timor member Hugh Ekeberg, O'Loughlin's ruling, while opposed by the East Timorese and their supporters, does set an important precedent by allowing McDonald and his legal assistant to accompany the refugees to Derby to "ensure that they are properly informed of their rights." It appears that the political sensitivity of the East Timor issue means that all proper procedures will be carefully adhered to in this particular case.

During the court proceedings the refugees were moved from a secret location, where they had been detained since their arrival, to the international airport, where supporters held a noisy demonstration against their removal from Darwin.

At the airport, and following a three-day battle with immigration authorities, José Gusmão and Terry Senior were allowed to meet with the refugees. Commenting on the unwillingness of the authorities to allow any contact with the refugees before then, Gusmão told *Green Left Weekly*, "I am not satisfied with the treatment of our people by the Immigration Department. If we had not taken this case to court, the boat people would not even have known their rights."

Emerging from his meeting with the refugees, Senior delivered a message from them to their supporters protesting outside. It said: "We appreciate all the support you have shown us. We no longer feel alone as we have felt for these three days. We do not yet feel free, but we hope to be completely free soon. We would like you to pray for us and all East Timorese. Viva Timor Leste!"

The relocation of the refugees to Derby is clearly an attempt to isolate them from the media and East Timor freedom campaigners in Australia, thereby reducing the possibility of further political embarrassment for the pro-Indonesia federal government. Considerable damage has, however, already been done. Commenting on the publicity already received, Gusmão said, "We have raised the question of the treatment of boat people, East Timorese and others, and made it a national and international issue."

The arrival of the boat people has caused particular embarrassment for the Australian and Indonesian governments by coinciding with a high profile visit to Australia by the Indonesian minister for science and technology, B.J. Habibie.

Habibie's statement at a press conference in Canberra on May 30 that human rights are "not an absolute thing, it's relative to your country" fuels growing criticism of the federal government's friendship with the Suharto dictatorship. Going on to dismiss the arrival of the boat people, and their claims of abuse by Indonesian authorities in East Timor, as a publicity "stunt," Habibie's public comments on East Timor have hardly been useful to the Keating government.

The arrival of the boat people creates some significant problems for the federal ALP. Whatever the decision on the boat people's application to stay in Australia, their arrival increases pressure on Bolkus to resolve the issue of whether East Timorese should be considered nationals of Indonesia or Portugal when refugee status is being considered in Australia.

Allowing the East Timorese to stay in Australia would undoubtedly provoke outrage in Jakarta. It would also contradict the harder line that the minister for immigration has taken in recent statements, which have questioned the validity of applications for political refugee status lodged by 700 East Timorese who arrived in Australia on tourist visas late last year.

However, if the boat people are forcibly returned to East Timor, the publicity that their case has already received will increase the growing condemnation of the federal government's support for the illegal occupation and brutalisation of East Timor.

TIMORESE CAN RETURN: ARMY

West Australian, June 5. by Norman Aisbett

Jakarta - The 18 East Timorese who arrived in Australia by boat last week left East Timor because they wanted to and not because of pressure on them, Indonesia's powerful military said yesterday.

"There is no need to make a fuss of their presence in Darwin because they left on their own initiatives," East Timor military commander Col. Mahidin Simbolon said.

Col. Simbolon told reporters in the East Timor capital, Dili, that the military put no pressure on them to leave the troubled territory.

They could return whenever they liked.

The 18 people landed in Darwin on May 30 in a small wooden boat.

A Portuguese diplomat told the Australian Government last week that the lives of the 18 would be in danger if they were sent back to East Timor.

The East Timorese, who are said to be seeking refugee status in Australia on the ground of persecution in their homeland, are the first to arrive by boat since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975.

About 700 East Timorese who entered Australia on tourist visas last year are seeking refugee status.

The United Nations still recognises Portugal as the administering power in East Timor, even though the territory had been ruled by Indonesia since its annexation.

A BLOOD BOND PAID IN SHAME

The Age, Melbourne, Australia. 5 June 1995. from David Scott, AO

What democratic country would bring a group of refugees into port in the middle of the night, keep them in strict isolation and have an aircraft ready to fly them to an airstrip and camp in the remotest part of a huge continent so as to deny them the opportunity of meeting family, friends, compatriots and legal advisors?

That legal advice was available eventually in Darwin to the East Timorese was due only to the efforts of Darwin Lawyers and a Federal Court judge. A Department of Immigration official said legal aid had not been provided in Darwin because the East Timorese "had not asked for it."

The situation is all the worse because there is a strong prima facie case that the East Timorese will qualify for refugee status. Every journalist, visitor or person who has worked in East Timor, even in the past 12 months, has reported on the surveillance and harsh control exercised by 17,000 Indonesian troops.

There have been continual reports of arbitrary arrests, brutal suppression of demonstrations and killings admitted by Indonesian authorities. It is only four months since the United Nations Human Rights Commission investigator into arbitrary killing, Mr. Waly N'Diaye, reported in scathing terms on the human rights situation in East Timor.

The parents and grandparents of the brave young East Timorese boat people risked, and many lost, their lives supporting Australian commandos in World War II. The debt was so great, the soldiers said, "Australia can never repay it."

This shameful incident is the latest in a 20-year history of Australian repudiation of that debt, complicity with Indonesia and toadyism on the matter of East Timor.

David Scott, St Kilda.

EVENTS IN INDONESIA

ARAUJO: "ENOUGH OF ALL THIS SUFFERING..."

Media Indonesia, 12 March 1995. Reporter: Caecilia Kusumowinahyu. Translated from Indonesian

[Note: Fretilin removed Abilio Araujo as President in 1994.]

President of Fretilin Abilio Araujo has been known as a staunch opponent of Indonesia for the past two decades. Together with Ramos Horta, he travelled the world to seek international support for East Timor's independence. So, many people were amazed when he attended the reconciliation meeting in London which ended in a warm embrace with ambassador Lopez da Cruz in December 1993.

Many people could not believe that there had really been an act of reconciliation. Wasn't it just a trick? Only God and Araujo know. But what is certain is that two years after that warm embrace, this father of two teenage daughters has not changed his mind. This Media exclusive interview of Abilio Araujo took place in London last month:

Q: You have just been received by the Minister of State for Far Eastern Affairs Alastair Goodlad. What issues did you raise with him?

A: We spoke for forty minutes. I told him frankly that I cannot accept campaigns or propaganda which claim that Indonesia is bad. I don't agree with those who depict Indonesia as being bad while talking about Portugal as if it were an angel.

With regard to the Liquica incident, I very much support what President Suharto has done by forming a committee to carry out an investigation. This is a concrete endeavour by the Indonesian government that should be underlined. Indonesia has made efforts to restore tranquillity.

I also referred to the sale of arms. Indonesia as a modern state has the right to increase and improve the quality of the equipment for its armed forces, just like other states.

It's pure nonsense to campaign for an embargo on the sale of arms to Indonesia. As an East Timorese, I would like to ask the Indonesian government not to use the weapons it buys to attack the people of East Timor. And I know that the Indonesian government doesn't resort to such practices because I have my people in East Timor who keep me informed about what happens there.

Q: How did Minister Goodlad respond?

A: He responded very positively to all the things I raised with him. He wished us success in our struggle. I feel that he is very sympathetic and agrees with my opinion.

Q: For more than twenty years, you have struggled for the interests of Fretilin. But for the past two years, you have supported integration with Indonesia. What caused this transformation?

A: My father was shot dead in 1979 at the same time as my brother who at the time was our chief of intelligence who surrendered to ABRI in the hope of getting an amnesty. But he disappeared and hasn't been seen since. My sister and her husband also died.

If you want to talk about the changes I have made, there is one thing in which I haven't changed. I continue to defend the prosperity and reputation of the people of East Timor who for 500 years were colonised by Portugal. The people of East Timor are entitled to have the opportunity for development. I know very well that there were many incidents and conditions in the years 1974/75 when the position of Portugal declined drastically, when it lost its territory in Africa and lost control of East Timor. At the same time, East Timor was not yet ready to enter into discussions about its future because of a lack of experience and maturity added to which there was a vacuum of power in East Timor with the outbreak of the civil war in East Timor.

I am now able to reflect on that situation. Indonesia did its very best to help Portugal begin with the process of decolonisation in East Timor. But Portugal failed. East Timor must also take responsibility because it caused the conflict that occurred at that time. I have to be honest and say that all sides must share the responsibility for that process. In those days, Indonesia regarded Fretilin as part of the communist movement which it saw as a threat.

Twenty years on, the world has changed. The cold war has ended. The world is only thinking of one objective, progress. Europe no longer thinks about boundaries but is becoming one large region. I am convinced that we must work for the future. Of course I realise that there are wounds which it is

difficult for the people of East Timor to forget and so I began to think two years ago that the people of East Timor must talk to each other about reconciliation. We talked about peace, development and our readiness, because it is such a long time since we have lived in East Timor. And I am happy that this idea has been welcomed by the Indonesian government.

Q: So do you admit that you made mistakes in the past?

A: Yes of course, we must be humble enough to admit this and learn from experience. Only people who do nothing never make mistakes.

Q: When did you first break with Horta and Xanana?

A: In 1991. At that time, I opposed Xanana. Horta is not my rival. At that time I said that Xanana's position and strategy was wrong. It was Xanana and the congress that elected me as president of Fretilin in 1984 at a time when he was leading the resistance movement in 1984.

All of a sudden, Xanana created a clandestine movement that organised demonstrations, including one for the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation to East Timor in 1991. But it turns out that the visit did not take place. This made the Xanana group very frustrated and finally a provocation took place with the result that Sebastião died on 26 October (sic) which was only three days after the visit had been cancelled. This frustration led to another much bigger incident at the Santa Cruz church in November 1991, when all sides blamed ABRI. I too blamed ABRI at the time. But at the time, I also blamed Xanana who used the young people for a provocation. I thought, if your motives are really for independence for your people, you would not drive your people to their deaths! This was the biggest conflict between us which ended in the break-up between us.

We in Lisbon always compared Xanana to Che Guevara who fought in the mountains and carried out a guerrilla struggle. But what happened? He was captured in my mother's home in Dili. The police who was mentioned was the husband of my sister. I was deeply disappointed with Xanana for being so irresponsible. My mother was 76 years and she had to go to prison.

Q: Do you feel satisfied with the results of the two reconciliation meetings in London? Those meetings seem to have opened up a new page in the relations between the people of East Timor. What is your target?

A: To be quite honest there are many things we still have to do in a constructive spirit to discuss all the possible things that can be

done. We are asking the Indonesian government to let the people of East Timor live freely in East Timor like their brothers in Sumatra, for instance. But this needs the support of a healthy psychological atmosphere and this is where our contribution comes in.

We ask the young East Timorese to study and not to busy themselves in demonstrations because we have to face the challenges of the next century when the people of East Timor will march forward in step with the rhythm of the world.

What we are asking the Indonesian government is that it protect the people of East Timor. ABRI has a major role to play in creating stability and social order. And there should be laws that we can all respect. But we also ask for the number of ABRI battalions to conform with their function as the guarantor of stability. At the second reconciliation meeting, we asked for the number of ABRI battalions to be reduced in stages.

I also spoke about a number of people, supporters of mine who are still in prison. I asked that they be given amnesty.

The people of East Timor have their own characteristics and traditions which must be preserved, for instance by teaching local languages and history to the school-children.

Q: What are the prospects for the third reconciliation meeting in London?, is it possible that now you have got to know each other, a marriage could take place?

A: We are already on the right path and we are very patient. We don't mind having to go on getting to know each other and to go on courting for some time. Ha... ha...

Q: You were a professional musician. How did you get involved in Fretilin and begin to take up politics?

A: I am the youngest in a family of eight children. The Araujo family is quite an old family from Aileo. My grandfather was a liurai who fought the Portuguese till the day he died.

My parents very much wanted me to become a priest. I was their only hope. So I entered the seminary in Dili. I was a colleague of Bishop Belo's. It was in those days that I became attracted to music. I used to play the organ in church. But at the same time, I did not feel called to a vocation as a monk.

So in 1971, I went to Lisbon to follow my desire to study music at the Conservatory and then I went on to study economics. I was the first East Timorese student to get a scholarship to study economics in Lisbon and to get a doctorate.

In those days I did a lot of singing and I also made two long-play records and a single

which was issued in Frankfurt in 1978 and in Lisbon in 1980. Everything I performed was my own composition based on traditional East Timorese melodies. I began to be a professional singer, joined up with Gulbenkian and became a tenor.

However, although I was very drawn to music, like my family that always fought the Portuguese, my greatest wish was to see East Timor free from Portugal. In 1974, I began to write songs based on the theme of opposing Portuguese colonialism. Then I joined Fretilin and I wrote the Fretilin anthem.

Q: You seem to be very convinced about the ideas you are putting forward. Yet you haven't been to East Timor for twenty years. Why is that?

A: Well, I always get reports from my people there. And you know for yourself that there were only five kilometres of road when Portugal left. Now, it's extraordinary. There are schools up to the level of university.

Q: If we read the report by Special UN Rapporteur Ndiaye about East Timor, there are many things in that report about human rights practices that are very critical of Indonesia. What is your opinion?

A: Basically, what that report says is correct but it's all about something that happened in the past. For example, about the number of people who died and disappeared on 12 November 1991. It's very difficult to know everything exactly. My brother has disappeared since 1975. I have not been able to find out anything precise to this day. He was a great support to me.

I think that there are many things we cannot know for certain but I feel that we can't bring back to life those who are already dead. I know how difficult this is, I have experienced it myself. So many members of my family died or disappeared.

Q: A while ago, there was a disturbance in Liquica. When this incident burst into the open, there were many who believed that there are still a lot of people in East Timor who don't support integration with Indonesia. As President of Fretilin, how do you see the attitude of the people of East Timor now?

A: With regard to recent developments in East Timor, there are problems because of a psychological atmosphere which gives openings to troublemakers. The situation is tense. And there are always plenty of people around who want to make the situation unstable. These days, there are many groups in East Timor who are using the people of East Timor. They are people who still believe that it is very good to bring up the question of East Timor on the international

forum. According to them, when things remain quiet, it doesn't attract world attention. So I think it's not only the Horta group who want to draw this radical group into their campaign for instability in East Timor but also a group of NGOs. They want to have conferences and so on.

Q: So, do you see the intensification of the issue of East Timor as something that is being engineered by a certain group?

A: Horta is a phenomenon. But he isn't alone. He is part of a network that consists of a number of people calling themselves NGOs and human rights groups who need a figure like Horta to help raise the issue of East Timor and Horta makes use of them.

I get very angry when groups of people say that East Timor is a good issue with which to attack the Indonesian government. I do not like this and I cannot agree with it. These people are not bothered about what is happening in East Timor. They only want to use the issue of East Timor for their own interests!

Q: In April, an intra-inclusive East Timorese meeting will take place. What is your target for that meeting?

A: We will be meeting other groups that did not take part in the previous meetings. I want us to discuss all kinds of things quite openly on that occasion. If we can exchange information for just one day, it will be very good indeed. Because it has been difficult for us to talk with each other. Formerly we have talked to each other in code. For instance, "It's raining hard, there's a storm." meaning perhaps, has been armed contact in East Timor? I want East Timor to be free and open, anyone who visits there should be free to come and go. This needs the support of a certain psychological atmosphere.

The second thing to do will be to fix the agenda and decide who will chair the talks. The things we want to raise are basically the same as the things that were raised at the previous reconciliation meetings.

It's now the time to discuss East Timor's future. And I know that many people support me in this.

Q: Ramos Horta will be attending the meeting. What are the chances of success of the intra-East Timor meeting with Horta present?

A: I am certain Horta get himself into the meeting. But I don't know whether he will be constructive or destructive at the meeting. And if he speaks outside the agenda, this will mean that he is responsible for the failure of the intra-East Timor meeting. I am very sceptical about whether he will be cooperative. But if he's clever, he will be cooperative because he knows very well

that the dynamic of the East Timorese people today is moving with us.

What is clear is that I don't want to be the one responsible for the failure of the meeting because it is my task to find the best possible solution for East Timor. It's a hard job [original English].

Q: In former days, you were a duo who travelled the world making speeches against Indonesia. How are your relations now with Horta?

A: Yes, in the old days we fought together. I am the senior of Horta. He joined in East Timor in 1975 and then went to New York as the permanent Fretilin representative there. As for me, I went to Mozambique which formerly gave us a lot of support.

Now we only meet each other if there's a meeting about East Timor. In the past few years, I have been bitterly attacked by Horta, his friends and the NGOs. In former days, they were part of my network of connections who fought with me against Indonesia. They say that I have received bribes from Indonesia. But I stick to my opinions. I have never denied that when the reconciliation meeting took place, our group was paid for by the Indonesian government because naturally, we couldn't afford to pay for the travel of the members of our group. We asked Portugal for the money to pay our expenses for the reconciliation, but they refused.

The fact is that by adopting this firm stand, I have gradually won support in East Timor, including from Bishop Belo, East Timorese in Australia and so on.

Q: How do you find the funds to finance your movement?

A: We don't have a large movement so we don't need much money. To cover the expenses for myself and the organisation, I run a business. It's called 'Sotrel' and it's located in Lisbon. We handle the import and export of Russian food. Besides that, my wife Guilhermina has a business that produces wine which is exported to Japan. We use this money to produce our bulletin. These are the funds for our movement.

PERSISTENT THORN IN THE FLESH

INDONESIA IS PAYING A HIGH DIPLOMATIC PRICE FOR ITS OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR

Financial Times, March 29 1995. By Manuela Saragosa

Violence and terror continue to plague East Timor, the former Portuguese colony occupied by Indonesia in 1975. Indonesian

soldiers are accused of cold-bloodedly murdering East Timorese in rural areas.

Some 20 years after Indonesia invaded the territory, anti-Indonesian sentiment shows no sign of subsiding and its occupation of the territory remains an international embarrassment for it.

Made up of hundreds of ethnic groupings and as many as 17,000 islands, Indonesia is sensitive to anything which might disturb the fabric of its national unity.

With every attempt Indonesia makes to be taken seriously in the international community – suggestions of mediating between Bosnians and Serbs, or attempts to take on a bigger role in the UN Security Council – Indonesians are invariably confronted with their presence in East Timor. In November, a demonstration by 29 East Timorese in the US embassy grounds in Jakarta in front of most of the world's press took the gloss off the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation summit attended by 17 regional leaders, including US president Bill Clinton.

The issue continues to overshadow Indonesia's increasingly important economic status. With 190m people, it is the world's fourth most populated country and among the fastest growing economies in southeast Asia.

Yet the Indonesians are reluctant to change their policy in the territory despite international criticism of their role there. Talks are taking place under United Nations auspices. Exiled members of East Timor's independence movement and East Timorese who favour integration with Indonesia are to meet in Austria in April, an initiative by Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN secretary general.

In May, Mr. Ali Alatas, Indonesia's foreign minister, will engage in the sixth round of talks with his Portuguese counterpart in New York. Portugal, which abruptly abandoned East Timor in 1975, so leaving the territory to warring factions, still claims sovereignty over the area. Indonesia declared the region its 27th province in 1976, but the UN has never recognised Jakarta's sovereignty over the region.

Indonesian officials point out that East Timor receives more government development funds than any other region. Certainly, in contrast to when the territory was a Portuguese colony, it now has roads, schools, a university, bridges, health clinics, telecommunications and electricity.

But unemployment in East Timor is, by the Indonesian government's own admission, high. School-leavers experience difficulty in finding jobs. The Batara Indra group, an Indonesian business conglomerate close to the military, holds a virtual monopoly on everything that makes money in East Timor, including coffee trading, sandalwood

production and marble mining. Entrepreneurs are rare and private investment into the region is minimal.

Trading in the territory is largely controlled by ethnic Bugis from the Indonesian island of Sulawesi, who make up the majority of immigrants to East Timor.

East Timor has all the characteristics of an occupied territory, according to diplomats who have travelled in the region and who are the only source of independent information on it. They comment that the region is run as a military fiefdom: the Indonesian army has a large presence in East Timor, and has been shocking in its callousness in dealing with the local population.

The UN special rapporteur's recent report on East Timor, following his visit to the territory in July last year, noted that there were "patterns of dealing violently with political dissent and [a] virtual impunity enjoyed by members of the security forces responsible for human rights violations."

Military officials claim their large presence in East Timor is needed to facilitate the development and integration of the region. But as one diplomat comments: "The army's behaviour has been such that it has not implemented a policy of integration as continuously as it has applied a policy of occupation."

In one incident, two officers in the Indonesian army, which is predominantly Moslem, were convicted by a military court of desecrating the sacrament in a church in predominantly Catholic East Timor. Actions of this kind breed the hatred and suspicion with which many East Timorese regard the Indonesians. The ubiquitous presence of plain-clothed intelligence officers has fostered an atmosphere of distrust among the East Timorese. More recently, Indonesian soldiers shot dead six unarmed civilians in the Liquiça regency, a district in East Timor, after opening fire at close range.

Jakarta officials appeared genuinely shocked when details of the Liquiça incident surfaced last month. Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights investigated the killings and concluded that there had been a gross violation of human rights. The last time such an investigation was conducted was after the 1991 massacre in Dili, the capital, when, according to UN estimates, between 150 and 270 independence demonstrators were killed by Indonesian soldiers.

The army has admitted there was a "violation of procedures" and the Military Honour Council is expected to punish the soldiers involved. But, as in the Dili massacre, the soldiers will be tried in a military court rather than a civilian one. The UN rapporteur noted that the sentences meted out after

the Dili massacre were "inappropriately light."

Meanwhile, in all of the UN-sponsored meetings with Portuguese officials and anti-integrationists, Indonesia has categorically refused to discuss East Timor's political status. But as one diplomat comments: "Unless there is a political solution to East Timor, there can be no solution."

Indonesia is unhappy about the UN secretary general's initiative to invite individual pro- and anti-integrationists to discuss East Timor in Salzburg next month. Mr. Irawan Abidin, Indonesia's foreign ministry spokesman, says "the UN has been going a little too far" in interpreting its mandate to "assist in the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of a solution to the question of East Timor."

Yet it remains unclear how Indonesia intends to resolve the East Timor question. After the embarrassment suffered at the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation summit, President Suharto ruled out any talks of autonomy or special status for East Timor.

Indonesia has also opposed an independently-observed referendum in the territory, even though it claims that most East Timorese favour integration. Their argument is a referendum was held in 1975, but the UN has not recognised its validity. Continuing violence and fighting in the territory indicate that the Indonesians have failed to win over the East Timorese.

Political analysts and diplomats agree that East Timor is unlikely to be granted independence because Indonesia believes it would threaten national unity. Granting independence to East Timor could encourage separatist movements in other parts of the archipelago.

This may explain why talk of autonomy or special status for East Timor has been squashed by the president. The idea of national unity is one of the principles in the state ideology known as Pancasila ("Five Principles") – and challenging Pancasila in Indonesia is akin blasphemy.

Given these constraints and taking into account Indonesia's reluctance to discuss East Timor's political status, the options appear limited. But unless the military's presence is drastically reduced and some degree of political and economic control handed to the East Timorese, the territory promises to remain a painful thorn in Indonesia's domestic and foreign policy.

SUHARTO'S NEW CRACKDOWN

By Max Lane, *Green Left*, April 23

[Note: Not all the statements in this article are accurate. In particular, there do not appear at this point to be 'arrest warrants' for Bintang, GM, and Yeni. An arrest warrant would be inconsistent with Bintang's bouts of interrogation.

– John (apakabar@clark.net)]

In the early morning of April 20, security forces raided a house in Medan, North Sumatra, arresting 13 student activists from the Students in Solidarity with Democracy in Indonesia (SMID), including its international affairs officer, Bimo Nugroho. The students were severely beaten before being formally detained.

Nugroho has been charged with insulting the head of state, a serious charge under Indonesia's repressive laws. The other students include Saparuddin Siregar, Eleirinda, Tongkam Siregar, Herwin, Iswan Saputra, Acun and Bahar.

The 13 students had been part of a delegation to the North Sumatran parliament protesting against President Suharto's recent threats, following demonstrations against him in Germany, of repressive action against supporters of democratic change in Indonesia and self-determination in East Timor.

"We will take firm action against the national traitors! They are mad, they are crazy, they are irrational," was the outburst from Suharto after he faced a large and rowdy demonstration in the city of Dresden in Germany on April 7. More than 100 demonstrators jeered Suharto in Indonesian as he entered an art museum.

His anger was aimed at Indonesians who were alleged to have supplied the demonstrators with information about the Indonesian dictatorship's occupation of East Timor and other human rights violations.

Since Suharto arrived back in Jakarta, arrest warrants have been issued for three prominent critics of the dictatorship who have been in Europe recently. These are Sri Bintang Pamungkas, a recently sacked member of parliament, Goenawan Mohammad, former publisher of the banned Tempo magazine, and Yeni Rosa Damayanti, a leader of the Indonesian Student Action Front (FAMI), who had been in Europe campaigning in solidarity with the East Timorese people.

Reports from Jakarta say that Yeni will be accused of organising the demonstration in Dresden, Sri Bintang of making speeches and Goenawan Mohammad of preparing the atmosphere for the demonstration by giving

a number of interviews during a visit to Germany shortly before Suharto's arrival.

Sri Bintang was served with a summons on the evening of April 16 and has been undergoing daily interrogation since then. Both his car and house have also been stoned. Goenawan Mohammad and Sri Bintang have denied any connection with the demonstrations.

Officials of the Indonesian dictatorship also claim that other participants in the demonstration were Helmi Fauzi, Rezza Muharam, Siswa Santosa, Isti Hajar and Asep Yahya, all prominent human rights activists based in Europe.

In Jakarta on April 13, three more students were arrested during a protest outside the Ministry of Information against the arrest of members of the Alliance of Independent Journalists. The demonstration was organised by the Indonesians in Solidarity with Press Liberation, which includes FAMI, Students in Solidarity with Democracy in Indonesia (SMID) and other pro-democracy groups. The three arrested were Wahyu from Patuan University in Bogor and Herlan and Yadi Jamhur from the National University in Jakarta.

The issuing of the arrest warrants was accompanied a series of bellicose statements by presidential and military spokespersons. The coordinating minister for politics and security, Soesilo Soedarman, stated that there were many people organised in non-government organisations and discussion groups who were out to change society and subvert the state ideology. "There is no part of society, the government, the Indonesian Democratic Party, Golkar, the Chamber of Commerce and others who are not infiltrated," he said, "They are not carrying this out openly, but secretly."

Another former military official, Professor Suhardiman, stated that opposition groups wanted to undermine the stability of Suharto's presidency and called for "total consolidation." "If we relax at all, then I am afraid there will be a national incident. We must make sure there is no big social turmoil."

There are widespread rumours in Jakarta of a possible declaration of martial law in May.

Munif Laredo, president of SMID, told Green Left Weekly from Jakarta that human rights violations in Indonesia had become so widespread and such a generalised focus of opposition that it was becoming harder and harder for the government to control the situation. "They shouldn't be surprised if there are demonstrations at home or abroad with so many violations of people's rights now. That's why there were demonstrations a few days ago over press bannings. And

next week there will be actions in Jogja and Bandung about the arrest of our members.

"Today [April 21] the women's solidarity organisation will be holding actions against the government's use of various religious regulations to formalise women's role as housewife and to otherwise confine the expanding role of women. A sense of the need to fight human rights violations is spreading very quickly."

The Indonesian Legal Aid Institute issued a statement on April 18 questioning the actions taken against Sri Bintang, Goenawan and Yeni. "The protests that have emerged overseas are partly a result of the suppression of the ability for fair expression of opinion inside Indonesia. It is time to review many of the regulations that restrict the freedom of expression and organisation in the political field."

Politics and security minister Soesilo, in his statement backing Suharto's outburst, also confirmed the danger identified on April 5 by Indonesia's army chief, General Hartono, who warned regional commanders that clandestine elements presented a subtle but dangerous threat to stability, not only in East Timor.

"They may be state or private employees, but they are actually troublemakers. The clandestine movement is not a small problem but must have our serious attention," Hartono told officers in Magelang. Jakarta Post quoted him as asking commanders to submit lists of leaders of any clandestine movement in their area, adding that such movements required close surveillance.

In fact, the Indonesian regime has long been harassed by the East Timorese clandestine movement in Java, which was able to launch the occupation of the United States Embassy last November 12. The student clandestine movement has also been able to smuggle many messages and other information to human rights organisations and solidarity groups outside Indonesia.

On May 19, 1994, José Antonio Neves was arrested and on October 12 put on trial charged with supplying international human rights organisations with critical information on Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. He was arrested carrying a letter from guerrilla leader Konis Santana addressed to the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor in Manila. The local post office security had also seized letters he had sent. Neves was sentenced to four years in February.

More recently, on March 28 in East Timor, Ignacio de Jesus dos Santos was put on trial accused of organising an anti-government demonstration on the University of East Timor campus on January 9.

Ignacio is one of 13 people the regime plans to bring before the court in connection

with a demonstration at the state-run university. He is charged under the anti-subversion law.

Abdul Hasan, the government prosecutor, accused dos Santos of using his house to organise the demonstrators. He has also been accused of using "abusive language and insulting the government" during the campus protest against the occupation of East Timor. As no person accused of political crimes has ever been found innocent by a court under the Suharto dictatorship, it can be expected that dos Santos and the 12 other students yet to be tried will all receive heavy sentences.

MORE STUDENT LEADERS ARRESTED IN INDONESIA

By Max Lane, Green Left, April 30

Demonstrations have taken place in Yogyakarta and the central Java city of Solo in protest against the arrest of 10 activists from Students in Solidarity with Democracy in Indonesia (SMID) in Medan on April 20. The 10 students, including international affairs officer Bimo Nugroho, have been charged with insulting the head of state.

Under city arrest, Nugroho is now undergoing daily interrogation by the local provincial police headquarters. The Medan SMID students had demonstrated the day before against President Suharto's statement labeling Indonesians involved in recent overseas anti-Suharto demonstrations "mad, insane and irrational."

In Yogyakarta on April 25, more than 300 students, later joined by several hundred more, gathered at the main street outside the University of Gajah Mada.

Apart from SMID, there were speakers from the Indonesian Nationalist Student Movement, the Islamic University and High School Students Association, Students Solidarity from the Indonesian Islamic University, the Yogyakarta branch of the Peoples Democratic Union, the Yogyakarta-based Institute for Community Development as well as a representative from the Indonesian Centre for Working Class Struggle.

As a street theatre presentation, entitled "The Military Run Riot," and speeches began, the crowd swelled to block the main boulevard running alongside the university. The university militia arrived to disentangle the traffic jam, and they were soon followed by troops from the local military garrison. Military personnel in civilian clothes attempted to disperse the crowd, but were unsuccessful.

On the morning of April 27, 400 students in Solo rallied at the local university campus in solidarity with Bimo Nugroho and other SMID students in Medan. Representatives

from SMID, PPBI (Centre for Working-Class Struggle) and the usually conservative Islamic Students Association also spoke.

The atmosphere in Solo became even more tense when a spontaneous bus strike unfolded after a soldier shot dead a bus conductor during a dispute between a private bus company and a military-owned bus company. There also had been a small demonstration the day before in solidarity with workers taking an employer to court for unfair dismissal. Thirteen students and workers, including well-known radical poet Wiji Thukul, were detained overnight.

At 3pm on April 27, 50 armed soldiers from the local military command surrounded the Solo SMID office and arrested local SMID leader Agus Jabo, who, at the time of writing, was still imprisoned.

MARSINAH CASE FRAME-UP FOILED?

Voice of America, 5/5/95. By David Butler, Bangkok

Intro: Indonesia's official news agency has reported (Friday) that seven men jailed last year for the murder of a young woman labor activist were released Thursday. David Butler reports.

Text: Indonesia's official Antara news agency said Friday the seven civilian defendants – sentenced to terms of four to 12 years – were released Thursday from two prisons in east Java. Their release followed a Supreme Court reversal of their convictions Wednesday.

The seven were among nine people convicted of conspiring to kill labor activist Marsinah two years ago. The other two suspects convicted in the conspiracy were released earlier.

Marsinah's body was found in a hut in East Java two years ago this month. She had been beaten, raped, and strangled.

Marsinah's body was found shortly after she had led a demonstration demanding higher wages at the watch factory where she worked. She was 26 years old.

At their trials, lawyers for the nine men and a woman convicted of conspiring to murder Marsinah insisted the defendants had been tortured into confessing to the state's charges against them.

Marsinah became a potent symbol of human rights abuses in Indonesia and abroad. Legal and labor rights activists have charged since her body was found that she was killed at a military base. On Friday, they called for the case to be reopened.

MAY DAY MARCHERS BASHED IN INDONESIA

By Max Lane, Green Left, May 7

On a historic occasion for the Indonesian labour movement, workers and students took to the streets to demonstrate on May Day for the first time since General Suharto seized power 30 years ago. The actions were initiated by the Centre for Indonesian Working Class Struggle (PPBI) and Students in Solidarity with Democracy in Indonesia (SMID).

The actions were aimed at re-establishing the May Day tradition, as well as launching a national campaign for an increase in the minimum wage from \$3 a day to \$4.50, a little closer to the figure needed to keep people alive and healthy.

The campaign is also demanding freedom to organise and the release of all political prisoners, including union leader Muchtar Pakpahan. In Jakarta, 100 workers and students formed a delegation to deliver their demands to the Ministry of Labour.

In the East Javanese city of Semarang, hundreds rallied under the PPBI-SMID banner. The rally was savagely attacked by the police and military. Sixteen workers and students were detained, including Lukman, the national director of PPBI, and Petrus Haryanto, secretary general of SMID. Several workers were severely beaten on the street.

In Jakarta, as the delegation peacefully left the Ministry of Labour, the military picked up Dita Sari, general secretary of PPBI. When it was discovered that Dita Sari was arrested, the workers tried to re-enter the ministry. Four other PPBI organisers were arrested in the ensuing fight.

On May 2, PPBI and SMID sent a delegation to the National Human Rights Commission to protest against the arrests and beatings. More protest demonstrations were held on campuses in Yogyakarta and Solo.

The next day, Dita Sari, Petrus Haryanto and the 19 other activists were released from jail. According to SMID president Munif Laredo, "The workers were very badly treated. They were savagely bashed; their heads were smashed up against the prison walls. At least one has been hospitalised in Semarang."

Solidarity and protest messages have been sent by Indonesia Solidarity Action - Aksi, Resistance, Community and Public Sector Union (ACT branch), Australian Electrical, Electronics, Foundry and Engineering Union (WA branch), the ACT Trades and Labour Council and United Workers of the Philippines.

POLITICAL TIDE IS TURNING SLOWLY

Reuter, 7 May 1995. By Jeremy Wagstaff. Abridged

Jakarta – After a year of setbacks, Indonesians pushing for a greater say in government scored several small but significant victories in the past week, diplomats, academics and prominent figures said on Sunday.

They noted a court ruling in favour of the banned magazine Tempo, the release of seven defendants believed to have been unfairly convicted of the murder of a labour activist and renewed debate over the presidential succession.

Their conclusions are cautious, but all point to a growing frustration among Indonesia's middle class with the authoritarian brand of politics practised by President Suharto since the 1960s.

"We have a new dimension to the openness issue in Indonesia, in that the public is increasingly reluctant to be manipulated," said Marzuki Darusman, a former parliamentarian and currently a member of the official National Human Rights Commission.

Despite occasional moves towards opening up the media and tolerating greater freedom of speech, Suharto has retained tight control over the sprawling archipelagic nation.

"People have growing aspirations but the almost frozen system has created these tensions and strains," one editor said.

Proponents of openness – freedom of the press, latitude for independent organisations to form – were given a surprise boost when the administrative court last Wednesday ruled against last year's government ban on Tempo magazine.

After a year of crackdowns on the media and journalists, few regard it as a turning point. But, along with the release of seven defendants widely seen as having been coerced into confessing the May 1993 murder of activist Marsinah, they see a trend emerging.

In the context of Indonesia's slow-burn politics, all eyes are on manoeuvring for the 1997 election, which will ultimately determine the next president.

Most commentators see 73-year old Suharto as likely to stay on for a seventh five-year term, a scenario apparently confirmed by the remarks of two presidential confidantes last week, who both hinted that the former general would stand again.

Talk of confusion and discord in the cabinet and Suharto's outburst over Indonesian demonstrators who allegedly joined protests during his visit to Germany last

month are cited as indications the president's grip may be weakening a little.

Others say that through other gestures he may also be seeking to present a better image both at home and overseas, including efforts to limit the military's role by cutting their assigned seats in parliament from 100 to 75.

More significantly, perhaps, they pointed to an apparent acknowledgment that at least this time the debate over the succession could not be wholly conducted behind closed doors.

EAST TIMOR'S YOUTH TRAPPED IN TWILIGHT WORLD

by *Jeremy Wagstaff*

Jakarta, May 18 (Reuter) – He declined the food, winced when he sipped some iced water and dozed off during the meal.

When Domingos' eyes were open, though, it was easy to see that the recent battering which had left his face swollen and bruised was not the worst thing that had happened to him.

"Sometimes I feel like going back but there's no one to go back to," he said in Indonesian, his hoarse voice cutting through the middle-class ambiance of the Jakarta restaurant.

'Back' is East Timor, 2,000 km (1,200 miles) to the east, from where Domingos (not his real name) fled 13 years ago.

He is one of thousands of young people who have fled war, poverty or torture since Indonesia took control there in 1975.

Not all succeed in fleeing overseas. The Timorese estimate there are about 1,500 youths spread around Java, the most populated of Indonesia's islands, leaving them in a twilight world between home and exile.

All those interviewed said while they faced harassment such as that experienced by Domingos – who says he was beaten up by off-duty sailors apparently because he is Timorese – they had relatively more freedom than if they went back home.

In East Timor, they say, they would face closer surveillance, more persistent intimidation and more regular torture at the hands of Indonesia's military.

"I have to get away from this country. It's more difficult for me if I go back to East Timor. It's better to leave," said José (not his real name), 23, who has lived in Java since 1991.

In that year, President Suharto's daughter Tutut offered hundreds of young East Timorese food, education and a job if they moved to Java, apparently to lure them from the resistance movement back home.

But, according to José and others, the benefits were at best short-lived.

Most have seen little or none of the training, salaries or scholarships promised. José quit last year after complaining regularly about working conditions at a textile factory.

Many end up with jobs as bouncers at brothels, discotheques and gaming dens in the darker corners of Jakarta.

But such jobs are poorly paid and dangerous. Eduardo (not his real name) was working as a guard at a brothel in west Jakarta when, off-duty, he was attacked last month by soldiers and later arrested. He says he was taken to a military precinct where he was tortured with sticks and rods.

Not all Timorese hit rock bottom. One, 24-year-old Paulo (not his real name), has kept his job in a glass factory, where he earns 100,000 rupiah (\$45) a month, a quarter of what he says he was promised four years ago.

But the sense of injustice remains small alongside what most young East Timorese see as their ultimate goal.

"I've got a job but in my heart East Timor is still a burning issue. The job just suits the prevailing circumstances," says Paulo, a wiry, earnest-looking youth with a shy smile.

He echoes the sentiments of all those interviewed: East Timorese people will never accept Indonesian rule which even conservative estimates say has cost the lives of some 200,000 Timorese from war and famine in the past 20 years.

And for the ramshackle East Timorese youths of Java – their dark mestizo features setting them apart from the Indonesians around them – these are no empty words.

They have outwitted surveillance to stage protests in central Jakarta, including scaling the U.S. embassy fence last year to steal headlines during a summit of regional leaders.

All those involved in embassy protests are now safe in exile, most of them in Portugal, which is still recognised by the United Nations as East Timor's administering power.

The U.N. has long sought a political solution to the issue, but Indonesia has made clear sovereignty is not negotiable.

It argues that it has poured millions of dollars into improving the daily life of East Timorese, including building roads, hospitals and schools, and ironically, giving youths such as those in Jakarta at least a primary education.

Many Timorese call for nothing less than independence.

And for those still in Jakarta, life remains a confusing mix of making ends meet in a sometimes hostile environment, dodging

official harassment and planning anti-Indonesia protests.

For Domingos, whose own life reads like the recent history of East Timor, the issue is a simple one: "My only hope in life is for East Timor to be returned to the East Timorese."

AN AMERICAN SCHOLAR INTERROGATED

Goenawan Mohamad writes from Jakarta, June 13

After a meeting with young activists from Yayasan Indonesia Baru in Jakarta last night (June 12), an American anthropologist, Robert L. Heffner, was interrogated at Central Jakarta Police Office. He was held from 11:00 p.m. until 05:00 a.m. the next day. The police also questioned four journalists from "Media Indonesia" and two young activists.

Heffner, a Boston University professor who is currently doing research on Islam in Indonesia, was a familiar figure among Moslem intellectuals in Indonesia. The interrogation took place during the time when the issue of police permit for intellectual discussion is being challenged by pro democratic groups here.

BOB HEFNER ARRESTED BY JAKARTA POLICE

First-hand report from a protected source, June 15

Problem of permits for conducting seminar and meetings seem to become more difficult. This issue raises after numbers of prominent Indonesians were banned to participate in seminars. The government officials and police (sometimes the military) told the sponsors to stop a seminar only because they didn't have any permit. Among these banned people are Abdurachman Wahid, the leader of the biggest Moslem mass organization, Nahdlatul Ulama, Brig Gen. Roekmini, a retired police officer and ex-member of the House of Representatives, who is now a member of the National Human Rights Commission, and several other intellectuals, such as Arief Budiman and George Junus Aditjondro, both from Salatiga, Central Java.

Usually, the police asked the sponsors to stop an event, and bring them to the police office to be questioned. But this time, something different had happened. On June 12, 1995 at 9.30 pm The police broke into a seminar and arrested, Robert (Bob) Hefner, an American anthropologist, from Boston University.

AN EYEWITNESS REPORT, June 13

On June 12, 1995 at 9.30 pm police officers from the Central Jakarta Police Station

arrested Robert Hefner who had given a speech to a discussion forum conducted by the New Indonesia Foundation, in East Jakarta.

Robert Hefner, an anthropologist from Boston University, was arrested by the police "to be questioned," as said by the police officers who brought him to their headquarters in Jalan Kramat, Central Jakarta. That night a number of youngsters (mostly students) gathered at a house rent by Bondan Gunawan (a member of the Forum Demokrasi, a discussion group consisted of several prominent Indonesian intellectuals).

In that meeting Bob gave a speech (in English) on democratization and Islam using case studies from the Middle East and Indonesia. Sometimes he referred to problems of Islam in Indonesia, that made participants laughing. Police didn't seem to like the discussion, since student participants sometimes asked "sensitive" questions, on presidential succession, etc.

The discussion was attended by a number of students, researchers, scientists, and other figures from the Jakarta intellectual community. In my opinion, there were not more than four plain-cloth officers. To from the police, and two others from the District Military Office.

At 9.30, after the discussion, Bob was approached by police officers who asked him to go to the police station for interrogation. The sponsors of the event refused to let him being brought, because none of the officers brought any letter. They debated for a while, but the police then insisted to bring Bob with them, so the three of the sponsors asked to be brought as well.

In the police office they were interrogated. Bob was asked several times whether he is a supporter of Islam fundamentalism, and whether he does agree to Pancasila, and some other stupid questions. The interrogation went on until 5.00 am. None of them were ill-treated or tortured during the interrogation.

Bob was released at 5.30 after a US embassy staff came to the police office to ask for his release.

PORTUGUESE INVITED TO YOUTH MARCH

Jakarta Post, June 22, 1995

Jakarta (JP): The people of Portugal have been invited to take part in the National Youth March in July and August, which is being planned as part of the celebration surrounding Indonesia's 50th anniversary of independence.

Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, the chief organizer of the event, said after meeting with

President Suharto yesterday that the event was expected to change the prevailing perception of Indonesia among the Portuguese people.

"The image they have of Indonesian people is that we are scary," said Hardiyanti, who is the daughter of the President.

Relations between Indonesia and Portugal have been strained as a result of the dispute over East Timor.

Hardiyanti said the participation of Portuguese citizens was being arranged by the Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association.

Hardiyanti said she hoped a total of 350 young people from 21 countries would take part in the march. Other countries invited include Hungary, Poland, Palestine, Vietnam, Myanmar, Jordan, Zimbabwe, and the United States.

INDONESIAN PRESS HARASSED

POLICE RAID AJI

From TAPOL, 16 March 1995

TAPOL has learnt at 18.00 hours 16th March GMT that the police have raided and are currently occupying the offices of AJI (Alliance Jurnalis Independen), the Independent Journalist Association in Jakarta. Two members of AJI were arrested: Danang and a woman as yet unnamed. Currently the whereabouts of these two are unknown. Documents and other valuable material were confiscated.

This raid happened a few hours after another raid where 30 police officers in plain clothes interfered with a peaceful AJI gathering at the central Jakarta Hotel Wisata International. The gathering, celebrating the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting, was attended by many journalists, domestic and foreign. Journalists at the gathering included those of the Far Eastern Economic Review, The Asian Wall Street Journal, The Australian Broadcasting Company, Reuters, and Associated Press. Some officials of the Swiss, U.S. and Japanese embassies were also in attendance.

Two prominent members of AJI were arrested, without police a warrants, at the hotel. These were Liston P. Siregar and Ahmad Taufik. These two were later released after several hours interrogation.

This is the second wave of raids on the offices of well known non-governmental organisations. On March 10th the offices of PIJAR and ALDERA were raided. At that raid police arrested Tri Agus Siswomihardjo, editor of KDP, the PIJAR publication and have issued warrants for another three

PIJAR members: Hakim Hatta, Andi Yus and Rachland Nashidik.

Analysts have observed that the raids and arrests seem to be connected with the press clampdown in June 1994 when the three major political weeklies were closed down. In the wave of protests in support of press freedom, AJI came into being as well as publications like Independen (AJI publication) and KDP. These publications reached a wide circulation and were published without the compulsory SIUPP printing and publishing licence. The censor-free publications have published refreshing articles and often came with critical views on government policies.

AJI SECRETARY GENERAL ARRESTED

TAPOL Report, 17 March 1995

Achmad Taufik, the Secretary-General of the Alliance of Independent Journalists, was arrested at 6am today, Friday 17 March 1995 and taken from his home.

His arrest took place three hours after he had been allowed to leave the Jakarta police headquarters where he was held for three hours on Thursday night following a police raid on a halal bihalal gathering at a hotel in Jakarta, attended by many well-known dissident figures.

"A number of officers picked up my husband who was sleeping after that terrible night," said Mrs. Taufik, who added that the police came armed with an arrest warrant.

A press release entitled, S.O.S. AJI! issued at 11am, 17 March 1995 said that last month, speculation was rife among NGOs that the government would crack down on five unlicensed periodicals after the closure of three Indonesian weeklies in June last year: Kabar Dari Pijar of PIJAR, Independent of AJI, Mitra the tabloid of the women's organisation Kalyanamitra, Bina Dharma of the Bina Dharma Foundation and KOMPAK Bulletin, an independent journalists publication in Bandung, West Java.

Last week, the police arrested Tri Agus Siswomiharjo, editor of Kabar Dari Pijar. According to the AJI release, they are now looking for the people who edit AJI's INDEPENDEN, the country's emerging samizdat.

IFJ CONDEMNS INDONESIA 'CAMPAIGN OF INTIMIDATION'

Media Release International Federation of Journalists, Brussels, March 17

The International Federation of Journalists, the world's largest organisation of journalists, today condemned the Government of Indonesia for waging "a campaign of fear and intimidation against press freedom" after police raided the officers of the Inde-

pendent Journalists Association (AJI) in Jakarta and arrested two leading members of the Association.

"Indonesian journalists are in the forefront of the struggle for press freedom and the action of the Indonesian authorities is a shocking attempt to bully independent media into submission. The IFJ's member organisations in 92 countries protest most strongly at this campaign of intimidation," said Aidan White, IFJ General Secretary.

The IFJ today launched a solidarity appeal to its members all around the world calling for protests and international action against the Indonesian authorities.

Security officers carried out the raid on the AJI offices yesterday and arrested Ahmad Taufik and Liston Siregar, the General Secretary and Treasurer respectively of AJI, which was admitted into membership of the IFJ last year. The IFJ has called for their immediate and unconditional release.

The Association was founded after a government crackdown in June against three of Indonesia's most prominent weeklies, TAPOL, DeTik and EDITOR.

"The Association has been established to counter state interference in media and state sponsorship of journalists," said the IFJ, "it is vital that the Association and its members are given the fullest demonstration of international solidarity.

"If the Association is suppress and its members are victimised it will be the strongest signal yet that Indonesia is setting its face against press freedom and freedom of expression."

The IFJ is considering with a number of its member organisations in the region the question of sending an international mission of solidarity to Indonesia to investigate the current crisis.

The IFJ has also called upon the agencies of the United Nations to express concern about the latest developments.

"Indonesia must be left in no doubt that the international community rejects absolutely violations of the rights of freedom of association and freedom of expression," said Aidan White.

The IFJ has also called upon Bill Jordan, General Secretary of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions to protest strongly about the raid and the arrests. "It is not just a handful of troublesome journalists whose rights are at stake here," said Aidan White. "The democratic rights of all sections of the community to organise themselves and to speak freely are at stake."

Further information: Phone +32-2 223 2265

Note from TAPOL: Liston Siregar was released along with Ahmad Taufik, after being held for three hours by the police Thursday

night. Ahmad Taufik was re-arrested this morning with a warrant and is now in police custody.

JOURNALISTS' ARRESTS SIGNAL NEW PRESS CRACKDOWN IN INDONESIA

From Article XIX, London, 17 March 1995

ARTICLE 19, the International Centre Against Censorship, strongly condemned the re-arrest today (17 March) of Ahmad Taufik, the Secretary-General of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), who was detained by the police in a dawn raid on his home. He is one of five AJI members arrested in the latest crackdown.

The previous evening (16 March) Ahmad Taufik had been detained for a few hours along with three other AJI staff members and Sri Bintang Pamungkas, an opposition Member of Parliament for the United Development Party (PPP). They had been attending a celebration for the Islamic festival of halal bihalal, at which a number of speakers voiced criticism of the government.

The two AJI members arrested with Ahmad Taufik on the 16th are still in detention. They are Danang, an AJI staff member, and Fikri, a student reporter. Another AJI member, Eko Maryadi, has also been detained. The police have stated that five AJI members are in detention in connection with "illegal publication."

ARTICLE 19 does not yet know the identity of the fifth detainee.

ARTICLE 19 fears that these arrests are part of a new crackdown on independent publications, some of which have been prevented from publishing legally since the June 1994 bannings of three independent publications, DeTik, Tempo and Editor. Since then, independent publications have been frustrated in their efforts to comply with legal technicalities. As a result, some have been publishing without licenses.

AJI, an independent journalists' union, was set up in August 1994 in response to the bannings. It publishes the Independent magazine.

Tri Agus Siswomiharjo, editor of the *Kabar Dari Pijar* magazine, was arrested on 9 March 1995 and is still in detention. *Kabar Dari Pijar* was established, in part, in response to the June 1994 bannings, and has been publishing without a licence.

Sources in Indonesia fear that other independent publications will also be targeted by the government.

Frances D'Souza, ARTICLE 19's Executive Director commented:

These arrests mark a renewed attack on the independent press. We fear that other publications are now in the firing line. International action is urgently needed. The In-

onesian government should be pressed to release Ahmad Taufik and the other detainees, whom we believe are being targeted solely for exercising their right to freedom of expression. The independent press should be freed from the permit requirements and other restrictions used by the government to censor them.

MEDIA AGAINST MEDIA, JOURNALIST AGAINST JOURNALIST

AJI press release, 21 March 1995, Jakarta

Most of the Indonesian media toned down their reporting of the arrest of independent journalists and avoided reporting the press conference held by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) on Monday while giving strategic columns to comments by government officials.

"This is apparently an open conflict between journalists and journalists," said AJI spokesman Andreas Harsono, referring to the growing conflict between the state-sponsored Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia (PWI) and his fledgling union, AJI.

Local channels broadcast interviews with Information Ministers Harmoko, himself a journalist, who was repeatedly said he will close down any media that employs AJI members.

Indonesia currently has one state-owned channel, TVRI, and five privately-run stations, RCTI, SCTV, TPI, AN-Teve and Indosiar. All the private channels are controlled by children and associates of President Suharto.

Harmoko himself started his career as a cartoonist of the *Merdeka* daily in the 1960s. Later he published his own paper, *Pos Kota*, in the early 1970s, during which time he became chairman of the PWI.

In 1993, while keeping his position as Information Minister, Harmoko rose to power as the chairman of the Golkar ruling party.

In a related development, Major-General Syarwan Hamid, spokesman of the armed forces, was quoted by the *Republika* daily as saying that the arrest of AJI members is legal. "The police have done their job legally," Hamid said, referring to the arrests, which were made without warrants and now without lawyers.

Republika, owned by the powerful Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI), ran four separate items on the crackdown of AJI. It quote Tarman Azzam, the chairman of the Jakarta branch of the PWI, as saying that the association will crack down on AJI. During a celebration of Indonesia's National Press Day in South Jakarta on Sunday, he reminded editors that it would be better to sack their employees

who are involved in AJI as soon as possible, before the PWI revokes their recommendation as chief editors.

Azzam revoked the PWI recommendation of the chief editor of Simfoni tabloid (the successor of DeTik), prompting the closure of the tabloid.

In an interview, Media Indonesia quoted Maswadi Rauf, a lecturer on communications at University of Indonesia said that the government should crack down on the emerging underground publications in Indonesia. "The art of journalism is playing within the limit, not against them," he said, commenting that AJI journalists are those who hit their heads against the wall.

On Monday morning, lawyers of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation and some members of AJI met the three detainees, Ahmad Taufik, Eko Maryadi and Danang, at the detention centre of the Jakarta Police HQ. "So far, they are all right, no beating, but intimidation and long questioning, yes," said one of the visitors

JOURNALISTS ARRESTED IN JAKARTA

By Max Lane, Green Left, March 26

Central Jakarta police on March 16 detained without warrant several journalists at a party celebrating the end of the Muslim fasting month. The party was hosted by AJI (Alliance of Independent Journalists), which was formed in the aftermath of the banning of the leading news weeklies Tempo, DeTik and Editor last June, by journalists frustrated with the pro-dictatorship stance of the official Indonesian Journalists Union (PWI).

Detained were presidium chairperson Ahmad Taufik, Liston P. Siregar, outspoken parliamentarian Sri Bintang Pamungkas, Danang, Eko Maryadi, Fitri and one other. Taufik, Sri Bintang and Liston Siregar were later released, but Ahmad Taufik, a former Tempo reporter, was rearrested the next morning - this time with a warrant under old Dutch colonial laws.

Eko Maryadi and the AJI office assistant, Danang, are also still in jail. Sri Bintang was recently removed from parliament under a law that allows party leaders to sack elected MPs.

In addition to these arrests, the PWI has expelled 13 members who signed the founding declaration of AJI. Under Indonesian press regulations, no publisher may employ somebody who is not a member of the PWI; the PWI has now called on editors to sack the AJI journalists. This has been protested by civil liberties groups such as the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation.

The detentions came after the arrest on March 9 of Tri Agus Siswomihardjo, editor of News from Pijar, and a series of actions against alternative publications. In November a labour issues publication of newspaper clippings, Problema, was "visited" by the Jakarta Police, then the Central Jakarta Police, then the Jakarta Military Command and then the local district military command. In February the police confiscated the full collection of Problema held by the conservative Indonesian Labour Foundation.

Last September, the Department of Information also banned Mitra Media, a feminist publication of the women's organisation Kalyanamitra. Later its offices were "visited" by agents of the Political Intelligence section of the Prosecutor General's office.

The AJI has published its magazine, Independen, in defiance of repressive rules requiring all publishers to have a licence.

Independen has been exposing the acquiring of shares in more than 40 Indonesian newspapers and periodicals and in radio and TV stations by the minister for information, Harmoko. Harmoko is the official who issues publishers' licenses and chairperson of the dictatorship's political party, GOLKAR.

Independen recently published an analysis of manoeuvring within the regime in the wake of rumours that President Suharto is suffering a kidney ailment. Independen outlined a struggle emerging between Suharto's cronies, Harmoko and minister for technology Habibie on one side, and parliamentary chairperson Wahono, most of the armed forces officer corps and the Indonesian Democrat Party on the other.

Independen reported that one three-star general had stated that Suharto plans to bring his daughter, Tutut, into the presidency and make the current army chief of staff, Hartono, another crony, vice-president.

AJI spokesperson Andreas Harsono told Green Left Weekly from Jakarta, "We have around 2000 subscribers and around 10,000 regular buyers. And the magazine is multiplied by the information-hungry readers who make copies of it. We must serve those people, especially, because the Indonesian people cannot rely on the licensed publications."

Harsono insisted that they would continue the fight and not give up publishing Independen. "So there is no other choice but moving onward, no retreat. I am sure we can find ways to edit, to publish and sell the magazine."

The crackdown on Indonesia's mushrooming alternative media provoked a revival of SIUPP (Indonesian Solidarity for a Free Press), a coalition formed to fight the dictatorship's banning of Tempo, DeTik

and Editor last June. SIUPP demonstrated outside the National Human Rights Commission on March 20 and at the parliament building on March 21.

Munif Laredo, president of SMID (Students in Solidarity with Democracy of Indonesia) told Green Left Weekly that the 100 demonstrators were demanding the release of the detained AJI and PIJAR (Information Centre and Action Network for Reform) members. "We want a free press and an end to the Publishing Enterprises Permit law. The Indonesian people want the right to free speech and free expression."

The SIUPP delegation included activists from SMID, ALDERA (Peoples Democratic Alliance), FAMI (Indonesian Students Action Front), INFIGHT (Indonesian Front for Human Rights), feminist activists from KPPP (Women for a Free Press) and workers from PPBI (Centre for Workers Struggles).

The delegation met the parliamentary leader of the Indonesian Democrat Party, Sutarjo, who stated that his party disagreed with the government's actions.

"We are delighted to see that students and NGOs have started to express their protest over the arrest of our friends," Harsono told Green Left Weekly, while also emphasising the need for journalists to continue fighting. "AJI has no choice but to keep on resisting. Who else but journalists must spearhead the struggle for press freedom?"

According to Munif Laredo from SMID, the students will continue their actions as well.

GOVERNMENT ASKS EDITORS TO FIRE AJI JOURNALISTS

From Reporters sans frontieres, March 29
RSF is an independent organization fighting for freedom of the press throughout the world, having consultative status with the Council of Europe, the United Nations and UNESCO

On 28th March 1995, the government asked editors of several newspapers to fire 45 journalists because they were members of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) and were among the 58 signatories of the "Sirnagalih statement," which is the founding act of this organisation. According to our sources, some editors under pressure have blackmailed several staff reporters, forcing them to leave the AJI or to resign. This odious blackmail is the direct consequence of a governmental order.

Reporters sans frontieres demands that detained AJI members be immediately and

unconditionally released. We also demand that the AJI be recognized as an independent journalists' organization and that its right to defend freely the independence and freedom of Indonesian journalists be guaranteed. No journalist can be fired or blackmailed because of his commitment to press freedom.

Reporters sans frontieres 5, rue Geoffroy Marie 75009 Paris - France tel(33 1) 44 83 84 84 - fax(33 1) 45 23 11 51 e-mailrfs@gn.apc.org

Attention of President Suharto c/o Foreign Ministry Jakarta Indonesia

Paris, 28th March 1995

Mister President,

Reporters sans frontieres, an independent organization fighting for press freedom worldwide, strongly protests against the harassment of journalists who are members of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI).

On 28th March 1995, the government asked editors of several newspapers to fire 45 journalists because they were members of the AJI and were among the 58 signatories of the "Sirnagalih statement," which is the founder act of this organisation. According to our sources, some editors under pressure have blackmailed several staff reporters, forcing them to leave the AJI or to resign. This odious blackmail is the direct consequence of a governmental order.

Most of the 45 journalists belong to the Suara Pembaruan, Jakarta Post, Bisnis Indonesia and Kompas dailies, Forum Keadilan biweekly and the Jakarta Jakarta monthly. The 13 other journalists who signed the "Sirnagalih statement" were penalized by order of the ministry of Information.

The AJI, which is Indonesia's only independent press organization, has, since its creation on 7 August 1994, been subject to constant and increasing pressure on the part of the government. Its members regularly face repressive measures imposed by the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI), an official organization controlled by the government. Recently, several journalists and employees belonging to the AJI were arrested. Three were charged with illegally publishing the *Independen* magazine.

Reporters sans frontieres demands that detained AJI members be immediately and unconditionally released. We also demand that the AJI be recognized as an independent journalists' organization and that its right to defend freely the independence and freedom of Indonesian journalists be guaranteed. No journalist should be fired or blackmailed because of his commitment for press freedom.

We look forward to hearing from you,
Yours sincerely,

Robert Menard Director of Reporters sans frontieres

- C.C: Alliance of Independent Journalists - PWI - Ambassade d'Indonesie ^ Paris - AFP - AP - Reuter - Amnesty International - Article 19 - Canadian Committee to protect journalists - Comite International de la Croix Rouge - Commission des droits de l'homme des Nations unies - Federation internationale des editeurs de journaux - Federation internationale des journalistes - Fund for free expression - Index on censorship - International pen - International press institute - Unesco - World press freedom committee.

BULLETINS VERSUS BULLETS: THE POLITICS OF THE ALTERNATIVE MEDIA IN INDONESIA

(Paper for "ASIA 95" Lunchtime Seminar on Friday, 7 April 1995, 1-2pm organized by the Centre for Asian Studies of the University of Western Australia, Perth)

By George J. Aditjondro

Thursday, 9 and 16 March 1995 have become dates that are hard to forget for the embryonic opposition in Indonesia, because those were the days that the security apparatus in Indonesia began cracking down on the alternative media in Jakarta. On March 9, 1995, the editor of *Kabar dari Pijar*, Tri Agus Siswomiharjo, was arrested by Jakarta police and military who visited the office of Yayasan Pijar, a student based NGO in Jakarta. And a week later, again on a Thursday March 16, a party of AJI, the nationwide alternative journalist association was busted by security agents, and two AJI functionaries Ahmad Taufik, Eko Maryadi were detained by the policemen. Eko Maryadi was the editor of *Independen*, AJI's magazine, while Ahmad Taufik was the organization's presidium chair.

Until last week, demonstrations by students and other activists against the arrests of Pijar and AJI leaders were still taking place in Java. They have reinstated the alliance formed last year, when three mainstream or commercial newsmedia were banned called SIUPP (Solidaritas Indonesia untuk Pemerdekaan Pers). And although Eko Maryadi and Ahmad Taufik are still in the police detention centres, *Independen* is still being published. This epitomizes the current pro-democracy struggle taking place in Indonesia: the David versus Goliath struggle of mostly young Indonesians, armed only with bulletins versus the military-backed oligarchy in Indonesia, which often answered public protests in East Timor and Indonesia with bullets.

In my 1993 thesis on the media coverage of the Kedungombo dam dispute, I divided the printed media which covered the dispute simply into the mainstream media and the non-mainstream media. These "non-mainstream media" is what I now call the "alternative media." These non-mainstream media I divided into three groups in my thesis, namely the religious media; the anti-capitalist media and the student press.

The religious media constitutes the various magazines issued by full-time professional publishers, which aim at spreading their religion and upholding of their religious values. Obviously, the Islamic press constituted the majority of the religious media.

Then, what I call the "anti-capitalist media" are bulletins which are published by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that employ full-time reports and editors. These bulletins with circulations of only 500 to 1,000 copies regularly covered the experiences of the groups in the Indonesian society who were marginalized or victimized by the capitalistic development strategy, such as laborers, consumers, victims of environmental degradation in urban and rural settings.

Finally, the third type of non-mainstream media which played an important role in covering Kedungombo was the student press. These student bulletins have as small a circulation as the NGO media mentioned earlier, and lack the full-time management and journalism that characterized the publications issued by the more professional NGOs, since their reporters and editors were still pursuing their university education.

However, the student media played an important role in educating their readers about the dispute that was taking place at Kedungombo, and were influential in radicalizing those readers in taking action on behalf of the displaced villagers.

So much about the form, and now about the content. In my thesis I had shown that despite its unwritten mission to challenge the official policy of the government, most of the bulletins followed the government's official policy in building large dams, and only challenged the way that policy was carried out. Hence, my doubts, which I raised in some earlier articles, before I finished my thesis, whether the NGOs student based and otherwise could really become a "counter-hegemonic force."

The banning of three important news weeklies in July 1994 blew a new life in the non-mainstream media. However, from the three subgroups which I delineated earlier, a distinction needs to be made between the religious media and the two others. With an increasing targeting of Habibie, Indonesia's R&T Minister who also chairs the Suharto-

established Islamic scholars association, ICMI, a rift began to develop between the Islamic media and the two other "branches" of the non-mainstream media, which is taking a more and more oppositional stance towards the ruling elite in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the Islamic media has become more and more worried about the socialist sympathy within the growing campus-based opposition in Indonesia.

Let us now return to the more oppositional alternative media in Indonesia. As I mentioned earlier, the banning of Tempo, Editor and DeTik became a blessing in disguise for the alternative media in Indonesia. Senior journalists from Tempo and DeTik who did not receive new licenses (SIUPP) from the Department of Information, began to align themselves with AJI's bulletin, *Independen*. So did younger journalists who were fired from the remaining mainstream media, or who were still trying to carry out a kind of "dual function" between earning their living in the mainstream media while exercising their more genuine freedom of expression and their moral obligation to inform the public, by writing in and for those more radical bulletins.

The more oppositional alternative media, especially *Independen*, began to move from campuses to readers on the buses and airplanes. Members of the educated elite began to subscribe to *Independen*, as in the case of some of student newspapers in the beginning of the New Order era, when *Harian Kami* and other student newspapers were sold in public places beyond the campus walls.

Content wise, the attraction of those alternative media lies in the fact that they dared to cover the vested interest of the ruling elite, or the oligarchy which the mainstream media could not cover. The vested interest of the information minister, Harmoko, whose family members control shares in at least 30 print and electronic media became known to the public.

Quo vadis, political journalism ?

The birth of *Independen*, and the increasing popularity of other alternative media, such as *Kabar dari Pijar*, which had began publishing before the emergence of *Independen*, indicates a re-birth of "political journalism," which Daniel Dhakidae, buried in his 1990 thesis on the media in Indonesia. There are some parallels though, with the current re-birth of political journalism and the political journalism of the 1970s described by Dhakidae. Namely, these bulletins emerged together with the re-appearance of student demonstrations in the streets of Jakarta and other major cities in Indonesia. In other words, political journalism "feeds" from political student activism.

There are also some differences between the political activism of the 1970s and the 1990s. One, in the 1970s, the students made some alliances with segments within the military, and their criticism against the regime were mainly addressed to Suharto, who at that time had not made peace with political Islam in Indonesia. Now in the 1990s the students seem to be quite cynical of older dissidents who were seen to be quite close with some military officers. Their criticism is not only addressed to Soeharto's nepotism and vested interest, but also at the "security approach" of the military, an euphemism for the military's dual function.

On the other hand, however, Suharto, through his two most faithful right arms, Habibie and Harmoko, in addition to his newly appointed army chief of staff, Hartono, has made peace with political Islam, thereby weakening the political muscles of the embryonic opposition in Indonesia. And both the army as well as political Islam are still allergic to the pro-socialist rhetoric of the newborn young opposition in Indonesia.

Hence, we still have to see, how solid and persistent this newborn opposition in Indonesia is going to develop, and how far they will communicate with the public at large with their bulletins. Because without a solid mass-base among the urban working and middle classes, as well as with the rural peasantry and the revolting masses in the geographical peripheries, they will become easy prey for the hawks.

That is why good bulletins are so important, as proven in history by Antonio Gramsci's workers paper, *l'Ordine Nuove* in Turino, Italy, or Soekarno's nationalist paper, *Pikiran Rakyat* in Bandung, Indonesia.

IFJ: CRACKDOWN CREATES FEAR

Voice of America, 4/13/95. By Dan Robinson, Bangkok

Intro: A five-member delegation representing the international federation of journalists says an Indonesian government crackdown has created a climate of insecurity and fear among journalists in that country. VOA correspondent Dan Robinson reports from our southeast Asia bureau, members of the delegation issued a statement in Jakarta after completing a fact-finding mission:

Text: The delegation says conditions for press freedom have deteriorated rapidly since the government banned three popular news magazines last year.

In its words – there is widespread and legitimate concern that the press situation will

worsen further to the detriment of democracy.

Delegation members met journalists, editors, human rights groups, and trade unionists. A main purpose was to assess the situation of the alliance of independent journalists, formed by ex-employees of the three weeklies banned in 1994 as an alternative to the single government-sanctioned union.

The bannings and recent arrests of members of the independent union have been criticized by foreign governments and human rights groups.

Indonesian media enjoyed an unprecedented period of openness until last year's bannings. The government generally rejects western-style press freedom, saying journalists must help maintain stability and unity.

Thursday's statement by the visiting delegation from the international federation said Indonesian journalists are being harassed, victimized and threatened with loss of their livelihood.

OPEN LETTER FROM IMPRISONED JOURNALISTS

All Journalists, Unite!

From Jakarta District Police Office's detention, we would like to express our congratulation to all International Federation of Journalists' delegation members who are gathering for IFJ's 22nd Congress in Santander, Spain.

We hope that the participation of Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) in the on-going congress will become a useful one, and may this not be AJI's first and only participation.

We would like as well to thank sincerely to IFJ's Secretary General Mr. Aidan White and his group who have visited us in our cell in Jakarta last month. The short meeting was a fresh touch for us who are in misery.

And, we hope our two colleagues: Santoso (AJI's Secretary General) and Lenah Susianty (AJI's member) who are attending this meeting can explain to you the general situation faced by Indonesian press and problems we are personally confronting.

However, there are some important points that we would like to share with you all which is related to our detention.

Firstly: Ahmad Taufik (Head of AJI Presidium) and Eko Maryadi (AJI's member) have been officially arrested since March 1995. Another person, who is also with us in jail, is Danang Kukuh Wardoyo (18 years old), a high-school graduate, who was a helper in AJI's office in Central Jakarta. It should be made clear about what his position was, since there are some wrong reports about him which unfortunately could lead him to unwanted punishment. Wardoyo is

not and has never been AJI's member. His presence in AJI's office and activities was simply due to his job as a helper and was not related to any of our activities. We do regret that Wardoyo is 'forced' to be involved in our problem without any logical reason.

Secondly: It has been clearly stated since the first time that AJI is responsible of the publication of the so-called unlicensed (that is the way the government calls our magazine) magazine *Independen* which is now questioned by the government of Indonesia, or precisely by the Ministry of Information and the government-backed Indonesian Association of Journalists (PWI). We have decided not to apply for any license for our publication since according to the article 28 of our 1945 Constitution, every citizen is granted with freedom of expression and of participating in any organization. Besides, in practice, the license is used as well to control mass media. Our cooperation in police's interrogation sessions prove obviously our responsibility. And now, we are facing a possible charge of publishing illegal magazine with the maximum penalty of 4 years in jail.

Third: It is hard to accept the Indonesian government's accusation that we have broken the article 154 of Indonesia's Criminal Code or the article of hate sowing. By breaking this article, the maximum penalty can be as long as 7 years in jail. Surely, this is very frightening situation for young people like us.

Fourth: Our condition in the jail is surely less comfortable than outside the jail. Three of us, we are together occupying a 52 square meters dimly-lighted and stuffy room, and surrounded by thick walls and forever-locked metal door. We sleep on floor without any mattress and eat unappetizing food. We should be ready all the time to be interrogated and asked many illogical questions which slowly drive us crazy. Based on the letter of arrest, issued by the chief public prosecutor, if it is needed it is possible to extend our detention time span to after May 15 (which is the time limit). After May 15, we will be brought to the court. There's no idea what will happen to us.

We fully realize that what have happened and is happening to us is actually a strong indication of the fragile position of Indonesian journalists before the authoritarian government. However, we are also concerned of what is facing by our fellow journalists in other countries all around the world. The killing of journalists in Algeria, for example, or pressures faced by journalists in Vietnam, China, Nepal, remind us strongly that journalists' struggle for freedom of the press, humanity, justice and peace is still far away. Considering such situation, there is no rea-

son for us to weep, to ask other's pity and to stop our attempt. We are sure that, although there are some limits, our spirit will not easily be changed. We only hope that what AJI members are doing now can contribute, no matter how little it is, to the brighter future of our country and to the humanity all over the world. Ideas and concrete implementation of free press, independent press, democracy, humanity and social justice have become now global phenomenon which should be applied by everyone in the world, including us the journalists.

Jakarta April 25, 1995

With best regards

Ahmad Taufik and Eko Maryadi.

JOURNALISTS WRITE FROM PRISON

Mon 22 May 1995. From Goenawan Mohamad Susatyo

Ahmad Taufiq, Eko Muryadi and Triagus, the three detained journalists who produced unlicensed news publications, sent their message today. "From behind prison's door we will struggle for freedom of the press... This is just a little jail. The big jail is the condition of no freedom to write and to speak."

They are apparently in a very good spirit. To friends and relatives who visited them this afternoon they expressed no complaint concerning the way they have been treated. They can read books and newspapers and write. They joked that they might ask the warden's permit to publish a *Salem* Prison Bulletin.

The three of them were arrested last month, and are soon to be charged for breaking article 154 of the KUHP (the criminal law) as well as article 19 of the Press Law. Article 154 is a notorious legal document dated from the Dutch colonial time. Anyone guilty of spreading hatred against the government, according this law, can be sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment. Article 19 says that anyone guilty of producing and distributing unlicensed news publication can get 4 years jail as the maximum punishment.

KPKP (Women's Group for the Freedom of the Press) organizes regular visits to the prison. Members of "Pijar," a pro-democracy group, and AJI (the Alliance of Independent Journalists), are among regular visitors to the three detained newsmen. Triagus was the editor of "Kabar Dari Pijar" (Reports from Pijar) until his arrest. Ahmad Taufiq and Eko Muryadi ran "Forum Wartawan Independen," a bulletin supported by AJI members that won public attention after publishing Minister Harmoko's business interest in about 30 publications he gave licenses to.

AJI, KPKP and Pijar members are concerned with the condition of Danang, a 19 year old student who used to be an office helper at AJI's work place. He is detained in Pondok Bambu jail, together with young criminals in various juvenile delinquency cases. Although the prison staff's treatment has been very good, Danang is under stress seeing young kids abused by prison bullies. Members of KPKP and AJI came to the Pondok Bambu prison to celebrate his 19th birthday on May 20. But he was scared to accept gifts from friends.

PRESS FREEDOM IN INDONESIA DETERIORATING

By Bob Mantiri

BRUSSELS, Apr. 26 (IPS) - The Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) will use its World Congress next week in Santander, Spain, to focus attention on the "deteriorating situation of the press in Indonesia."

"There is widespread and legitimate concern that the press situation will worsen further," secretary-general of the IFJ, Aidan White, said in a press conference at the European Parliament. White took part in a five-member mission which made a fact-finding trip to Indonesia from Apr. 11-13. Among them was the vice-chairman of the European Parliament's human rights committee, Leonie van Bladel.

Van Bladel said that she left the Indonesian authorities in no doubt that she will "closely monitor developments with regard to position of the Indonesian Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), which has been banned by the government."

During their talks with the authorities White and Van Bladel made an urgent appeal to release the five jailed leaders of the (AJI) organization.

The mission had secretly visited the journalists, who had to share prison cells with ordinary criminals, some of them violent. "They are treated relatively well, but when we spoke to them they also showed grave concern for their safety," Van Bladel said. Lawyers from the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundations (LBH), who are representing the AJI members, told the mission that AJI president Ahmad Taufik, Eko Maryadi and Danang were charged with selling the AJI paper the "Independent" to the public without a necessary license.

The lawyers told the mission that the arrest has nothing to do with the contents of the magazine, but with the process that culminated in the banning of the magazines DeTik, Editor and Tempo last year.

According to Aidan White, the jailed AJI members expressed great concern for their

colleagues and feared that further action would be taken against activists from their organization.

"They appreciated very much the international support which they had received and hoped that it would continue," Aidan White said. One of the findings of the mission during the three day fact-finding trip is that the authorities and the government-supported Association of Journalists (PWI) are "leading a campaign which is directed against independent journalists and, as a result, against press freedom and free expression."

It further finds that this campaign is "designed to isolate and penalize independent journalists and, through fear and intimidation, to encourage self-censorship within the media. "Official interference in the press has created a climate of insecurity where individual journalists are being victimized and threatened with the loss of their livelihood. Journalists and other media professionals are inhibited from speaking openly about press freedom and democracy," the report said.

White and van Bladel further noted the limited response of the international community to the crisis for democracy in Indonesia. They believe that "vigorous diplomatic initiatives should be undertaken to express in public and in strong terms the rejection of the policies now being pursued by the Indonesian authorities against independent media."

In its report "Indonesia: Journalism out of the Shadows," the five-member mission recommends that the Indonesian government should cease the banning of independent publications and discourage the harassment and victimization of individual journalists.

Furthermore, it suggest that "to put an end to the arbitrary process of ministerial decree by which media policy is held hostage to the political process."

And "to prepare a new legal framework for freedom of the press which honours in practice the principles of freedom of expression set out in the Indonesian constitution."

According to White the International Federation of Journalists should, in cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Union (ICFTU), Unesco and regional organizations of journalists prepare a program of professional cooperation and assistance to enhance the quality of ethical and independent journalism in Indonesia.

He also recommends that international missions and visits should be carried out and that IFJ and the International Journalists Safety Service would continue to monitor developments in Indonesia through the IFJ Asia-Pacific Regional Office in Kuala Lumpur and promote regional and international

solidarity with the banned AJI and all independent journalists.

Van Bladel said that she will seek to make EU funds available to foster on the spot training programs for journalists, in close consultation with the IFJ and in line "with the wishes of the official trade union PWI (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia)."

TEMPO WINS CASE AGAINST HARMOKO

INDONESIAN COURT REJECTS MAGAZINE BAN

Reuter, 3 May 1995. By Lewa Pardomuan. Abridged

An Indonesian court on Wednesday ruled against a government ban imposed last June on the weekly magazine Tempo, saying the ban conflicted with laws preventing censorship.

To the cheers of activists, students and journalists, the Jakarta Administrative Court ordered the government to issue a fresh licence to the magazine's publisher, Goenawan Mohamad.

"We hope this verdict will give a little contribution to this republic, which celebrates its 50th anniversary on August 17," Presiding Judge Benjamin Mangkoedilaga told reporters after handing down his decision.

Information Minister Harmoko, whose ministry issued the ban, told reporters he had not heard the verdict. Lawyers representing him in the case refused comment when asked if they would appeal against the decision.

The court also ruled in favour of a suit filed by Tempo employees against Harmoko for the loss of jobs resulting from the ban.

"The judges' guts will be the pride of other judges in Indonesia," Goenawan told reporters after the hearing.

He said the news magazine would be ready to reappear if Harmoko or his ministry did not appeal against the decision.

Tempo was banned last June along with two other weeklies after they published increasingly critical coverage of political life under long-serving President Suharto, who has ruled Indonesia with a firm hand since the late 1960s.

"The ministerial decree that banned Tempo in 1994 is contradictory to the press law, which says that in Indonesia there is no such censorship or press banning," the three judges said in their concluding statement read by Mangkoedilaga.

The court upheld a suit filed by Goenawan, Tempo's founder, saying the publishers had not been allowed to defend themselves against a ministerial decree accusing

the magazine of failing to accord to a "free, healthy and responsible" press.

Several leading dissident figures, including former Jakarta Governor Ali Sadikin, poet W.S. Rendra and ousted member of parliament Sri Bintang Pamungkas attended the hearing.

The co-founder of Tempo, Fikri Jufri, wept openly when he heard the verdict.

"This is an encouraging situation in this kind of political condition. There are judges who still have a strong commitment," Jufri told Reuters. "This is extraordinary."

It was not immediately clear whether Tempo would be allowed to resume publication, even if Harmoko or his ministry did not appeal against Wednesday's decision.

Harmoko was quoted by The Jakarta Post in December as saying no new news periodicals would be allowed to publish in 1995.

Two weeklies were given licenses last year after the Tempo ban. They were Gatra, co-owned by timber baron Muhammad Hasan, and Tiras, launched after a capital injection from the ALatief Corporation, owned by Manpower Minister Abdul Latief.

TEMPO AND PRESS FREEDOM DAY

Press release by Article XIX. 3 May 1995

On 3 May, Indonesia's administrative court in Jakarta overturned the ban on Tempo magazine, imposed on 21 June 1994. The judge ordered the Ministry of Information to grant a new licence to Tempo, saying that the decree which revoked the permit was legally flawed.

The verdict was welcomed by ARTICLE XIX's Executive Director, Frances D'Souza. "We couldn't hope for better news on International Press Freedom Day." Tempo participated in the Article XIX celebration of Press Freedom Day by producing a special Press Freedom Day edition: one blank page marked CENSORED.

Article XIX notes that grave concerns remain about the suppression of the press in Indonesia. According to Frances D'Souza, "After the closure of Tempo and two other publications, Editor and DeTik, journalists from the banned papers joined together with colleagues to form an independent trade union, the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), dedicated to upholding press freedom. Journalists associated with AJI have consistently been refused permits to establish news publications; and when they produce unlicensed periodicals, they suffered arrest and harassment. The PWI, the government-sponsored professional association, sought to prevent editors from employing any AJI members. Three journalists and an AJI employee, arrested in March

1995, are still detained. Only when they are free again, and free to publish will the world be convinced by Indonesia's aspirations to regional leadership."

Article XIX has become increasingly concerned about the use of legal technicalities to harass and intimidate the press worldwide.

TEMPO COURT ORDER

Forum Keadilan, 25 May 1995 Translated from Indonesian. Brief items

A series of articles examines in detail the State Administrative Court (PTUN) judgment in favour of Tempo and against the Information Minister. Of interest is an article about the powers of the PTUN. Whether a PTUN decision is executed depends on the attitude of the government official concerned. Judge Benjamin Mangkoedilaga says when the court was set up [in 1991] only 'fifty-fifty' of its decisions were honoured, but the ratio has since improved. MenPan Sarwono (in charge of the bureaucracy) has been ordered many times to reinstate sacked workers, and has always complied. Prof. Paulus Lotulung, legal expert at the High Court, says that if, when the appeal process has been exhausted and the decision remains against the government, the official concerned ignores the court order, then the court will report to that official's immediate superior. If necessary such reporting will go right up to the President. If the President also refuses to comply, then there is no further course of action, said Lotulung.

THE HAZARDOUS BUSINESS OF JOURNALISM IN INDONESIA

Publico, 3 May 1995. By J. T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) will be discussing the issue at their Congress.

Timor is not the only pebble in General Suharto's shoe. One year after the banning of three weekly magazines led to general outcry, a new crackdown on Indonesia's alternative press is causing further damage to the regime's international image. Raids on premises, arrests of journalists, threats and blackmail, are aspects of the repression which is worrying the IFJ, holding its Congress in the Basque city of Santander.

It was the night of 10 March 1995 in Jakarta. Indonesian police raided the headquarters of the PIJAR Foundation, confiscated documents, diskettes and computers, and arrested Tri Agus Siswomiharjo, the man said to be responsible for producing a publication, "KDP" (Kabar Dari Pijar), for the

active non-governmental PIJAR organisation. After a three-hour interrogation, Tri Agus was released. Not long after he returned to his home and went to bed, the police were banging on his door and he was re-arrested, this time for good.

Jakarta, 17 March 1995. Indonesian police raided a gathering organised by the Alliance of Independent Journalists, AJI, being held in a Jakarta hotel to celebrate the end of Ramadan, the Muslim fasting month. Five members of the AJI were arrested. In the early hours of the following day, a further four AJI members were arrested. Ahmad Taufik, Secretary General of the AJI, was released with others after being interrogated, but re-arrested a few hours later and kept in detention.

It was clear that a new wave of repression was sweeping over the alternative press in Indonesia. Less than a year had gone by since the banning of three weekly magazines which the regime had considered troublesome.

Since the Jakarta Government banned distribution in June 1994 of "Tempo," "Editor" and "DeTik," other publications, such as "KDP" published by the PIJAR Foundation, and the AJI's "Independen" have begun to flourish.

Published without the government licence required for the "regular" Indonesian press, and much sought after by readers hungry for news not found in other publications, the "KDP" and "Independen," quickly sell out. The phenomenon has swept through the universities, where the pro-democracy movement is focusing much of its energies on publishing bulletins. Meanwhile, the Indonesian alternative press, which is more credible than the state censored newspapers and magazines, is being increasingly quoted by the most important international news agencies.

The harsh Jakarta Government crackdown was just a matter of time. The warrant carried by the police who raided the PIJAR premises contained a reference to Article 154 of the Indonesian Criminal Code, which states that "to insult the Government" is a crime punishable by up to seven years' imprisonment.

The Government repression unleashed on the daring of the new Indonesian press was not limited to raids on premises and the arrests of activists and journalists committed to fighting for freedom of expression in Suharto's country.

"Journalists against Journalists"

On 18 March, one day after the raids and arrests at the PIJAR, the Jakarta branch of the PWI, the Indonesian Journalists' official "trade union," announced the expulsion of thirteen professionals. Their crime - having signed the Declaration which led to the crea-

tion of the Alliance of Independent Journalists in August last year.

In practice, expulsion from the PWI means that the 13 journalists will be unable to get a job on any non-alternative publication. Since the alternative publications have been closed down, it means they cannot exercise their profession.

The PWI, the only authorised journalists' "trade union" in the Indonesian corporate system, has gone even further. It is also threatening further expulsions in other cities (the other 50 signatories to the Declaration are now afraid they will lose their jobs) and is appealing to newspaper publishers not to employ anyone linked to the AJI. The Ministry of Information has backed this appeal by stating that anyone not heeding this "guidance" could forfeit the PWI's "confidence" which, in other words, would mean the end of the publication.

This collaboration between the Ministry of Information and the PWI was referred to by the AJI, when it denounced the government's strategy of dividing the profession by setting "journalists against journalists." Information Minister Harmoko, a loyal "Suhartist," began his career as a cartoonist and, before becoming a member of the General's government, was himself a leader of the PWI.

Last June, when the closure of the three weekly magazines led to reactions from all quarters, the PWI issued a communiqué stating that it "understood" the Government's decision.

However, what the PWI has no control over is the echo abroad to the moves affecting the Indonesian press. The clamp down on the PIJAR and AJI, and the threats from the official "union" have had an immediate response from the International Federation of Journalists and led the US Embassy in Jakarta to issue a strong statement on the matter.

There have also been developments within Indonesia itself. On 21 March, about 70 people protested in Jakarta against the government's measures. In Bandung, students also took to the streets to demonstrate. The two protests were reported by the uncensored publications that managed to get on to the streets. Furthermore, within the Government's own party, Golkar, some people are even beginning to question the right to close publications that bother Suharto.

While television causes the regime no trouble (in addition to one state-run channel, there are five private channels - all controlled by the Suharto family), the press is becoming an increasingly complicated problem for Jakarta's General.

These attacks on freedom of information, combined with the repression of trade un-

ions and the issue of East Timor are contributing to undermine the external image of a country which has its sight set on the international scene, chairs the Non-Aligned Movement, and aspires to a place on the UN Security Council as permanent member.

PRAMUDYA'S BOOK ON BURU BANNED

From TAPOL, May 12

According to a decision of the Attorney-General dated 19 April 1995, the latest book to be published in Indonesia by the country's foremost writer, Pramodya Ananta Toer, *Silent Song of a Dumb Man* [Nyanyian Sunyi Seorang Bisu] has been banned because 'it contains distortions that could create erroneous opinions about the Government of the Republic of Indonesia ... and its continued circulation might cause unrest and disturb the public order.'

The book, published by Lentera, consists of nine essays about Pramodya's experiences during his ten years as a prisoner at the hard labour penal colony on Buru Island. For a review of the book, see TAPOL Bulletin, No. 128, April 1995.

ONE YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF BANNING OF INDONESIAN PUBLICATIONS MARKED

Statement from The Canadian Committee to Protect Journalists (490 Adelaide Street West, # 205, Toronto, ONTARIO M5V 1T2 CANADA Tel: 416-703-1638; Fax: 416-703-7034; E-mail: ccpj@web.apc.org), 20 June 1995.

On 21 June 1994, the Indonesian government revoked the publishing permits of the three leading newsweeklies "Tempo," "Editor," and "DeTik." On the anniversary of this repressive measure, the Canadian Committee to Protect Journalists (CCPJ), an independent organization dedicated to freedom of expression, has joined other press freedom groups worldwide in condemning the bannings and the continued crackdown on the press that followed. Although a panel of judges in a Jakarta court overturned the ban on "Tempo" on 4 May, many people believe a higher court will overturn the decision upon appeal. Many other violations persist.

PEN American Center, the coordinator of the joint action, has written a letter of protest to President Suharto on behalf of the CCPJ, Human Rights Watch and others. It states, in part, "Since the closures of the three papers, a pattern of censorship has emerged, affecting all of Indonesia's journalistic and literary community." This includes

the harassment of the union founded in the wake of the bannings, the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), whose president, Ahmad Taufik, was arrested with AJI member Eko Maryadi and office helper Danang Kukuh Wardoyo in March. The three went on trial in Jakarta on 16 June for publishing an unlicensed magazine and publicly expressing "hostility, hatred, and contempt" toward the Indonesian government, reported the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), New York.

The joint letter to Suharto mentions other ways in which AJI members have been harassed. Andreas Harsono was dismissed from his job at "The Jakarta Post" because of his involvement in AJI activities. AJI Secretary-General Santoso was dismissed from his job at "Forum Keadilan" and is currently in hiding in Jakarta. At least thirteen AJI members have been expelled from the Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia (PWI), the official Indonesian Journalists' Association. Former "Tempo" Editor-in-Chief and AJI founder Goenawan Mohamad was also threatened with arrest after government officials claimed he was partly responsible for demonstrations in Germany during President Soeharto's visit in April. Other violations include: the indictment of academic Dr. George Aditjondro; the arrest of editor Tri Agus Susanto; continuing restrictions on ex-political prisoners; the banning of the works of novelist Pramodya Ananta Toer; the continuing imprisonment of Adnan Beuransyah and Filomeno Da Silva Ferreira, whom PEN regards as being imprisoned merely for exercising their right to freedom of expression.

PRESS CLOSURES IN INDONESIA ONE YEAR LATER

Press Release from Human Rights Watch/Asia, June 21, 1995

Today marks the first anniversary of the Indonesian government's ban on three popular Indonesian news publications: the weekly magazines, Tempo and Editor, and the tabloid newspaper, DeTik. The ban reversed a trend toward greater openness in Indonesia and was followed by harassment, including arrests, of independent journalists; attempts to prevent discussions of social and political issues from taking place in the media or in seminars; and gag orders, detention proceedings, and other punitive measures against well-known critics or political opponents of the government. The ban on the three publications, apparently triggered by a Tempo article critical of Suharto favorite B.J. Habibie, Minister of Research and Technology, also caused unprecedented public outrage and street demonstrations in Jakarta and other cities. It led to the forma-

tion in August 1994 of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI, in its Indonesian acronym), a direct challenge to the government-sponsored Association of Indonesian Journalists (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia or PWI). On Friday, June 16, 1995, the trial of three AJI members opened in Central Jakarta District Court. They are charged, among other things, with spreading hatred toward the government for publishing a bulletin of lively and critical political commentary.

Human Rights Watch calls on the Indonesian government to release all those detained for peaceful expression of their opinion; to end the use of the "spreading hatred" clauses of the Indonesian Criminal Code and work towards their elimination from the code; and to show the kind of tolerance for differing views that Indonesian officials up to and including President Suharto have said is the hallmark of a mature state.

Tightening Controls on Freedom of Expression

The AJI trial, described in detail below, is only one manifestation of a systematic crackdown on freedom of expression in general that has taken place since June 21, 1994. The following is by no means a comprehensive list.

On September 7, 1994, a seminar on "Pluralism of Laws on Land Rights in Indonesia" was broken up by the police. The seminar was organized by the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia or YLBHI). The police argued that the organizers did not have permit to organize such a seminar, a violation of Article 510 of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP). YLBHI then filed a lawsuit against the South Jakarta Police for breaking up their seminar on the grounds that Article 510 does not apply to academic seminars. According to YLBHI, Article 510 refers mainly to such gathering such as parades, festivals, parties and other kinds of public celebrations. The court ruled in favor for the Institute supporting the argument that Article 510 could not be applied to the Institute's seminar and therefore ruled out police action to break up such a seminar. Several members of the Indonesian parliament contended that the seminar might have been broken up because YLBHI has been a strong critic of the government, according to a Jakarta daily newspaper.

A famous Indonesian psychic, Permadi, who is also the founder of a public interest organization called the Indonesian Consumer Institute (Lembaga Konsumen Indonesia) was formally charged on May 14, 1995 for blasphemy by characterizing the Prophet Mohammad as a "dictator" who failed to create a just and prosperous society. Per-

medi was said to have made the above statement in Yogyakarta, Central Java, in a seminar on "Democracy and Succession" on April 27-28, 1994. Indonesia's ruling party GOLKAR has also plan to sue Permadi over his alleged statement that "GOLKAR was worse than the Communist Party of Indonesia" in a radio interview. He is currently awaiting trial in Yogyakarta.

On March 9, Tri Agus, editor of *Kabar Dari Pijar*, was arrested in a police raid of the Pijar Foundation office. *Kabar Dari Pijar* is a newsletter of the Pijar Foundation, a Jakarta-based activist organization which has been involved in many peaceful protests around Jakarta in the last several years. The July 1994 issue of *Kabar dari Pijar* urged readers to have the courage to speak out, even if doing so meant imprisonment. It also called for Minister Harmoko to be hung in effigy for his role in the press closures. Tri Agus has since then been charged under Article 154 of the Indonesian Criminal Code.

On March 17, 1995, the Jakarta branch of PWI announced the expulsion of thirteen of its members, who were also AJI members, for signing the so-called Sirnagalih Declaration in August of 1994. The Declaration had rejected PWI as the sole journalists' organization recognized by the government and declared the establishment of AJI. Many of those sacked from PWI had been employed by the publications banned in June 1994. Minister of Information Harmoko also warned the media against employing AJI members, threatening government action against those which did. Baharuddin Lopa, member of the National Human Rights Commission, called PWI's action as "a violation of human rights."

On March 23, 1995, the head of the Jakarta branch of PWI called chief editors from eight publications that were considered to be "critical": *Forum Keadilan*, *Kompas*, *Jakarta-Jakarta*, *Bisnis Indonesia*, *Media Indonesia*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Citra*, and *Jakarta Post*. The editors were told to fire the thirteen journalists expelled from PWI. They were also told to be "firm" with journalists who are known to be members of AJI. The editors were called again on March 24, 1995, this time by the Director General of the Ministry of Information for Press and Graphics, Subrata. At this meeting, Subrata reiterated the previous warnings by Minister of Information Harmoko and Jakarta PWI head Tarman Azzam.

The Attorney General's office issued a decree on March 28, 1995 banning *Independen*, the AJI publication whose circulation at the time was about 12,000. It was the first confirmed statement of the ban. The Attorney General's office was said to

be searching for the printing establishment of *Independen*, with the help of the police.

On April 26, 1995, Dr. George Aditjondro, a lecturer at Satya Wacana University who has been a fervent critic of government policy in East Timor, was formally charged with insulting the government in public for a lecture he gave in August 1994 at the Indonesian Islamic University in Yogyakarta. In the lecture, he made a joke about Suharto and three men considered his cronies in a discussion of presidential succession. When the charges were filed, Dr. Aditjondro was in Perth as a guest lecturer at Murdoch University. The government has expressed a plan to bring Aditjondro back to Indonesia through legal measures, as Indonesia and Australia have a bilateral extradition agreement; the Australian government has made it clear that it has no plans to send Aditjondro back.

The Indonesian media won at least a symbolic victory with a court decision in favor of the banned *Tempo* magazine. On May 3, 1995, the Jakarta Administrative Court ruled against the banning of *Tempo*, *DeTik* and *Editor* by the Ministry of Information. Judge Benyamin Mangkudilaga ruled that the decree under which Information Minister Harmoko revoked *Tempo*'s publishing license was legally flawed and should "be repealed." It was issued arbitrarily and against the existing laws, he said. In response to the decision, Minister of Information, Harmoko decided to appeal the verdict in a higher court. President Suharto then endorsed Harmoko's decision to appeal.

On June 11, Abdurrahman Wahid, the head of the largest Islamic organization *Nahdatul Ulama* was banned from speaking before an audience of religious leaders to honor the birthday of KH Abdul Fattah, the founder of the *Pesantren Al Fattah*, a traditional Islamic school in Lamongan, East Java. The ban came as a shock for the audience and for Wahid himself who has arrived at the gathering and was about to deliver his speech. According to the organizers, local police and government officials refused to grant a permit for Wahid to speak in the gathering. Another religious leader, Emha Ainun Nadjib, was also banned from speaking in a gathering in Nusa Dua, Bali and in Metro, Lampung.

On June 12, 1995, Indonesian police broke up a seminar on democracy and detained seven people, including an American professor who was the sole speaker at the meeting, the organizer said on Tuesday. Umam Wirano of the *Yayasan Indonesia Baru* (New Indonesia Foundation), which organized the seminar, told Reuters the police broke up the meeting late on Monday on the grounds that it was held without a

permit. The police took seven people, including the speaker Robert Hefner, in for questioning, before releasing them early on Tuesday. Hefner, vice-director of the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture at Boston University, was in Indonesia at the invitation of the government-funded Indonesian Science Institute (LIPI) to address a seminar on Islam and modernization. Witnesses said Hefner and some of the organizers were taken to the Central Jakarta Police station by intelligence police officers who had been present during the seminar. They were then interrogated at the police station from 11 p.m. until 5 a.m. the next day. Hefner and the others were released after an official from the U.S. Embassy came to the police station.

A talk-show host, Wimar Witoelar, known as the Larry King of Indonesia, was warned in mid-June not to have William Liddle, an American political scientist from Ohio State University, on as a guest. Witoelar had received similar calls in the past, one warning him not to interview Abdurrahman Wahid, and one on May 21, 1995, from the Ministry of Information telling him not to interview Judge Benyamin Mangkudilaga. The judge of the Jakarta administrative court had ruled on May 4, 1995 that the government's action to ban *Tempo* was "unconstitutional." The Ministry of Information officials have since then denied that its office has issued such a ban.

The Coordinating Minister for Political Affairs and Security, Soesilo Soedarman, said on June 12, 1995 that the government would pass new regulations on permits for public speaking. He explained that the regulations were needed to clarify the criteria for banning certain public figures from speaking. The announcement came in the aftermath of the refusal on June 11 of police in Lamongan, East Java, to permit Abdurrahman Wahid to address a memorial program for a well-known Muslim leader and similar bans on opposition political leader Megawati Sukarno and writer Emha Ainun Najib. Soedarman said before passing the regulation, he would establish a team to study the issue consisting of the Ministry of Education, the Attorney General's office, the police, the armed forces headquarters, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other related ministries. Soedarman said many of the bans imposed by security forces represented an effort to prevent actions which might jeopardize national stability. His announcement of the regulations, however, was seen by journalists as another attempt by the government to curb freedom of expression.

The AJI Trial

The AJI trial, however, may be the most telling example of the government's intolerance of its critics. The defendants include Ahmad Taufik and Eko Maryadi, both officers of AJI, and Danang Kukuh, an office helper. The three were arrested on March 17, 1995 and were detained from then until the start of their trial on June 16, 1995 at the Metro Jakarta Police station (Polda Metro Jaya). They are officially charged with violating Article 19 of Press Law No.21/1982 for publishing a magazine, *Independen*, without a publishing license (Surasat Ijin Usaha Penerbitan Pers or SIUPP); violation of Article 134 of the Indonesian Criminal Code for defaming the President; Article 154 for spreading hatred against the government; and Article 155 for publicly spreading and instigating animosity. The above offenses carry the possible penalty of seven years in prison.

The prosecutor's allegation is based on articles published in four issues of *Independen*, Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12. One of the articles cited as having spread animosity was on the many investments of Minister of Information Harmoko in the media business. The article mentioned the fact that Harmoko created his media empire by forcing the management of each publication to grant him shares of the publication in return for receiving a publishing license. The article cited as an example of defaming the President is an article on the various philanthropic foundations of the President. According to *Independen*, the foundations have not been transparent in reporting their financial records.

After their arrests, speaking in their own defense, Taufik and Maryadi explained that *Independen* was published for a limited audience, as was explicitly stated on the front cover. Article 8 of Press Law No.21/1982, they noted, stipulates that "a specific publication for a limited audience does not need a license."

AJI's secretary-general, Santoso, in a press conference at the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation on March 20, 1995, also argued that in publishing *Independen*, AJI members were only practicing their rights as citizens under Article 28 of the Indonesian Constitution which guarantees freedom of expression. AJI also termed the Minister of Information Decree No. 01/1984, which regulates publication licenses for the print media, as "unconstitutional." The decree has been frequently used to ban media, including *Tempo* and *DeTik*, considered critical to the government. At least 1,033 journalists and readers have appealed to the Supreme Court to undertake a judicial review of the decree.

However, to date, no decision has been made by the Supreme Court.

Ahmad Taufik and Eko Maryadi have written a letter from jail, describing the poor condition of their prison cell. Taufik, Eko and Danang share a dimly-lit and stuffy room, some fifty-two meters square, with thick walls and a locked metal door. They all sleep on the floor without any mattresses. During their detention they have been subjected to numerous interrogations by the police. Taufik and Maryadi are only allowed to read comic books and the Indonesian Criminal Code. They are also barred from any health services needed when they get sick. In one instance, Eko Maryadi fainted because of his long-time ulcer pains. Instead of calling a doctor, the guard ordered Taufik to put Maryadi on a bench, and then he proceeded to "examine" Maryadi's stomach by tapping his fingers on it. Afterwards he concluded that Maryadi was only suffering a common cold.

On the anniversary of the muzzling of the three news publications, the release of these three young men and Pijar activist Tri Agus would be a sign that the Indonesian government recognizes the value of transparency in government and the role of the press in ensuring that transparency. As long as the four remain behind bars, any profession by the Indonesian government of commitment to transparency must be seen as hypocrisy.

OPPRESSION IN WEST PAPUA, FLORES

MINING PROTESTS MET WITH MASSACRE

Peace News, April 1995

In April this year, the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) – an umbrella organisation of more than eighty Australian NGOs – published a report detailing eyewitness claims of protests against the expansion of the Freeport mine in West Papua, and the security crackdown that followed. PETER D JONES looks at the evidence.

West Papua (known officially in Indonesia as Irian Jaya or West Irian) forms the western half of the island of New Guinea and was forcibly appropriated by Indonesia in 1969, following the so-called Act of Free Choice.

The Freeport mine – with its huge deposits of copper, gold and silver – is owned by the New Orleans-based Freeport McMoRan Copper and Gold Corporation, while other known shareholders include the Indonesian

government, RTZ and German and private interests. RTZ has taken a higher profile in the Freeport minerals project recently and is also buying 40 per cent of Freeport's Contract of Work. The company originally appropriated the land of the Amungme people in 1967, and in 1991 Freeport signed a new contract with Indonesia, adding 2.6 million hectares to its concession area. Already tribal elders have noted the increasing social and cultural fragmentation of their people, and the Ajikwa River is heavily polluted.

Protests against Freeport in the form of uprisings, flag-raising and peaceful demonstrations started in the far east of West Papua in June last year and shifted through the affected area during the rest of the year, culminating with a peaceful demonstration and flag-raising on 25 December in Tembagapura. There had already been clashes between Indonesian forces and the Free Papua Movement (OPM) and many families had fled into the bush for months on end, while the Indonesian army destroyed villages, set up checkpoints and engaged in acts of intimidation against villagers. Overall, 37 people were killed or disappeared. In February, the Indonesian media reported that the government planned to relocate some 2,000 local people over the next three months.

ACFOA made five recommendations, calling on the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Summary or Arbitrary Executions to visit West Papua to investigate the allegations and the situation of the Freeport area with a view to reporting to the UN Human Rights Commission. ACFOA also recommended that the report be referred to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations for its consideration and action, and said that the Indonesian Commission for Human Rights should visit the area to conduct a comprehensive investigation of the allegations and the general situation of local communities and that its report be released publicly.

Much criticism of Indonesia focuses on repression in East Timor but Indonesian human rights activists have argued that it is a mistake not to take on other issues in their country, including the military repression in Aceh and the crushing of any vocal resistance to the regime in Jakarta.

ACFOA, Private Bag 3, Deakin ACT 2600, Australia

MORE KILLINGS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE WITHIN THE FREEPORT CONCESSION AREA

Eyewitness Report from Timika, 11-20 April, 1995

From TAPOL, May 3, 1995

It seems that the world cannot spare a thought for us, the native inhabitants, and have abandoned us to the oppression, torture and murder of the Indonesian military and government, in support of PT Freeport Indonesia Company (FIC). Despite our pleas for an end to all this, they go on behaving in the same way. We have shouted as loud as we can for our traditional rights to be respected; we have even been forced to move from our ancestral lands. Yet, the world refuses to listen!

These sentiments came from the mouth of a Mendagawan (a tribal chief) of the Amungme tribe after the Indonesian military killed yet another native civilian inhabitant named YUNUS KUDIAI, 35 years, on 16 April 1995, in Kwamki Lama Kampung, Timika.

As stated by eyewitnesses and Amungme and Dani native inhabitants, human rights violations perpetrated by the Indonesian military and PT Freeport Indonesia Company security personnel from June to December 1994, resulted in the deaths and 'disappearance' of 33 civilians (not 22 as reported by some of the mass media) and 15 OPM guerrillas. This was made public by ACFOA on 4 April in Australia and reported by the world press but there has been no positive response from those concerned. In fact, the eyewitness reports have been rejected by Indonesia's rulers as fabrications and ACFOA has been accused of stirring up trouble by trying to link the human rights abuses in the FIC concession area with East Timor which is being handled by the United Nations. As for the FIC, it has denied any involvement in the incident on 25 December 1994 in Tembagapura. Executive Vice President of FIC, Murphy was quoted by Cendrawasih Pos on 8 April 1995 as strongly denying that FIC employ any security personnel. 'Since security was taken over by the police and the army, we no longer employ security people,' Murphy told journalists.

For the local people, FIC's attempt to wash its hands is at variance with the facts. One victim who refused to be identified said: 'Freeport cannot deny its involvement in the recent human rights abuses. The company cannot deny that two of its security personnel collaborated with army assassins who tortured and murdered six Dani people

on a bus from Tembagapura to Timika on the morning of 25 December last.'

The actions waged by OPM guerrillas (the GPK, according to the official version) from June to December last year to protest against the presence of FIC, and government and armed forces (ABRI) support for the giant US copper and gold mining company, led to a 'war' between ABRI forces and the OPM guerrillas. The civilian population was caught in the middle and fled to the forest for safety. This is now being used to legitimise plans by ABRI, the government and FIC to shift the people from the valley/Tsinga kampung to Timika. The Jayapura daily, Cendrawasih Pos, quoted the VIII/Trikora Military Commander, Major General I Ketut Wiradana, as saying: "Many of the inhabitants who fled to the forest at the instigation of the GPK have now returned to their homes. The VIII/Trikora military command, as the territorial force in Maluku and Irian Jaya, working in cooperation with other agencies such as the Transmigration Department, the Social Department and PT FIC, will resettle the Tsinga inhabitants in a specially designated area."

Such intentions of the rulers are totally rejected by the people of Tsinga. "If you people - ABRI, the government and FIC - want to move us, you must also move the mountains, valleys and everything else that is ours to a new place. Otherwise, you might as well murder the lot of us because we will never agree to move from our ancestral land, the land on which our entire lives and survival depends," lamented one of the leaders of Tsinga community to a platoon commander in February 1995.

The torture and murder of native inhabitants by security forces and the Indonesian military has continued. In mid April, while people were celebrating Easter, ABRI forces once again shot and tortured local inhabitants, resulting in two deaths and one person wounded.

TORTURE AND KILLING AT EASTER TIME

Torture and an 'accident'

At 4pm pm 14 April 1995, Kris Macawayao, 21, a native of the Cendrawasih kampung of the Komoro tribe, Mapurujaya, about 27 kms south of Timika, was out drinking in Timika market with two friends, Tadius Take, 27, and Alex, 19. From there, the three started walking in the direction of Timika airport. Many Catholics in Timika were on their way to church for the Good Friday service.

Take and Alex, the two survivors, say that the three were arguing with each other because Kris wanted to go to church even though he was drunk; they tried to prevent

him from going. "We didn't make trouble for anyone. Yes, we were drunk, but we were just arguing between ourselves," said Take. An eyewitness at Timika Market also testifies that they were all very drunk and were arguing with each other.

Then suddenly, six soldiers from the Patimura 733 battalion, from Maluku, started to attack and punch them. Realising that they were in danger, Take and Alex made their escape. Kris Macawayao was left to bear the brunt of the brutal assault by the six soldiers. They took turns beating and kicking him, laying into his body with their rifle butts and heavy boots till he fell unconscious. The soldiers called a taxi and drove off with him. No-one knew where he was taken.

At 8am [presumably the next morning], Yuvensius Macawayao, who had been in army detention for a week because he was drunk at a military post in a Transmigration Site (I and IV), which is about 7 kms from Timika, was ordered by a couple of soldiers to get onto the back of a truck. Yuvensius was amazed to see his brother ('saudara' could be brother, close relative or friend], Kris, in a terrible state, seated on three empty drums. His face was badly swollen and bruised. Yuvensius asked Kris what had happened but he was unable to speak, probably because his mouth was so swollen. In the front cabin were two Patimura 733 soldiers and a civilian driver. The truck lurched forward. Yuven tried to protect Kris who very weak, while taking grip of the side of the truck. Yuven says that the truck drove ahead at great speed, more than 70 kms an hour. On reaching a sharp bend on the road to Mapurujaya, about 1 km from SP I/IV, the driver suddenly braked very hard. Yuven lost hold of Kris and Kris was thrown out of the truck. His head struck the road surface and he was hit by one of the drums that fell out of the truck. When they reached him, Kris was already dead. The two soldiers warned Yuven that if anyone asked him what had happened, particularly from his family, he should say that Kris Macawayao died because he threw himself off the truck.

Stabbing and shooting

On 6 April 1995, Piether Tobay, 30, of the Ekari tribe was stabbed with an arrow in Ewamki Lama, about 5 kms from Timika airport by a member of the security guards, 'siskamling,' who were on duty on the night of 15 April at Kwamki Lama kampung. There were altogether five civilian security guards. All the guards were Dani people who had been chosen by Sergeant Philipus Waker, the local military Babinsa officer, of Kwamki Lama, who is also a Dani. This

incident occurred at about 1am on 16 April 1995.

Yulius Tebay and other members of the congregation from Kwamki Lama had just attended an Easter service at the Catholic Tiga Raja Parish Church in Timika and were walking home. Piether, an employee at the FIC hospital in Tembagapura, together with two friends, was walking a little ahead of the others. As they reached the siskamling post, they were suddenly set upon by five siskamling guards and ordered to report to the post. Piether and his two friends were not prepared to accept the harsh behaviour of the guards and said there was no reason for them to report to the post because the security guards knew very well that they were just returning home from the Easter service in Timika. One of the five guards refused to accept this explanation and plunged an arrow into Piether's stomach, causing a wound about 13 cms deep. As he groaned with pain, he shouted to his two companions and run for help. He was later rushed to Tembagapura hospital for medical treatment. He has now recovered.

The stabbing of Piether led to a wave of anger and protest in the Ekari community, including Amungme people and other tribal people in Timika. At about 11 am that morning, there was a demonstration by a crowd of about six hundred people filling the area outside the Serba Guna Building and the market. They called for the Dani tribe to pay 'blood compensation' to the family of the victim because one of theirs had wounded Tebay of the Ekagi tribe. Whilst shouting slogans, the crowd also called for the siskamling post set up by the army to be closed down and asked for Sergeant Waker, the Babinsa, to be transferred from their kampung because he had already caused so much disturbance and divisions in their community. According to the local people, Sergeant Waker only employed Dani people as security guards and never involved people from the other tribes, a system which caused a great deal of disquiet. It was a form of 'divide and rule' used by military officers to split the community.

While the crowd was continuing to shout these protests, the tribal chiefs of the Dani, Ekari and Amungme, and the Kwamki Lama village chief, with the family of the victim, the local operational commander (Komop) and Captain Yullas, commander of the Kopassus (elite) troops in Timika, were having a meeting at the Kwamki Lama Babinsa's office to try to find a solution.

With tensions growing and the protests continuing, and fearing that there might be a revolt, the Pattimura 733 battalion mobilised about 40 troops armed with M16s to carry out a security operation in Kwamki Lama. At about 11.30am, members of the congre-

gation had just come out from an Easter service at Kingmi Kwamki Lama Church and were on their way home. Three Ekari people were going home along the road being guarded by several soldiers. The soldiers refused to allow them to pass and roughly pulled the sleeve of one of the three. Yunus Kudiai tried to explain to the soldiers that they had just attended an Easter service and wanted to go home but the soldiers took no notice and started slapping Yunus in the face. Not happy at being treated like this, Yunus grabbed hold of the soldier's hand. This infuriated the soldier who kicked Yunus in the waist and he fell to the ground, doubled up.

This made one of Yunus's friends very angry and he picked up a stone and threw it at the soldier, hitting him in the wrist. This made the soldier really mad. Standing only one metre away, he pulled out his weapon and pointed it towards the victim. Realising that things were becoming very dangerous, Yunus' friend jumped forward and grabbed the tip of the weapon pointed towards his friend, intending to turn the weapon away from his friend's body, but the soldier opened fire, hitting Yunus in the chest. As the victim yelled out in pain, the soldier fired three more shots. Two missed but the third one hit the victim in the forehead and he fell dead. For whatever reason, the other soldiers started shooting into the air, dispersing the six hundred people who had witnessed this brutal murder. The body of the dead man was left lying on the ground for a while, then carried off by the soldiers to Timika Town hospital by an army vehicle. A coffin was made ready and the body was taken to the home of the victim.

This shooting caused widespread frustration in many circles, particularly among the church officials. Father Nato Gobay, an Ekari from the Tiga Raja Parish Church in Timika, was with the family of the victim. They were not permitted to open the coffin. He insisted that the family should open the coffin and take a photograph of the body. But a soldier who had escorted the body refused to allow this to happen.

Father Gobay, speaking in an angry tone, said: "We are of the same tribe, innocent sons of God. He is dead. Why do you refuse to allow us to take a photo? This is a state based on the rule of law. I want to make sure that the man who pulled the trigger, causing the death of our friend Yunus, should be punished for this deed."

On hearing Father Gobay's request and his words of criticism, one of the officers in charge said: "You will have to go and meet the commander in Timika. You will have to account for what you have just said or done." Father Gobay did eventually go and

meet the commander of Pattimura 733 battalion in Koperapoka, Timika.

Father Gobay and the rest of the community cannot approve of the brutal behaviour of the army against innocent people.

KILLINGS AND TORTURE IN FLORES

The following report has been received by TAPOL from a protected source:

SITUATION IN MAUMERE, FLORES 15 MAY 95

Last December a Javanese Muslim was accused of crushing the host in the Parish Church of St Yosef Maumere. The accused Didik Warsito was brought before court on the 28 April. The session was attended by people from Waipelit, a village between Maumere and Nita. The 3 judges were from Bali, Ambon and Java, the last two were Muslim. The accused told the court that when he ate the host he felt like being sick so he spat the host out crushing it in his hands and rubbing the saliva on his body. The judges asked the Parish Priest, Pastor John from Manggarai to recreate a Mass scene in the Courthouse but he refused to do so.

On the 28th the session was attended by people from all over the Regency including students. The Prosecutor asked for a sentence of 3 years 8 months. The judges ordered the defendant to pay compensation of Rp 7000 only. The people then began to throw objects at the judges and abuse them. Security arrested 5 people and beat them up. Their release was negotiated with the help of a journalist. The 5 immediately complained that they had been tortured and the crowd began throwing objects at the police again.

A truckload of police arrived and began to fire at the crowd's feet outside the Courthouse. A number were wounded in the leg including a student from the Seminary at Ledalero. One protester was killed and another Marianus Bai wounded in the shoulder.

The crowd of around 3000 attacked the Police station and occupied it for 3 days. One eye witness claims that they took down the pictures of Suharto and Sutrisno, handing them to local police before destroying the police station so as not to be accused of subversion. The crowd demanded the body of their murdered comrade and that the accused be also handed over to them. That afternoon a Javanese Bakso seller stabbed a local and ran off. The protesters then burned 14 vehicles owned by a Javanese businessman called Bambang. In anticipation of ABRI reinforcements from Ende and Laran-

tuka the protesters chopped down trees to block the major roads. Fighting continued at night.

The next morning the protesters held a traditional Florinese war dance before searching Javanese houses for the bakso seller. Houses without Crucifixes on the wall were burnt, 50 in all. On Saturday night a Javanese soldier from Malang was found in a brothel and beaten to death. On Sunday 4 planeloads of Brimob and ABRI were flown in from Kupang. 70 protesters were arrested. V.B. Da Costa a Florinese Parliamentarian from Jakarta flew in and freed them.

Latest reports say that ABRI are torturing people in their search for those who killed the soldier. Fingernails are being pulled out and heads bashed against walls at random. The Catholic students union PMKRI has been asked to intervene because the people of Maumere are refusing to cooperate with the security forces.

This is not an anti-Islamic purge. Local Maumere Makassan [Islamic] communities or not being affected. The people are defending themselves against hostile outside elements attempting to cause religious strife in Eastern Indonesia. Urgently needed is support from Catholic Bishops especially in Australia.

MAUMERE RELIGIOUS PROVOCATIONS

CNRM MEDIA BULLETIN 16/5/95

The island of Flores in Eastern Indonesia, like the neighbouring East Timor, is predominantly Catholic. In recent months deliberate acts of provocation aiming to foster religious conflicts have been carried out by members of the Indonesian Army, both in East Timor as well as in Flores.

CNRM has received today a detailed report about the serious disturbances which have occurred in the city of Maumere, Flores at the end of April. It indicates that the extent of the casualties, including deaths, are far in excess to what the Indonesian authorities have so far acknowledged. The report also points to a need of Catholics in Flores for protection from Indonesian Army reprisals, and from the attempts by outsiders to create religious conflicts on the island.

CNRM notes the close similarity between the above events and the well known patterns of human rights violations, religious intimidation, and military terror characteristic of the almost twenty years of illegal Indonesian military occupation of East Timor.

We call for the strongest international condemnation of these latest acts of aggression and violations of basic human rights by

agents of the brutal Suharto dictatorship, and for support for its victims.

For comment: José Gusmão +6189 275478, Kate Khoori +612 368 0396

ANTI-CATHOLIC VIOLENCE IN INDONESIA

FLORES SITUATION WORSENS RELIGIOUS KILLED

CNRM media release, 18 May 1995

Catholic Brother Conradus was killed last night in Ende, Flores in Eastern Indonesia, when stone throwers first attacked and later burnt down a church house. This incident follows strong clashes between the Indonesian Army and the people of the city of Maumere, the largest on this predominantly Catholic island.

Maumere has been shaken by protests and violence in recent weeks after a local Court passed a sentence deemed unfairly light on a Javanese Muslim who had deliberately profaned Catholic religious symbols. The public reaction to this injustice gave the Indonesian army and police the excuse to attack and shoot civilians, leading to several dead and wounded, including a Javanese soldier.

In response to the death of one of its soldiers, the Army has arrested up to 40 Maumere civilians, flown them to Kupang and Bali for questioning. This is a process normally involving mistreatment and torture. As is usual with interrogations in East Timor, such people are subjected to fingernail extractions, cigarette burns, and electric shocks among others. Use of such torture in this case is already being reported.

Reports from the island of Flores say that the Indonesian Army, together with local members of the powerful government-sponsored Muslim organisation ICMI, is sponsoring this latest campaign of provocation aiming to destroy the Catholic Church base for Eastern Indonesia on Flores.

As the current uprising spreads through the island, Flores Catholics are said to be preparing themselves for an outright war against the outsiders threatening their Church.

There is an urgent need for monitoring of the delicate situation on Flores by international human rights bodies.

Indonesian Army brutality towards the population is rapidly developing a situation bearing close resemblance to the tragic conditions in East Timor.

Kate Khoori: tel +61 2 368 0396, fax +61 2 356 4531

FLORES RIOTS

Forum Keadilan, 25 May 1995 Translated from Indonesian. Brief items

[Remark: the details in this article mostly corroborate earlier reports. The story highlights a tendency to make whoever is in dock pay harshly for riots. GvK]

When the prosecutor in Maumere, Flores, at the end of April demanded Didi Warsito be jailed for 3 1/2 years jail for offending the Catholic religion after he spat out the host at Christmas last year, a violent riot ensued by protesters who thought the demand too lenient. Police arrested five, but when the five were released and said they had been tortured, rioting became more intense and soldiers shot five [others], one of whom, Johannes Jensi, died in hospital. Crowds wrecked a police station, burnt down 104 kiosks and four cars. [Yet another] five of the rioters are in detention. A junior police officer named Sudar also died, though police deny this. After the riot, Didi Warsito was sentenced to five years jail, more than the prosecutor had demanded. The case is similar to that of Marthon Kamarsi, who was sentenced to five years jail for a similar offence in Ende this time last year. Crowds had rioted violently when the prosecutor had demanded only one year.

GREENS ATTACK INACTION ON WEST PAPUA KILLINGS

Green Left, June 5.

WA Greens Senator Dee Margetts has criticised the federal government's lack of response to the alleged killings of 37 villagers by Indonesian troops at the Freeport Mine in West Papua.

"The government is using delaying tactics and is not seeking to honestly and effectively investigate the killings," Margetts said on May 29. She said that it was "appalling" that there has been a six-month delay in sending an independent investigator to look into alleged human rights abuses.

Foreign minister Gareth Evans, in question time, said he would ask the ambassador to Jakarta to visit Freeport and investigate - with information provided by the Indonesian government.

It is charged by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid that 37 people - 22 civilians and 15 alleged guerrillas - were killed by the Indonesian army and private security staff of the large US-owned Freeport mine between June 1994 and February 1995. According to their report, an unknown number of other West Papuans were arrested, beaten and tortured - all for protesting against the expansion of the copper and gold mine.

Much of that information was also reported independently by a correspondent in *Green Left Weekly* on April 12.

"West Papua is another Bougainville and another East Timor, just less well known," Margetts said. "Their rivers are polluted by mining tailings, their indigenous communities are dispossessed, and they are repressed by the military for protesting.

"We cannot continue to ignore the human rights abuses of our neighbours, especially when we are providing them with the training, arms and ammunitions to commit those offences."

GEORGE ADITJONDRO IN EXILE

An additional article by George Aditjondro is in the press freedom section of this document compilation.

BORDERING THE UNREPRESENTED: OR, WHY IS THERE A FOURTH WORLD MOVEMENT ?

Talk by George Junus Aditjondro

Seminar Series on Negotiating Cultural Border zones, Murdoch University, Friday, 31 March 1995.

When ten thousand West Papuans fled to PNG in early 1984, the Indonesian government was outraged, despite the fact that those who voted by feet were only a tiny fraction of Indonesia's population. It tried to put pressure on the PNG government to return the "border-crossers," as the Indonesian government officially called them to avoid the term "refugees," which was not very successful.

This incident indicates that states do not only lay claim on a territory, but also lay claim over all the people who happen to live within the borders of that territory, are thus assumed to belong to that nation-state. For those who had voluntarily chosen to belong to that nation, there are no problems. They may disagree with the government of that state, and oppose that government in overt or covert ways, but they may still feel to belong to that nation. The territorial cum demographic imperative of that nation-state however, does not apply to the people(s) who feel that they were classified as subjects of that state against their free will. They feel that the state is bordering, or rather, fencing them in.

The latter case applies to West Papuans who believe that they became Indonesian citizens by "historical accident." First, they

were claimed to be subjects of the sultanate of Tidore in North Maluku. After that sultanate yielded to the Dutch, their subjects were "automatically" regarded to become Dutch subjects. Eventually, since Indonesia claimed to be the rightful heir of the former Dutch East Indies, the identity of those "Dutch subjects" was changed again to become Indonesian citizens. Then, in 1969 these "Indonesian citizens" lost the opportunity to become "official West Papuans" due to the UN-sanctioned "Act of Free Choice," where all the indigenous people were represented by Indonesian-approved leaders, who were forced to decide in favor of remaining as Indonesian citizens (Ryan, 1971).

That "unofficial" West Papuans" still hope to become "official" West Papuans can be shown from the fact that until 1988, numerous "declarations of West Papuan independence" have been issued. In addition, until New Year 1996, the OPM flag, the "Morning Star," was still flying on the top of Mt. Tsinga near Tembagapura, Freeport Indonesia's mining town.

Apart from the West Papuans, there are peoples - or "nations," as they prefer to call themselves all over the world who feel themselves to be "misfits" in their present states. It is also not a typical non-European phenomenon, since Europe, the cradle of transcontinental colonialism, also has its own share of "misfits." So also has most of the transplanted European nation-states in the Americas and Oceania.

The existing nation-states can seldom be trusted to defend the self-determination rights of these peoples wholeheartedly, because the international behaviour of nation-states is strongly influenced by pragmatic and self-serving interests. In PNG, for instance, where a strong Melanesian solidarity spirit provided some room for manoeuvring for the West Papuan independence movement, fear for Indonesia caused the PNG government to exile most OPM leaders that had been caught after crossing the border.

And in defiance of the spirit of Melanesian solidarity, the former PNG defense minister, Ted Diro, had been found guilty of accepting bribes of A\$ 132,000 to US\$ 180,000 from his Indonesian counterpart, General Benny Murdani (The Bulletin, June 23, 1995: 28 ; Robie, 1989: 63; Thompson & MacWilliam, 1992: 27). So how could one imagine that PNG would really support their West Papuan brothers and sisters ?

Likewise, in the diplomatic struggle for East Timor's independence, China ended its support for East Timor in the UN venues after normalizing its diplomatic relation with Indonesia. In the mean time, China kept oppressing its own "East Timor," Tibet.

My own country, Indonesia, had supported the independence struggle of Namibia and is still strongly supporting the independence struggle of the Bosnians (from the yoke of a fellow NAM founder), while brutally suppressing the East Timor, West Papua, and Aceh independence struggles waged within Indonesia's official borders. And while it is publicly supporting the Palestinian struggle for self-determination (a.o. by attacking every Indonesian citizen that has visited Israel), Indonesia is silently covering up Morocco's attempts to deny the Sahrawi's right to self-determination.

This pragmatic and self-serving interest of governments, which reflects the interest of the most powerful groups in their societies, has given birth to the emergence of a "Fourth World" movement of peoples or nations which are not (yet) represented in the UN.

This global movement does not only include the "unrepresented" peoples or nations, but also governmental and non-governmental organizations, agencies, and individuals who support the plight of the "Fourth World." Though bounded by a common empathy with all "collective underdogs," based on a global and inclusive humanism, there is a tendency among these organizations, agencies and individuals, to specialize on the groups which do share some common denominators with them.

1) Indonesian academic, who has for 20 years - as journalist, as rural development worker, and as lecturer - studied the "indo-Melanesian" cultural border zone by focusing on the social upheavals in Indonesia's Melanesian fringe as well as in Melanesian enclaves abroad. This longitudinal research includes interviewing members of the Melanesian diaspora residing in non-Melanesian nation-states, namely in the Netherlands, the USA, Papua New Guinea, Australia, and Portugal.

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SCHOLAR SPEAKS ON INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY

by Arun Pradha. *Green Left Weekly*, April 5 1995

Indonesian academic George Aditjondro has consistently exposed the repression that occurs in his own country, but is better known for his outspoken support for independence in East Timor. Now lecturing at Murdoch University in Perth, Aditjondro spoke to *Green Left Weekly* about the Indonesian pro-democracy movement and the future of East Timor.

Last year the military commander of Central Java said, "It may be necessary to take action against Dr. George Aditjondro." Just days later, Aditjondro's house was attacked by stone-throwing thugs. More recently he has been hounded and taken for questioning under Article 207 of the Indonesian criminal code, for "insulting a government authority or body." These tactics have failed to silence Aditjondro, who noted the new importance of speaking out: "I have been concerned about East Timor for 20 years, but it was only the emergence of a new awareness after the Dili massacre that has given me the political space to talk about it."

Aditjondro published two papers in March last year which took full advantage of this space. The papers report the use of napalm and Agent Orange in the 1975 invasion, the blocking of famine relief and executions and the use of resettlement camps by Indonesian forces. His research also supported the estimate of 200,000 deaths under the occupation, with 10% of East Timor's population being killed in the first two months of the invasion.

The growth in the international movement for an independent East Timor has led to signs of concessions. Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas has flagged the possibility of a form of "special status" for East Timor, with Gareth Evans following suit and discussing "autonomy."

Aditjondro points out that, until it is fully defined, "autonomy" could be positive or negative. "If you look at the Palestinians, they are now undergoing a process of statehood via an embryonic state in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. On the other hand, if autonomy is not seen as part of a larger program of self-determination, then it is misleading."

Autonomy as a stage in a larger process is consistent with the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) peace plan. This plan outlines three phases: talks and reduction of Indonesia's military presence; autonomy with self-government under su-

pervision of the United Nations; finally self-determination indicated by a referendum.

"One can argue about the lengths of each phase, but the plan is moderate and does offer Indonesia a face-saving way out of East Timor," commented Aditjondro.

Beyond peace proposals, he emphasised the need for greater discussion amongst East Timorese about longer term questions.

"What sort of state do they want, what is to be the role for the church, what about the military, which after years of war has become historically strong, what kind of economic system do they want? These questions must be put on the agenda now."

To this end, Aditjondro sees a need to increase the role of CNRM outside East Timor. "It needs to broaden out much more. It needs new people to come into it and to be more representative. They could learn from the PLO about setting up a broad-based government in exile."

International solidarity with East Timor has been growing, but according to Aditjondro, less so within Indonesia. "The Indonesian pro-democracy movement has seen East Timor as a hot potato because it might unite the armed forces. As I learnt the hard way, when intelligence officers came to my house, all Indonesians officers and battalions have served there and have come back with hostility.

"There are young people who have solidarity with East Timor, like the worker's movement of Dita Sari. But the fact that the death of seven East Timorese workers in Indonesia went largely ignored shows how little the worker's and student movements have seriously studied the cause of East Timor."

Another factor is the state of the movements in Indonesia. "The pro-democracy movement is in its early phases," explained Aditjondro. "It is a convergence of other movements ... They came to the realisation that the whole political system had to be changed. So, for example, the environment movement realised it could not just act like fire fighters jumping from one project to another."

The newness of the movement was largely caused by the mass killings of Communist Party members and movement activists when Suharto came to power in 1965. The murder of more than 500,000 people erased much of the left tradition and history.

According to Aditjondro, pressure on activists continues. "Now we see the beginning of a new crackdown on alternative media," he said in reference to the recent arrest of four journalists. "After the banning of the mainstream media, that is *Editor*, *Tempo* and *DeTik*, there was new impetus for the already existing alternative media to grow. They would go more in depth and attack the

core of the regime, such as their business interests." The journalists were charged for publicly insulting the government and face up to seven years' jail.

"In the near future the pro-democracy movement will be busy simply defending their own turf. This is the shrewdness of the regime that creates splits, harasses people and arrests the leaders. So now, for example, supporters of these journalists will be stuck fighting in court." While acknowledging the stage of the pro-democracy movement and the difficulties it faces, Aditjondro again stated the need for more discussion of aims and clarification about what sort of Indonesia is being fought for. "A big debate will be whether Indonesia will be a unitary or federal state, and even what contributions can the various Indonesian cultures make in forming a pluralistic socialist state.

This might involve some sectors of the economy being state run. For example in Java it might be electricity and rail. But where there are other cultures such as primitive communist state of clan societies, I'm one of the few socialists in Indonesia who are arguing for 'clan socialism.' That is the control of natural resources in these areas by the clans who traditionally live from them."

"We need to be creative and explore different socialisms, from the Stalinist model to various models such as the anarcho-syndicalist one. It is now the time, even before the fall of Suharto, that we must talk about these options in a non-dogmatic way."

Aditjondro ended by pointing out the immense responsibility resting on the pro-democracy movement. "We can not just wait for Suharto to die without dealing with the role of the military or putting limits on the powers of the next president and so on."

The struggle over a successor has brought out conflicts within the Indonesian ruling class. "The splits amongst the military and even sectors within the bourgeoisie who have also been marginalised may give support to the democracy movement."

"But ultimately the movement cannot rely on cracks in the elite. To win, the democracy movement must continue to build its strength with the working class, and potentially form broader alliances with farmers, small business owners and even religious groups."

RE-THINKING THE CONCEPT OF "MELANESIA"

IS IT GEOGRAPHICAL, RACIAL, POLITICAL, LINGUISTIC OR WHAT?

By George J. Aditjondro

Notes for Anthropological Society of Western Australia Seminar Series, Monday, 10 April 1995, 8:00 pm, at University of Western Australia, Perth)

Why is the concept of "Melanesia" problematic? First of all, the conceptual inconsistency of dividing the three largest island groups in the Pacific or Oceania, namely into "Melanesia," "Polynesia," and "Micronesia," has bothered me for a long time. The way to "name" those three island groups is inconsistent. "Melanesia" refers to the islands of the "Black" (melanos) people, while "Polynesia" refers to the "plentiful" (poly) islands, and "Micronesia" to the "small" (micro) islands. So, on one hand you have a racial concept, while on the other hand you have two geographical concepts.

Secondly, there is the cartographic problem. In placing the boundaries of those three island groups on the Oceania map, there always seems to be a "Berlin Wall" between the island of New Guinea, and the islands east of it, namely Maluku as well as the Timor-Flores island group. This "Berlin Wall" is inconsistent with the reason for calling "Melanesia" Melanesia, which is the skin colour of its inhabitants. Because, the indigenous peoples of Maluku and the Timor-Flores island are also dark-skinned. At least, from the islands east of Sulawesi and Lombok, there is a gradual darkening, of the skin colour of the indigenous peoples. So, should the boundaries of "Melanesia" then be drawn further westwards, to include Maluku and the Timor-Flores islands?

The third problem I have in reading the literature of the Oceanic cultures, are the anthropological stereotypes of "Melanesia." The first stereotypical concept is that the most typical leadership pattern in Melanesia, which is epitomized or symbolized by the New Guinea highlands, is the "big-men" system. On the other hand, the typical Polynesian leadership system is the (hereditary) chief. This typology, or should we say, "dichotomy" is misleading, since in Irian Jaya or West Papua as some of its inhabitants might call it, anthropologists have noted at least four different leadership systems, namely the big-men of the highlands, the warriors (mambri) system of the Biak islands, the ondoafi (hereditary clan-chief) system of the Jayapura lowlands, and the raja system in the Fakfak-Raja Ampat islands, off-shore at the Bird Head region.

Some people may argue, that the "big-men" system is the "oldest" or the most "original" leadership system in Melanesia. However, if we accept that argument, then we might question how far backwards in time should anthropology, or anthropologists go, and then, whether anthropology should "freeze" the development of the subjects they are studying.

The second anthropological stereotype of "Melanesia" is that it is ridden with "cargo cults," or, to be more accurate, "millenarian movements," thereby overlooking the occurrence of similar movements in the other Oceanic archipelagoes, such as "Indonesia," "Polynesia," and "Micronesia." West of New Guinea, for instance, it has been argued that the Pattimura rebellion against the Dutch in Maluku could also be seen as a millenarian movement. In fact, in the old indigenous language of Seram, "Pattimura" means simply the "just king." Or, should the occurrence of millenarian movements in Maluku be another argument to include those 1000 islands into the realm called "Melanesia"?

The next problem comes with the acceptance, or rather, popular usage of "Melanesia" as a political concept, to include the nation-states, territories, and colonies from New Guinea eastwards, which are inhabited by black peoples. However, if one's racial background can be a political virtue or political asset, such as in the Black Movement in the US, or Leopold Senghor's negritude movement in Senegal, why are the black peoples of what I call "Western Melanesia" or "Indo-Melanesia" excluded? Apart from East Timor and West Papua, the indigenous peoples of Maluku, Flores, and West Timor are rarely seen as Melanesians. Probably, because one tends to look for (complete) correspondences or overlaps between race and territory. But if that is the case, how could Fiji still be seen as a Melanesian nation, now that the Kanaks have become a minority in their own homeland?

Finally the term "Melanesia" has been appropriated by linguists to label the speakers of the languages in and around the big New Guinea island, to label the languages which they classify as belonging to the Malay-Polynesian, or "Austronesian" languages. On the other hand, the non-Austronesian languages have also been called the "Papuan" languages, thereby creating a dichotomy between "Melanesian" and "Papuan" peoples.

So, based on all those problems, I propose that the name "Melanesia" should be addressed New Guinea and all the islands east as well as west of it, which is inhabited by indigenous peoples of the Negroid race, regardless of whether those indigenous peoples are currently a minority or a majority in

their own homelands. This means that the geographical realm called Melanesia should include Maluku and the Timor-Flores islands. This also means that a political movement to enhance or uplift the right of the Melanesian people should also focus its attention on the Indo-Melanesian people in Maluku and the Timor-Flores islands, in addition to West Papua and East Timor.

LBH: ADITJONDRO MAY FACE TRIAL

JAKARTA, April 22 (Reuter) - An outspoken Indonesian academic known for his harsh criticism of Indonesia's rule over East Timor is likely to face trial for allegedly insulting the government during a seminar, a lawyer said on Saturday.

"George Aditjondro is likely to face trial because the police will hand over his case to the prosecutor next week," said Ari Susetya, a lawyer from the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute which represents the scholar.

Susetya told Reuters from Yogyakarta, 450 km (300 miles) east of Jakarta that Aditjondro, from the Satya Wacana University in Salatiga near Yogyakarta, had been questioned four times by the police last October on charges of insulting the government in a speech.

If convicted he would face a prison term of up to 18 months.

Aditjondro is currently in Perth, Australia, for a temporary teaching post and Susetyo said he had been informed about the new development.

It was not clear when Aditjondro will return to Indonesia.

U.S.-educated Aditjondro has been under attack since criticising government policy over the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in papers released in March. The foreign ministry at the time referred to his research as baseless.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

Aditjondro, whose case has been cited by Australia and other Western nations as a barometer of Indonesia's human-rights record, said in February he hoped to continue research on political issues.

OZ ACADEMICS APPEAL FOR GEORGE ADITJONDRO

The following letter has been sent to:

Mr. Ali Alatas SH
Minister of Foreign Affairs/ Menteri Luar Negeri
Jl. Taman Pejambon 6
Jakarta 10410
INDONESIA

Fax (0015 - 62 -21) 360-517

Mr. Singgih SH

Attorney General
Jl. Sultan Hasanuddin 1
Jakarta 12130
INDONESIA

c/o Ministry of Justice Fax (62-21) 513-095 or 525 3095

Mr. H. Oetoyo Oesman SH

Minister of Justice/Menteri Kehakiman
Jl. HR Rasuna Said Kav. 6-7
Jakarta 12950
INDONESIA

Fax (0015-62-21) 513 095 or 525 3095

9 May 1995

Dear Minister

As academics in Australian universities we welcome the growing relationship between students, teachers and researchers in Indonesia and Australia. The increasing number of collaborative projects is a sign of enormous benefits to be gained by both sides from this greater exchange of ideas and expertise.

However, as you may be aware, since October of last year Dr. George Junus Aditjondro, from the Postgraduate Studies Program at the Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, has been subject to interrogation and harassment, for participating in a seminar at the Universitas Islam Indonesia in Yogyakarta on 10 August 1994. This is a continuation of intimidation levelled against him for his investigative research on human rights violations and environmental degradation in East Timor and Irian Jaya.

It is our understanding that Dr. Aditjondro was only exercising his right to free speech, guaranteed under Article 28 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution. He was pursuing the highest ideals of academic scholarship and critical analysis, as one would expect of a scholar of international standing.

We understand that Dr. Aditjondro is in the process of being charged with 'insulting a government body' under Article 207 of the Indonesian Criminal Code which carries a sentence of 18 months. If he does not appear he will be further charged under Article 216 which carries a further penalty of 18 weeks. In addition the Public Prosecutor's office has threatened to add further charges of 'insulting the head of state' under Articles 134 and 136, which carry a penalty of six years jail. We have grave doubts that Dr. Aditjondro, who is currently a visiting academic in Australia, would receive a fair trial if he returned to Indonesia to face these charges, as has been demonstrated by the judicial handling of the recent cases of Xanana Gusmão, Nuku Suleiman, and Muktar Pakpahan.

We wish to place on record our deep concern at the intimidation of Dr. Aditjondro

and his family as a consequence of his preparedness to enter into open debate. Dr. Aditjondro has at all times eschewed violence.

As academic colleagues, we would urge you to intercede on behalf of Dr. Aditjondro to ensure that all charges against him are dropped. Your defence of him would contribute greatly to the strengthening of Indonesia's reputation in the world intellectual community.

Yours faithfully,

Associate Professor Jim Warren, Dr.
David T. Hill Murdoch University Perth,
Western Australia 6150. Fax (61-9) 310
6285. on behalf of 67 signatories from 18
Australian universities,

DEVELOPMENT? YES? HUMAN RIGHTS? NO!

(Paper for discussion at the Curtin University's Development Studies Research Unit at Curtin University, Perth, Western Australia, May 8, 1995)

George J. Aditjondro

Is there a dichotomy or a hierarchy between "development" and "human rights"? Or to put it in policy terms, if the industrially less-advanced countries have to prioritize, should they prioritize one over the other?

The popular belief is that yes, there is a hierarchy between "development" and "human rights," with "development" seen as being more urgent, more pressing, than upholding human rights. Hence, as a matter of policy, governments of industrially less-advanced countries often believe that "development" should be prioritized over upholding the universal human rights. This policy is often enforced by the popular statement that "poverty is the gravest form of human rights violations in developing countries."

In this discussion I will question this commonly held, or officially endorsed, belief. First, I will put that popular belief in the light of other human rights debates in the world. These debates can be distinguished into two sets of standpoints, namely the most obvious polarizing standpoints, and the less obvious polarizing standpoints. After examining those debates, I will expose the fallacy of dichotomizing "development" and "human rights," and will argue that "human rights" include, and not exclude "development."

THE MORE OBVIOUS POLARIZING STANDPOINTS:

Universality of human rights versus cultural relativism.

Governments of many industrially less-advanced countries have often stated that "the universal human rights" as embodied in the UN instruments, are not universal at all, but are "Western cultural products," and should therefore not be forced to be applied to all the countries in the world. They argue for what is generally known as "cultural relativism," namely that each country should be free to adopt from the "global human rights supermarket" what they feel suitable to their culture.

The "Western" label to human rights, actually do not stand the test of the number and variety of countries, which have actually signed and ratified the entire spectrum of UN human rights documents. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted by all the UN members at that time. Nobody opposed it, while only three types of governments abstained at that time, namely the Soviet bloc countries, Saudi Arabia, and South Africa. Then, in 1966, after most of the colonies had obtained their independence and became members of the UN, the majority if not all of the UN members adopted two major covenants which were derived from the 1948 UDHR, namely the International Covenant for Civil & Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). And since, 1966, most of the UN members have actually ratified those two covenants, thereby incorporating them into their own legal systems.

Individual versus collective human rights.

The same governments that argue for "cultural relativism" often accuse "the West" of emphasizing too much on the "individual" human rights, such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion (which implies, freedom to change one's religion), while they themselves prefer to take a more collective approach in adopting human rights from that global human rights supermarket.

There might be some truth in this standpoint, since freedom of speech was historically earlier adopted in the corpus of human rights, thereby called the first generation of human rights. In the discourse of East Timor, for instance, too much emphasis is put by official spokespersons of the industrially more-advanced Western countries on the constraints to the Maubere people's freedom of speech and assembly, and not on the basic violation of their right to self-determination.

On the other hand, however, the very governments which claim themselves to support the more “collective” human rights, have performed very badly in allowing workers to unionize freely in their countries, or in allowing their indigenous minorities to organize and strive for different, more socialistic forms of common resource management.

So, the problem with this apparent stand to prioritize “collective” over “individual” human rights is that many of those governments claim themselves to be the embodiment of the ultimate “collectivity” of all the people of their respective nation-states. This is usually combined with various forms of corporatist strategies in dealing with their subjects under the umbrellas of their ruling parties. While sub or supra-national collectivities, either in its traditional forms, such as clans, ethno-linguistic groups or religious groupings, or the more contemporary forms of aggregating based on gender, race, economic, or ideological similarities and aspirations, are not tolerated to define their collective human rights, since that would undermine the state’s power of society.

Political versus economic rights:

If challenged further, many developing countries’ governments claim that they are for human rights, but in contrast to the developed countries, which prioritize political rights, they themselves prefer to prioritize economic rights, which is still based on their slogan that “poverty is the gravest human rights violation in most of the developing countries.”

THE LESS OBVIOUS POLARIZING STANDPOINTS:

Nation-states versus UN instruments as human rights norms.

In many discussions I have had with various student groups in Indonesia, I have often been challenged by the argument that nation-states which claim to be “human rights champions,” have themselves carried out gross human rights violations to various groups within or without their own territories. I see this type of argument as an attempt to match the strife to uphold the universal human rights with several “living models.” The danger of such a standpoint is that if enough examples of human rights violations can be found in or carried out by those “model” nation-states, one can get easily disillusioned and say, “heck, since they also do it, why should we bother if we also do the same things, maybe even on a lesser scale.”

It would be difficult to find a consistency in the human rights concern of those nation-states, since all if not most international diplomacy is coloured or influenced by the

economic self-interest of the governing elites of those nation-states. The U.S. for instance, has more strongly defended the sovereignty of Kuwait, where it has a huge economic interest, compared to defending the sovereignty of West Sahara, where is has nearly no economic interest. US Senators have also been more vocal in criticizing Indonesia for violating the East Timorese right to self-determination than in criticizing Israel for doing the same thing to the Palestinian people.

Similarly, most Islamic and Arabic countries have been more vocal in condemning atrocities carried out by the Israeli state apparatus upon the Palestinian people, while silently endorsing Indonesia’s similar policy towards the Melanesian peoples within its official borders, since Indonesia’s support - as the country with the largest Islamic population in the world - is crucial to the Arab nations in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Hence, another standpoint to take is not to treat existing nation-states and their practices as the models or norms to uphold the universal human rights, but take directly the whole set of UN instruments, and apply them on all human groups in the world regardless of their religion, gender, race, or ideological belief.

Human rights violations by and within the nation-states versus human rights violations carried out by nation-states outside their territories and onto subjects of other states:

Most of the international human rights monitoring agencies, under or outside the UN system, tend to compare the performance of nation-states in upholding the universal human rights on a more intra-nation basis. This tends to be misleading because the economic systems of the industrially more advanced countries reach far beyond their borders. It overlooks the adverse global effects of the military-industrial complexes of those advanced countries far beyond their borders.

Focusing on what nation-states do on their own subjects creates a very distorted and unfair picture, since it understates the human rights violations facilitated by industrially more-advanced countries in contrast to territorial aggressions by industrially less-advanced countries, such as Iraq’s aggression into Kuwait, Morocco’s “Green March” into the West Sahara, or Indonesia’s aggression into East Timor.

This is not an apology for expansionist regimes, it is only stretching the meaning of “expansionism” further and through more sophisticated means.

Conclusion: human rights includes development:

Based on those deliberations, one already sees how artificial really is the dichotomy between “development” and “human rights.” If one studies carefully the complete set of universal human rights, or even by just focusing on the 1948 UDHR and the 1966 International Covenants, one can already understand that “development” is included in human rights. Maybe some qualifications need to be made. What I mean by development, or even the “economic development” which is often meant by the elite of industrially less-advanced country elites, is the attempt to increase the material and spiritual well being of the country’s inhabitants. These needs are certainly covered by Articles 22 till 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Another qualification is that these kinds of development efforts involve human beings, people, whose rights to organize and express the type and quality of development they prefer should be respected. Hence, nobody should be detained or harassed for saying, individually or collectively, what type of development they want or need. Because if that happens, then development is not a blessing anymore, but a curse, a new form of colonialism, namely internal colonialism of one people by one’s own compatriots.

INDONESIA TO ASK INTERPOL FOR HELP ON ACADEMIC

Jakarta, May 20 (Reuter) – Indonesian police will ask for Interpol’s assistance in bringing outspoken academic George Aditjondro back from Australia to answer charges of insulting the government, one of his lawyers said on Saturday.

Budi Hartono of the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute confirmed news reports that police would ask Interpol to bring Aditjondro, a strong critic of Jakarta’s rule in East Timor, back to Indonesia.

Aditjondro is likely to face trial for allegedly insulting the government during a seminar on democracy last August. He was first questioned by police in October.

Insulting the government carries a maximum jail term of 18 months.

“We know about it (the police request). But it will be up to the police how they manage to bring our client here,” Hartono said by telephone from Yogyakarta in central Java.

Police were not immediately available for comment.

Aditjondro, from the Satya Wacana University in Salatiga near Yogyakarta, is cur-

rently in Perth, Australia, teaching at the Murdoch University until the end of August.

Hartono said Yogyakarta police had sent Aditjondro a third summons asking him to return because they were set to give his case file to the prosecutor's office for further action.

"Aditjondro failed to answer the two previous summons because he can't break his contract with the Australian university," Hartono said.

Aditjondro was quoted in the latest edition of the Forum Keadilan weekly as saying he was not in Perth to seek asylum.

Indonesia and Australia recently set up an extradition treaty but it was unclear if it had been fully ratified by both countries.

U.S.-educated Aditjondro has been under attack since criticising government policy over the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in papers released in March last year.

The foreign ministry at the time referred to his research as baseless.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO INTERVIEW

Forum Keadilan, 25 May 1995 Translated from Indonesian. Brief items

GJA says in an interview from Perth the police threat to extradite him back to Indonesia to face charges of insulting the government are empty <gertak sambal>, because the charges are not covered by a draft extradition treaty currently under consideration by the Australian and Indonesian governments. He believes certain ABRI elements are specifically targeting him for jail over his exposure of military human rights abuses in East Timor. He thinks this because none of the other speakers at the event at which he is alleged to have insulted the government have been called in as witnesses - Rudini, Soemitro, Arief Budiman, Frans Magnis Suseno or Sri Bintang Pamungkas. Defending the aspirations of the East Timorese is no different to defending those of the Namibians, Bosnians, or Palestinians. He denies he is seeking asylum in Australia.

ACTIVIST HANDOVER REJECTED

"The West Australian" Tuesday May 30 1995. By Norman Aisbett - Asia Desk

The forced return to Indonesia of outspoken academic and human rights activist George Aditjondro would not be possible under the terms of the new Australia-Indonesia extradition treaty, a Foreign Affairs Department spokeswoman said in Canberra yesterday.

The spokeswoman also revealed that Indonesian police made an informal inquiry last week to the Australian Federal Police about coming to Australia to see Dr. Aditjondro.

The Indonesians were told that they had no jurisdiction here, she said.

The Harvard-educated Dr. Aditjondro, 49, faces up to 18 months in prison if found guilty of "insulting a government body" and a possible further 18 weeks if he does not answer a summons to appear for questioning at Jogjakarta police station on June 1 - a summons he says he has not received.

The charge relates to comments he allegedly made during a panel discussion at an Islamic university in Indonesia last August.

Dr. Aditjondro, a lecturer in the post-graduate studies program at the prestigious Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana (UKSW), in Salatiga, Central Java, is a visiting fellow for an undefined period at the Asia research centre at Murdoch University.

The Foreign Affairs Department spokeswoman said the extradition treaty applied only to laws common to both countries. It also ruled out extradition for offences of a political nature.

"We haven't received a request for Dr. Aditjondro's extradition," she said. "It's hypothetical but if we did receive one, it wouldn't fit the category."

There was also no dual-criminality clause which would allow mutual assistance between the countries on criminal matters.

There had been no request by Dr. Aditjondro for refugee status or permanent residence in Australia.

In the past fortnight, Indonesian police have said in interviews that they are ready to come to Australia to "fetch" Dr. Aditjondro if he did not return home as directed.

Jogjakarta police have also claimed the extradition treaty, which took effect in January, provided the means to force Dr. Aditjondro's return.

Dr. Aditjondro's situation appeared to worsen last Friday when Indonesian Attorney-General Singgih told reporters that Dr. Aditjondro had also insulted President Suharto, a serious charge that if pursued could bring even more jail.

Mr. Singgih said the charge "is already in the Attorney-General's office and indeed will go to court in Jogjakarta but he has not yet surrendered himself to the investigators because he is still in Australia."

Also last week, Central Java police regional chief Brig-Gen. H. Marimas appealed to Dr. Aditjondro to return voluntarily to face possible criminal charges - and warned that the extradition treaty could be invoked.

In an exclusive report in March last year, The West Australian quoted research by Dr. Aditjondro which embarrassed the Indone-

sian Government internationally over the November 1991 massacre of civilians at Dili cemetery in East Timor.

The research said that 271 East Timorese were killed and 200 others had disappeared - far more than official figures.

Dr. Aditjondro would not comment on the issue yesterday.

It is understood that he has not received the purported third summons requiring his attendance in Jogjakarta by Thursday.

OZ SAYS NO TO GJA ARREST

From: Friends of East Timor WA, June 4.

Those who have been following the case of George Aditjondro, currently working at Murdoch University in Perth, Western Australia, will be aware that the Indonesian security forces have been making threats via the media (notably Jawa Pos and Suara Merdeka) to come and arrest GJA in Australia.

Finally, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs has been pressured to respond, as quoted in the article below.

Friends of East Timor believe this response is late in coming and does not sufficiently address the grave affront to Australian national sovereignty that these repeated assertions by the Indonesian authorities represent. But, as far as it goes, the government response is something of a relief.

Rob South Friends of East Timor (Western Australia)

TIMOR ACTIVIST IN BID TO STAY HERE

West Australian. June 5, p7. by Norman Aisbett

Perth-based Indonesian academic and human rights activist George Aditjondro - who faces serious political charges in Indonesia - will seek permanent residency in Australia.

Dr. Aditjondro, 49, spoke of his decision yesterday at his Fremantle home, just hours after his 19-year-old son, Enrico, arrived from Indonesia. His wife Esti was already in WA.

Dr. Aditjondro said he could not return for police interrogation because, he alleged, the judicial system was unjust and his case had been pre-determined.

The charge of which he is aware, "insulting a government body," carries a possible 18-month jail term.

Indonesian Attorney-general Singgih suggested recently that Dr. Aditjondro had insulted President Suharto.

Dr. Aditjondro said he opted to seek permanent residency after consulting the WA branch of the International Commission of Jurists.

"I am advised that, if I obtain permanent residency, I will have the protection of Australian law and therefore have no need to seek refugee status," he said.

"Apart from my objections to the unjust manipulation of the legal system in Indonesia, I also see, in my decision to stay here, a lot of benefits for the democratic struggle in Indonesia.

"I am engaged in research on the links between business and politics in Indonesia that may have a critical bearing on the post-Suharto era."

Dr. Aditjondro came to WA in February as a visiting fellow at Murdoch University's Asia Research Centre. He has since accepted a teaching post in Asian studies at the university.

Dr. Aditjondro denies police claims that three summonses have been sent to him while in Australia. He has received only one original document, he said.

He had already responded to many other summonses issued between October and January when he was still in Indonesia. Three resulting interrogation sessions had lasted a total of 20 hours.

Police are investigating speeches Dr. Aditjondro made last August at the Universitas Islam Indonesia in Jogjakarta during a seminar on the theme "The Urgency of Democratisation in the Wake of the Coming (Presidential) Succession."

Indonesia is scheduled to have a presidential election in 1998.

"Maybe my speeches were unique because I did not simply paint Suharto as the scapegoat for all of the problems in Indonesia," he said yesterday.

"I introduced at the seminar the concept of oligarchy - that the challenge for Indonesia is to find a way to dismantle an oligarchy consisting of a couple of ruling families, families who have vested interests in the economy."

Dr. Aditjondro admitted that during his speeches he had told some jokes about the military, the President, Indonesia's "New Order" government and independence.

"They were lighthearted jokes ... instead of delivering a boring academic speech," he said.

"In Indonesia, making jokes about the military and the President seems to be sacrilegious."

CALL FOR POLL BROUGHT FIRST TROUBLE.

By Norman Aisbett.

Even for an Indonesian activist, George Aditjondro went out on a limb when he called for a referendum in East Timor to decide whether the territory should remain a part of Indonesia.

While there has been debate about human rights and other conditions in East Timor, people rarely publicly challenge Indonesia's right to have annexed the territory.

In March last year, *The West Australian* published an exclusive report on research papers by Dr. Aditjondro in which he said 271 East Timorese had been killed in the 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor and 200 others had disappeared, numbers far higher than those from the Indonesian Government.

The report, which embarrassed Indonesia, brought him international publicity.

Later he reported that stones had been thrown at his house. Several invitation for him to speak had been withdrawn.

Dr. Aditjondro said yesterday he had effectively been dismissed from his post as a lecturer in development studies at Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga.

He had been told that his failure to return by May 16 - coincidentally the date on which police wanted to see him - would be taken as his resignation.

"My university is now in the hands of a right-wing fundamentalist clique which feels that I am jeopardising the good relations between the university and the Government, especially the military," he said.

"In other words, I have become a hot potato. They didn't seem to be reluctant to drop this hot potato.

"What is wrong with supporting the East Timorese?"

CONFLICTING PRESSURES ON ACTIVIST ADITJONDRO

The West Australian, Friday June 9.

A Perth-based Indonesian academic and human rights activist who refuses to go home to face criminal charges is being accused of cowardice. But supporters laud his courage and want him to stay free to carry the fight. NORMAN AISBETT and ANDREAS HARSONO report.

George Aditjondro is a marked man in Indonesia because of a propensity for ignoring taboos.

Not only did he claim that the Indonesian Government's death count in the notorious Dili massacre in East Timor in 1991 was well understated, he also defended the right of East Timorese to reject their 1975 "integration" into the Indonesian Republic.

Rarely, if ever, does anyone in Indonesia dare to suggest that East Timor should not be part of Indonesia.

Taboo number two: He took his criticisms of Indonesia overseas. He released his Dili massacre research to *The West Australian* last year; and has swung a verbal scythe in recent interviews, saying the Indonesian

legal system is unjust and being manipulated to put him behind bars.

Taboo number three: He publicly joked about President Suharto and aired details of the vast, lucrative, business linkages of some of Indonesia's most powerful political families.

Now a visiting fellow at Murdoch University's Asia research centre, Dr. Aditjondro, 49, is wanted in Indonesia for police questioning over the comments and jokes he made about the President - during a university seminar on Yogyakarta last August.

One possible charge - "insulting a government body" - carries an 18-month jail term. Another - "insulting the head of State" - carries a six-year jail term.

Dr. Aditjondro's recent announcement that he wants permanent residency in Australia was preceded by Indonesia media reports quoting Yogyakarta police as saying they wanted to "go and fetch" him - something impossible under the new Australia-Indonesia extradition treaty which applies only to offences common to both countries.

Indonesian Attorney-General Singih also raised the extradition bogey. He says Dr. Aditjondro should be a gentleman and return.

Foreign Affairs Department spokesman Irawan Abidin plays it down - dismissing extradition as a waste of taxpayer's money and saying police inquiries are incomplete.

He says "Jondro" should be a good citizen and return home - a seemingly innocent line that has damaging potential.

Non-compliance translates into lack of commitment to country, a most unacceptable quality in the culture of post-colonial Indonesia which in August celebrates 50 years of independence.

A cynic might suggest authorities do not really want him on trial - with the international criticism that could bring. Better to scare him off, tagged a fugitive and a poor citizen.

The Jakarta Post quoted ruling the Golkar Party legislator, Mr. Krissantono, as saying Dr. Aditjondro was a coward who should live up to his claim to be someone who loves democracy and face the consequences of his actions.

Another Golkar legislator, Mr. Kamil Shahab, labelled Dr. Aditjondro a hypocrite who was likely to lose credibility by staying in Australia.

A sharp swipe came from Professor Loekman Sutrisno, of the Gajah Mada University, an occasional critic of the Suharto regime's East Timor record, who said Dr. Aditjondro was "not a ksatria" - a term from an Indian legend story for a brave knight warrior.

He said Dr. Aditjondro should fight with courage for academic freedom, like a ksatria, and not "merely run away from the devils."

Not so, says Santoso, the general secretary of the Alliance of Independent Journalists, who stayed in Indonesia despite facing possible criminal charges for having published an unlicensed news magazine.

"Why should you bow to their rules?" Santoso said. "Surrender, for people like George, means bowing to the system. In that case, it is better to struggle abroad."

In Perth, Friends of East Timor spokesman Rob South said the "sinister threats coming from Indonesia are a quite deliberate attempt to make it impossible for him to return home at present."

"Dr. Aditjondro has already courageously returned to his country a number of times since his outspoken criticism of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor was published abroad.

"He returned despite facing grueling police interrogations, having his home attacked by Government paramilitary thugs and having his family intimidated and threatened.

"Dr. Aditjondro represents the strong democratic tradition of the Indonesian people that has been so brutally repressed under Suharto."

Support also came from former Singapore solicitor-general Francis Seow, who has lived in self-imposed exile in the US since the late 1980s in preference to facing tax charges in Singapore which he claims are politically motivated.

Mr. Seow, who was held without charge for 72 days in Singapore detention centre in 1988, said claims that Dr. Aditjondro was a poor citizen were "very specious .. a false argument."

"That is exactly what they tried to say about me," he said. "Common sense tells you that you should stay away. The question of whether you are a hero or not doesn't arise.

"If he went back to Indonesia, what sort of justice would he get? He would end up in jail for some time and his voice would be stifled."

For his part, Dr. Aditjondro quoted an Indonesian proverb, "Let the dogs bark, the caravan has to go on" - followed by another, "Barking dogs do not bite."

"I haven't sought citizenship of Australia," he said. "If a Golkar politician (Shahab) doesn't know the difference between permanent residency and citizenship, it is understandable that he might make mistakes in international law."

It was a bit sad to be slandered by a fellow academic who had been a mild critic of the Government but who had now resorted to an ultra-nationalist stance; that Indonesia could not be criticised by another country,

that Indonesians should not criticise from outside.

"Ultra-nationalists forget that other values go hand in hand with nationalism, values laid down in the Pancasila (Indonesia's State philosophy) - belief in one god, just and civilised humanity, national unity, democracy and social justice," he said.

[with the article is a cartoon of GJA holding aloft a flag that says 'democracy,' and surrounded by a pack of barking bulldogs]

U.N. ACTIVITIES AND RESPONSES

INDONESIA CONTESTS UN REPORT ON TIMOR

Publico, 7 March 1995. By Deborah Berlinck. Translated from Portuguese

Geneva - Yesterday, Indonesia publicly rejected all recommendations made by the UN Special Rapporteur, Bacre Waly Ndiaye, which highlighted the need for a new investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre. The UN expert on extra-judicial, summary and arbitrary executions, Ndiaye, from Senegal, visited East Timor last July. His main conclusion, that the massacre in the cemetery was "a planned military operation to deal with political dissidence," has irritated Indonesia.

In a speech read yesterday during the UN Human Rights Commission session, the Indonesian representative, Eddy Pratomo, complained that the report was "distorted" and got straight to the point: "Indonesia expresses serious disagreement with the analysis and conclusions of the Special Rapporteur and feels obliged to reject his recommendations."

Among the Rapporteur's recommendations "rejected" by Indonesia are the urgent creation of a civil police force in Timor, new investigations involving not only the armed forces but also the victims' relatives, civil authorities, the local church and NGOs, and the recommendation that the judicial system be reformed so that the investigations are independent and impartial.

The Indonesian diplomat said that his government noted the Rapporteur's wish to continue talks with Indonesia, but he gave Ndiaye a clear warning: "We would like to remind Mr. Ndiaye that talks must be two-way. The fact that he did not even bother to consider Indonesia's views in his report leads us to seriously question the usefulness of this kind of dialogue."

The Indonesian spokesman went on to give assurances that in spite of his govern-

ment's disagreement with the Rapporteur, "that would in no way diminish our readiness to collaborate with the UN, or weaken our determination to improve promotion and protection of human rights in Indonesia, including East Timor." As proof of this he referred to the "invitation" to the UN High Commission for Human Rights, José Ayala-Lasso, to visit the territory this year.

José Ramos Horta, one of the exiled Timorese resistance leaders, was not intimidated by the speech. According to Horta, Indonesia gave "a political speech" as had been expected, because it did not want to admit that responsibility for the massacre does, in fact, lie with the Jakarta Government.

EYE ON ASIA: "A UN REPORT ON EAST TIMOR; 1991 SHOOTING WAS 'A PLANNED MILITARY OPERATION'"

Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 April 1995. By Frank Ching, Features Editor

On November 12, 1991, several thousand people took part in a pro-independence march to the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, carrying banners opposing the incorporation of the region into Indonesia. At the entrance to the cemetery, soldiers opened fire on the crowd. Many were killed.

An internal military investigation into the incident was carried out. Its findings have not been released. A National Commission of Inquiry was also set up by presidential decree. It concluded that the shootings were "a spontaneous reaction among the security personnel to defend themselves" as a result of a "riotous condition." It recommended that those suspected of violating the law "must be brought to trial."

Military men brought to trial received relatively light sentences, ranging from eight to 18 months' imprisonment. No military personnel were charged with murder or manslaughter and only one - who had cut off the ears of a demonstrator - was found guilty of assault. Demonstrators found guilty of subversion or sedition, by contrast, received harsh sentences, including life imprisonment.

Recently, the United Nations has released the findings of a special investigator. In his report, Bacre Waly Ndiaye - special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions - pulls no punches. The shooting of the demonstrators was, he says, "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."

Ndiaye cites reports that "trenches had been dug with road-building machines" before the demonstration, "allegedly to be used as mass graves," and that the authorities "could not possibly have been unaware of the preparations for the November 12 demonstration." He characterized the rally itself as "a peaceful demonstration of political dissent by unarmed civilians."

The UN expert, who visited Indonesia and East Timor last July, emphasized that his mission did not include an assessment of the political status of East Timor, which was a Portuguese colony for more than 450 years before it was taken over by Indonesia in July 1976 and declared the country's 27th province.

As for the number of deaths arising from the Santa Cruz incident, Ndiaye estimated the figure at "between 150 and 270."

Speaking of the disparity in sentences received by military officers and demonstrators, the UN expert said this illustrated more "an implacable determination to suppress political dissent than a genuine commitment to protect the right to life and prevent extrajudicial executions." He concluded further that "the conditions that allowed the Santa Cruz killings to occur are still present" and that members of the security forces responsible "have not been held accountable and continue to enjoy virtual impunity."

Among other things, the special rapporteur recommended a new commission of inquiry be set up to look into the killings. He said it should be composed of "individuals of recognized independence, impartiality and expertise." He also included a warning: "No solution to the problems facing East Timor can be found before justice has been done."

He said it was essential for relative of the missing and the dead to be involved in any investigation. But, he said, "in the atmosphere of fear and suspicion currently prevailing in East Timor," this was not possible. He said that a "drastic reduction of the military presence in East Timor" was a prerequisite.

The special rapporteur recommended that a commission for human rights in East Timor, consisting of "individuals of recognized impartiality," be created to monitor the situation. He also urged the establishment of "a civilian police force as a matter of urgency."

The release of the Ndiaye report followed yet another incident of killing of civilians, this time in the Gariana village in Liquica [sic], west of Dili, albeit on a much smaller scale. On January 11, members of the Indonesian regional military command clashed with guerrillas, a clash that resulted in one soldier being wounded. The guerrillas escaped. The troops then reportedly entered

Gariana village to look for the guerrillas and arrested four men. The next day the troops arrested two others from the same village. All six were killed.

The Indonesian military at first insisted that those killed were members of the resistance movement. However, as international concern over the incident heightened, Indonesian State Secretary Murdiono announced that the military had investigated the killings and had found that "there was an action by military personnel which was not based on proper procedure." President Suharto has ordered a special council set up to examine the conclusions of the military inquiry.

These latest killings reinforce Ndiaye's observations that the "conditions that allowed the Santa Cruz killings to occur are still present." While these latest killings are not on the same scale as the Santa Cruz massacre, they underline the urgent need for the implementation of the recommendations made by the UN special rapporteur.

ALATAS-BARROSO MEETING DELAYED ALSO (PROPOSED)

Jakarta, April 12 (LUSA) - summarized

UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali has suggested that the meeting between the Indonesian and Portuguese ministers of Foreign Affairs, Ali Alatas and Durão Barroso, be delayed to July 8th, revealed today a diplomatic source in Jakarta. At their last meeting in Geneva, the two ministers had agreed to meet again on May 19th, in NY. According to the Jakarta source, the delay is intended so that the ministers meeting will occur after the inter-Timorese meeting in June, which date is still unspecified.

Peking, April 12 (LUSA) - summarized - Durão Barroso, who is in China accompanying president Mario Soares' official visit, told LUSA that he hasn't yet received official notification from the UN on the intent to postpone the meeting with Ali Alatas, therefore he could not yet respond. Durão Barroso added that Portugal had previously suggested to the UN that the ministers' meeting be postponed also, in view of the delay of the inter-Timorese meeting. "It would not make sense for me to meet with Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs before the Inter-Timorese meeting," said Barroso, adding that the conclusions from the Timorese meeting would be analyzed at the ministers' meeting.

TRIPARTITE UN TALKS ON EAST TIMOR POSTPONED

AFP April 12, 1995, abridged

Jakarta, AFP - A planned UN-sponsored meeting on East Timor involving the foreign

ministers of Indonesia and Portugal has been postponed from May 19 to July 8, an Indonesian diplomatic source said Wednesday.

During their fifth meeting in January, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart José Durão Barroso had agreed with UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to reconvene in New York on May 19.

"The decision of the UN secretary general is that the next tripartite meeting will take place on July 8," the source said.

The source added that the meeting would be held after a "reconciliation meeting" between pro- and anti-Indonesian East Timorese factions which is expected to take place some time in June.

The talks between the two East Timorese camps were initially slated to be held in Salzburg, Austria, on April 24.

But the meeting was postponed following protests by the pro-Indonesian faction over the choice of those invited by the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

BOUTROS-GHALI VISITS JAKARTA

UN Daily Highlights, 21 April 1995 (excerpt)

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali arrived in Jakarta, Indonesia, this morning after a brief stopover in Singapore, and was received by President Suharto. Tomorrow, he will have talks with the President on Indonesia's relations with the United Nations, its chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement, the question of East Timor, and the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference.

Tomorrow afternoon, the Secretary-General will address the Foreign Affairs Forum of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, and the National Youth Forum on Environment. Mr. and Mrs. Boutros-Ghali will later attend a state dinner in their honour. They will travel to Bandung on Sunday.

BOUTROS-GHALI IN JAKARTA

Voice of America, 4/22/95. By David Butler, Bangkok. Excerpts

Intro: UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali says (Saturday) the world body is faced with overwhelming demands for peacekeeping troops. He also spoke of donor fatigue and referred to himself as a super-beggar. David Butler reports from our Southeast Asia bureau the Secretary-General spoke at a foreign affairs forum in Indonesia.

Text: Mr. Boutros-Ghali told diplomats and journalists at the Jakarta conference in just a few years the UN peacekeeping budget had risen from 500-million dollars to three-point-six-billion dollars.

...
 Earlier Saturday, Mr. Boutros-Ghali met with Indonesian President Suharto. Indonesian officials said the two men agreed on the need for dialogue among the people of East Timor – the troubled former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Monday, Mr. Boutros-Ghali and leaders from the non-aligned movement will travel to Bandung, southeast of Jakarta, to mark the 40th anniversary of the first major conference of Asian and African nations. The 1955 Bandung conference laid the foundation for the non-aligned movement, which now includes 111 countries.

ET LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DECLARATION TO BOUTROS GHALI

Macao, April 24 (LUSA) - abridged

The Legislative Assembly of East Timor approved a declaration to be delivered to Boutros Ghali in Jakarta, in which the possibility of realization of a referendum in ET is rejected –said a Dili source. The declaration, approved April 20 (the day prior to Boutros Ghali's arrival), reaffirms support for the integration of ET into Indonesia. The president of the Timorese Legislative Assembly, Antonio Parada, left to Jakarta to personally deliver the document to Boutros Ghali. According to the same source, the declaration also states that Portugal does not have the right to interfere in ET issues; and recalls that Portuguese Foreign Minister Durão Barroso stated publicly that Portugal does not have any intention of returning to ET as an administering power, nor does it seek to gain a single oil barrel from the Sea of Timor.

According to the same source in Dili, some members of the Assembly disagreed with approving the declaration, invoking that Governor Abilio Osorio had promised, right after being elected, that he would promote the realization of a referendum within two years time. The source in Dili commented that "in the Indonesian political system, those who criticize do not have the right to vote anymore, thus the declaration was approved by unanimity but without the votes of those who opposed it."

According to Indonesian Minister Murdiono, Boutros Ghali invited the Timorese leaders, both pro-Indonesia and pro-independence to hold their meeting in July.

SECURITY TIGHTENED FOR BBG VISIT

Dili, April 24 (LUSA) - abridged - The Indonesian authorities have placed two army battalions in Dili in state of prevention, in fear that there may be popular dem-

onstrations during Boutros-Ghali visit to Indonesia. The chief of Police, Colonel Andreas Sugiarto, said that about 1,000 men of the security forces were in state of prevention in Dili because there was information that a demonstration was being planned that would start at the Santa Cruz cemetery and march to the central marketplace.

In fear of actions similar to those of November 29 in Jakarta, the Indonesian police has also visibly strengthened its presence in the vicinity of the US Embassy.

UN CHIEF BELIEVES EAST TIMOR TALKS MAKING PROGRESS

Bandung, Indonesia, April 24, AFP – United Nations sponsored talks on the future of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor have made progress despite delays, the world body's chief said here Monday.

"I believe we have achieved some progress," UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said of the tripartite talks he is overseeing between Indonesia and Portugal.

"The two points of view are so opposite that it will take time to solve this controversy," he said.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975 and unilaterally annexed the enclave the following year in a move still not recognised by the UN which regards Portugal as the administering power.

"I am optimistic and I believe that my role of facilitator, which is very limited, is just to encourage the dialogue which will certainly help find a solution to this problem," Boutros-Ghali said.

Monday was also to have seen the start of talks in Austria facilitated by the UN between East Timorese groups living in the Indonesian controlled territory and those living abroad in exile.

But these were postponed some weeks ago following disputes over the composition of the delegations and the clash in dates with Boutros-Ghali's current trip to Indonesia to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Bandung Asia Africa Conference.

The talks between the two groups of East Timorese was seen as a confidence building measure, he said.

"This dialogue may help create a new atmosphere between the two groups which don't share the same opinion about the future of East Timor," he added.

In later questioning the secretary-general side-stepped the issue of whether the agenda for all these talks was to confirm Indonesia's sovereignty over the troubled enclave.

Any permanent resolution of the status of East Timor would require a decision of the UN General Assembly, he said.

However, he added, any agreement that could be reached between the two disputing nations would help the General Assembly to make a decision.

UN SECRETARY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT EAST TIMOR RESOLUTION

Australian Associated Press, April 28, 1995

Canberra – United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said today he was optimistic of creating a climate of confidence which would lead to a resolution between the antagonists in the dispute over East Timor.

Dr. Boutros-Ghali told a National Press Club lunch here that he hoped a meeting in Geneva in July would find a common denominator between the positions of Indonesia and Portugal.

He said he also hoped to convene a meeting between pro-independence and pro-integration forces from East Timor in Austria but a resolution would still take years of hard work.

Dr. Boutros-Ghali said there was willingness between Indonesia and Portugal to continue their dialogue, even though talks had not progressed to discussions of matters of substance.

"This is why I am optimistic," he said.

"In the five or six meetings there is progress and there is a political will on both sides to find a solution to this problem."

Dr. Boutros-Ghali said the meetings during the past three years between Portugal and Indonesia and proposed talks between East Timorese in favour of independence and those supporting integration with Indonesia were just the first step.

"Our approach is - let us avoid substance for the time being; let us have a step-by-step approach; let us create a new climate of confidence between the people on the ground and the people in the government."

"At this time, when this climate of confidence exists, they will be able to talk more and more frankly and in a more direct way and then we can move to the second or third stage which is substance.

TIMORESE MEET UN SECRETARY-GENERAL

By Chris Slee, Green Left, April 30

MELBOURNE - Some 100 East Timorese and members of the Australia-East Timor Association rallied outside the Grand Hyatt Hotel on April 27. Inside, United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was meeting representatives of non-government organisations.

Two members of Melbourne's East Timorese community were able to attend the meeting with Boutros-Ghali. They were Abel Guterres, the president of the East Timor Relief Association, and Emilia Pires of the Timorese Association of Victoria.

They asked Boutros-Ghali to open a permanent UN human rights office in Dili to investigate abuses and enable the UN Human Rights Commission to monitor the situation in East Timor.

Boutros-Ghali said this would depend on the amount of support amongst UN member countries for the proposal. Abel Guterres later commented that this highlighted the need to put pressure on the Australian government to support the idea.

UN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS COMMITTEE DISCUSSES REPORT OF PORTUGAL

GENEVA, 4 May (UN Information Service) – The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights this morning examined the second periodic report of Portugal on how that State was fulfilling its obligations under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Introducing the report, Goncalo de Santa Clara Gomes, head of the high-level delegation, said that his country was endeavouring to implement the principles of the Covenant through legislative and political measures. Portugal had special historical, legal and political responsibilities as an administering Power. In that context, he recalled the efforts undertaken in order to ensure that the East Timor people exercised their right to self-determination, along with the defence of all human rights in the territory.

The present report should be more complete, he noted. Portugal, as the administering Power recognized by the United Nations, should have been able to provide information on the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights by the people of East Timor. Unfortunately, the decolonization process in East Timor had not been completed because of the invasion of that territory by Indonesia in 1975. Thus, Portugal was unable to exercise its administration over the territory and to report on the situation there.

With regard to Macao, he said that his country had recognized it to be an integral part of Chinese territory, and basic pacts were signed between the two countries to respect international obligations once the transitional period was over.

Mr. de Santa Clara Gomes was accompanied by Fernando Ribeiro Lopes, Director-General of Working Conditions, Ministry of

Employment and Social Security; Carlos Botelho, Chairman of the Executive Council of IGAPHE (Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Telecommunications); Francisco Menezes, Assistant Cabinet Director for European Affairs, Ministry of Finance; Fernando Coelho, Counsellor; Amelia Leitao, Director, Ministry of Health; Glauca Varzielas, Division Chief, Ministry of Employment and Social Security and Virginia Bras Gomes from the same Ministry; João Madureira and Paulo Marrecas Ferreira from the office of the Procurator-General; and Maria do Ceu Gonsalves Martins Faria, Ministry of Education.

Mr. Menezes gave an account of the ethnic and demographic composition of Portugal. He noted that out of the total population of 9.8 million, there were 5 million women. The inflation rate at present was 6.5 per cent, while the number of unemployed stood at 280,000. The gross domestic product (GDP) in 1993 was valued at 13,683,500 Escudos, while the per capita income had risen to 1,385,500 Escudos (145.5 Escudos are worth approximately \$1.00).

One expert asked about the status of foreign workers in light of the Schengen Accord, in particular, whether there were systematic efforts to return or to assimilate the estimated 130,000 illegal immigrants in Portugal. A member of the Portuguese delegation said that the Government was tolerant towards persons coming from Portuguese-speaking countries and deportation was not frequent. Another expert underlined the need to regularize the illegal situation of migrants, the better to protect their rights. The need to educate the police and other public officials in human rights and in the spirit of tolerance towards people different from them was also emphasized. The delegation responded that Portugal was less inclined to racism than other European countries.

ALL-INCLUSIVE TIMORESE DIALOGUE

UN BRINGS TIMORESE TOGETHER; MEETING SET FOR APRIL IN SALZBURG

Diario de Noticias (DN), 25 February 1995. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

The face-to-face meeting between Timorese - both in favour and against integration in Indonesia - has been scheduled. In Salzburg, Austria, between 24 and 26 April, the two main protagonists José Ramos-

Horta and Abilio Araujo will sit at the same table.

Thirteen Timorese resident in Timor and twelve who are living abroad will be taking part in the Salzburg meeting organised by the UN.

Although those present will be representing different positions on the question of independence and autonomy, it is still not clear whether Timor's political status will be discussed in Salzburg.

Abilio Araujo, aligned with those in favour of integration in Indonesia, told DN that "this (i.e. leaving the political question aside) ought to be the underlying spirit" of the meeting.

Fretilin's José Luis Guterres, who has still not decided whether he will join the group because the discussion of political status is not allowed, said that José Ramos Horta, Mari Alkatiri, João Carrascalão and Zacarias Costa will be there.

Ramos Horta, representative of the Maubere Resistance movement abroad, reaffirmed his non-acceptance of restrictions on the items for discussion by the conference, namely Timor's political status. The Salzburg meeting is a result of the meeting in Geneva between Boutros Ghali, Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas last January. At that time, these three agreed that a meeting should be organised by the UN, so that the Timorese of different persuasions could exchange their viewpoints without getting on to the subject of the territory's political status.

Boutros Ghali's office informed the 25 possible participants, which include Manuel Tilman, Timorese resistance in Macao, by letter.

ABILIO ARAUJO CRITICAL OF UN

Publico, 3 March 1995. By Adelino Gomes. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Timorese leader in exile Abilio Araujo believes that the UN ought to facilitate but not actually organise the inter-Timorese extended dialogue, scheduled for next May in Salzburg, and he questions the criteria used to choose the 25 participants invited by Secretary General Boutros Ghali's Office.

"A large part of those who took part in the London meeting (December 1993) have not been invited. The numbers, selection criteria and the practical arrangements connected with the forthcoming meeting ought to be defined by the Timorese groups themselves," said Araujo, adding that he wrote a letter to this effect on 27 February to the Deputy Secretary General responsible for the question of Timor, Ismat Kittani.

For the Salzburg meeting, the Secretary General's Office invited 13 Timorese who are resident in the occupied territory, and 12 Timorese who live abroad. The meeting is set for 24, 25 and 26 April, but Abilio Araujo suggested that the dates may be changed. In addition to the two well-known names linked with the two factions of Timorese abroad - José Ramos Horta and Araujo himself - the UN has invited other Timorese leaders: Fretilin's José Luis Guterres and Mari Alkatiri, UDT's João Carrascalão and Zacarias da Costa, as well as lawyer Manuel Tilman, formerly an ASDI deputy currently living in Macao.

Abilio Araujo, who still refers to himself as Chairman of Fretilin and who was one of the main instigators behind the so-called "reconciliation meetings" sponsored by Indonesia, met yesterday in London with the Minister for the Commonwealth and Asia, Alistair Goodlad.

After the meeting, Araujo said that the British Minister had been "very receptive" and had promised to raise with Jakarta questions such as the de-militarisation of East Timor and the ending of Indonesia's transmigration policy - "a de stabilising factor." The emergence of the so-called "ninjas" falls into this policy, which sets Timorese against Timorese.

During the 45-minute the Timorese leader also raised the matter of UK arms sales to Indonesia. "We support Indonesia's right to modernise its army, but condemn the use of such arms against our people," he said.

TIMOR: TALKS IN JEOPARDY

Publico, 11 March 1995. By J. T. de Negrinhos. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon - Following the objections expressed by Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz to what they consider to be excessive UN protagonism in the preparation of the inter-Timorese talks, Indonesian diplomacy now says that the pro-integration participants from East Timor might even go as far as boycotting the meeting in Salzburg if the UN does not reconsider its methods.

Iriwan Abidin, spokesman for Ali Alatas, was clearly dissatisfied by the fact that "those who initiated the process, of which the forthcoming extended meeting is a continuation" had not been consulted on the choice of the 26 people who will be attending the meeting. Abidin was referring to Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz, partners in the Jakarta-sponsored "reconciliation" process.

Meanwhile, Abilio Sereno, Committee Co-ordinator of Fretilin in Portugal (faction backing Abilio Araujo) has spoken out in defence of their leader. Sereno supported all

the objections raised by Araujo, but levelled his harshest criticism at the Portuguese Government. Araujo's supporter was more moderate in his condemnation of the UN, recalling that, in spite of everything, Ghali's advisers had spoken to all the groups, which was something that "the Portuguese Foreign Ministry had not done."

TIMOR TALKS' PARTICIPANTS

Publico, 11 March 1995. By J. T. de Negrinhos. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Publico has managed to get hold of the complete list of Timorese invited by the UN to the talks in April.

From those living outside Timor, the following fourteen individuals were invited: José Ramos Horta (CNRM), Constâncio Pinto (CNRM), Ines Almeida (CNRM), João Carrascalão (UDT), Vicente Guterres (UDT), Zacarias da Costa (UDT), José Luis Guterres (Fretilin), Mari Alkatiri (Fretilin), Abilio Araujo (Fretilin Committee in Portugal), Abilio Sereno (Fretilin Committee in Portugal), José Martins (KOTA), Manuel Tilman ("reconciliation"), Father Francisco Fernandes ("reconciliation"), Father Constâncio ("reconciliation").

Twelve invitations were sent to Timor itself: Bishop Ximenes Belo, Abilio Osorio Soares (Governor), Francisco Lopes da Cruz (ambassador in Suharto's service), Mario Carrascalão (former Governor, currently Indonesia's ambassador to Romania), Francisco Xavier do Amaral (first chairman of Fretilin, currently leader of the Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association), Domingos Soares (Administrator of the Dili municipality), João Mariano Saldanha, Florentino Sarmiento (attended the first "reconciliation" meeting), Armindo Maia (Vice Rector of the Loro Sae University of Dili), Salvador Ximenes Soares (member of Indonesian Parliament), Clementino dos Reis Amaral (former member of Indonesian Parliament), and Antonio Parada (assistant in the Provincial Government).

ALATAS ON INTER-TIMORESE TALKS

Voice of America, 3/23/95. By David Butler, Bangkok

Intro: officials in Indonesia said today (Thursday) they will participate in United Nations-sponsored talks on East Timor despite UN plans to include dissidents from the disputed territory in the talks. David Butler has this report from our Southeast Asia bureau.

Text: the official Antara news agency quotes foreign minister Ali Alatas as saying he was disappointed the United Nations invited dissident East Timorese to the talks without consulting Jakarta.

Mr. Alatas told parliament UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali's invitations to dissident East Timorese were a fait accompli (have already been issued). He says Indonesia has expressed its disappointment to the Secretary-General over the way the invitations were handled.

But a foreign ministry spokesman told reporters Indonesia would be represented at next month's talks, which will include East Timorese from inside and outside the territory.

The spokesman says the government has never considered boycotting the talks.

Among the outspoken critics of Indonesian rule in East Timor expected at the talks is the territory's roman catholic prelate, bishop Carlos Belo.

East Timor's Portuguese colonial rulers abandoned it in 1975. Indonesian troops moved in in the midst of a civil war and claimed sovereignty over the territory in 1976.

The United Nations has never recognized Jakarta's claim to the territory.

Foreign Minister Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart, José Manuel Durão Barroso, agreed in Geneva in January the United Nations should sponsor talks between rival East Timorese groups.

Indonesia insists the talks will focus solely on the peaceful integration of the territory into Indonesia and will not consider possible East Timorese independence.

Analysts say - given the broad spectrum of East Timorese figures being invited to attend the late-April talks in Salzburg - all options for East Timor's future will be discussed.

JAKARTA BACKS TIMOR TALKS DESPITE UN PUSH: ALATAS

The Age, March 24, 1995

Jakarta, Reuter - Indonesia said today it would not boycott United Nations-sponsored talks on East Timor, despite its protest over the UN secretary-general's push to include key dissident figures from the territory.

The official Antara newsagency quoted the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, as saying that he had officially expressed disappointment over the way the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Ghali, invited participants without consulting Jakarta.

But a Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Irawan Abidin, said Indonesia would continue to support the talks, due to start next month, which bring together East Timorese

inside and outside the Indonesian-ruled territory. "there has never been any plan by the Indonesian Government to boycott the talks," he said.

Mr. Abidin said Indonesia would support the dialogue because it concerned the interests of East Timorese who are divided for and against integration with Indonesia.

The UN would facilitate the talks.

ANTI-UN DEMONSTRATION IN DILI TOMORROW

Lisbon, March 23 (LUSA) - The Indonesian authorities are organizing a demonstration against the UN actions concerning ET. The demonstration is to take place Friday at 10:00 AM, in Dili, in front of the "Pavilhao do Sol" building. There will be participation from Dili residents as well as from people coming from neighboring areas, some of which arrived today in Dili in special transportation provided by the authorities.

According to information gathered by the resistance, the demonstrators will demand that the UN not interfere in ET issues. Indonesia intends to diffuse the idea that part of the ET population is opposed to the UN efforts to find a solution for the ET problem. However, it is expected that many of the demonstrators will be Indonesian transmigrants.

MOVE TO SABOTAGE UN TALKS

TAPOL Report, 24 March 1995

According to a Press Release received today from Australians for a Free East Timor, Darwin, a meeting is today taking place in Dili, at the Mata Hari Terbit Hotel, at which the participants will be required to petition the United Nations to cancel the all-inclusive East Timorese talks scheduled to take place in Salzburg, Austria next month. The army have been bringing people to Dili to take part in the meeting.

The petition will say that everything is fine in East Timor so why should the UN interfere.

EAST TIMORESE RALLIED TO OPPOSE TALKS

Reuter, 24 March 1995. Abridged

Dili - East Timorese figures said on Friday they rejected moves by the U.N. Secretary General to invite participants to reconciliation talks next month without consulting their Jakarta overlords.

The 13 Indonesia-appointed Timorese told a rally attended by some 5,000 East Timorese that they supported Indonesian rule over the territory and Jakarta's efforts to strengthen its integration with the rest of the archipelago.

"We strongly reject the move by the U.N. Secretary-General who directly invited participants for the reconciliation talks from the East Timor province without consulting the Indonesian government," the leaders said in a statement.

Residents said the military provided trucks to take them to the rally in the heart of Dili and were told they would have a meeting with the leaders. "What I know is that I am invited to attend a meeting with the leaders," said a resident.

Jakarta said on Thursday it would not boycott the talks, due to be held in Salzburg, Austria on April 25, despite its protests over Boutros Boutros-Ghali's push to include key dissident figures from the territory.

The official Antara news agency quoted Foreign Minister Ali Alatas as saying that he had officially expressed disappointment over the way the Boutros-Ghali invited participants without consulting Jakarta.

The leaders told the crowd that integration with Indonesia was the struggle of the people in East Timor.

East Timor Governor Abilio Soares who attended the gathering said integration was final. He also said he supported the leaders' stance to reject U.N. Boutros-Ghali's move.

Sources linked to the talks said earlier this month the United Nations had invited Bishop Carlos Belo and several other outspoken critics of Indonesia's rule over East Timor.

ADANG WARNS AGAINST CHAOS IN APRIL

Reuter, 28 March 1995. Abridged

Jakarta - The army has said it will not tolerate any chaos in East Timor when the reconciliation talks on the territory take place next month, Antara news agency said Tuesday.

It quoted military commander Major General Adang Ruchiatna as saying in Dili the military would crush any efforts to create chaos in the area during the talks which are scheduled to be held in Austria in late April.

"Security officers will take stern action against those who try to create unrest among the people," Ruchiatna was quoted as saying on Monday.

"We should be aware. Don't let irresponsible people try to create certain movement to influence and attract the world's attention," he said. He earlier denied the military had engineered a pro-Indonesia rally in Dili last week attended by 5,000 people.

INDONESIA'S LATEST EAST TIMOR MANOEUVRES: SALZBURG INTRA- TIMORESE MEETING POSTPONED

Press Release of the CNRM 31 March 1995

The UN Secretary-General's office has just informed East Timorese invited to an intra-Timorese dialogue to be held in Salzburg on April 24, that the event has been postponed to a date in June to be fixed. Indonesian pressures on the UN in recent days had put the meeting under increasing danger. Jakarta once again bears the responsibility of impeding progress towards a genuine resolution of the East Timor conflict.

The National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the umbrella organisation of all forces struggling for the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people, strongly deplores the postponement of the intra-Timorese talks and accuses Jakarta of full responsibility for this setback. Indonesia has clearly proven to be afraid of a genuine dialogue between exiled East Timorese leaders and their fellows under its yoke.

During the fifth round of talks last January in Geneva, as one of the few positive outcomes achieved so far, the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal reached agreement for intra-Timorese dialogue to be held under the auspices of the UN. The failure of Jakarta's farcical London 'reconciliation meetings,' aimed at derailing the UN process of search for a solution of the East Timor issue, left Indonesia with little choice but to agree.

Indonesia's subsequent insistence that the UN only acts as a facilitator of the dialogue once again betrays Jakarta's duplicity. Its intention to use the dialogue as a platform for its puppets and clients became evident once the UN invited some of the truly independent voices left in East Timor. Participation of outspoken Bishop Ximenes Belo, pro-integrationist critic of the current situation in the territory Florentino Sarmiento, of the young university Vice-rector Armindo Maia, and of other articulate commentators on the deplorable present situation, proved too risky for Jakarta. True to its style, Indonesia used clients such as the expelled Fretilin leader Abilio Araujo, chief collaborator in the London 'reconciliation meeting,' to echo Indonesia's position overseas. It raised idle objections about the UN's mandate for the meeting. At home in Dili, a crowd of allegedly 5,000 people were coercively mobilised into taking part in an anti-UN demonstration.

In the face of these manoeuvres, CNRM reaffirms its basic position in defence of the right of self-determination and independence of the people of East Timor, fully supporting UN efforts to this end. Stressing CNRM's availability to participate in any meeting in conformity with the Geneva agreement, the CNRM Special Representative has said that CNRM would "at all times endeavour to contribute to a climate of understanding and frank and open dialogue on the most pressing problems facing the East Timorese people."

These problems include: the need to end the human rights violations perpetrated by the Indonesian military forces of occupation, the necessity for their immediate and complete withdrawal, and the need for appointing a neutral UN-trained peace keeping force. A permanent UN presence, through its Specialised Agencies and a representative of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, are very urgent priorities.

José Ramos-Horta, Lisbon: Phone +351 1 60570

HORTA: INDONESIA IS NOT INTERESTED IN INTER-TIMORESE TALKS

Publico, 27 March 1995. By José Ramos Horta. Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon – On 24 April the first inter-Timorese extended talks, held under the auspices of the UN, are supposed to be held in Salzburg, Austria. The meeting is the result of an agreement reached between the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers during the fifth round of negotiations, which took place 9 January this year in Geneva. In fact, the final communiqué of the fourth negotiations round, held in May 1994, had already referred to such an inter-Timorese meeting. But now it seems almost certain that the meeting will be postponed, if not cancelled. If that happens, Indonesia will be the only party to blame.

The wording of Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Geneva negotiation round's final communiqué was made ambiguous enough for acceptance by the Indonesian Foreign Minister. It is true that the Geneva communiqué did not explicitly describe the UN as being the host of the inter-Timorese meeting, and just attributed the UN Secretary General with the role of "facilitator." Following the May 1994 and January 1995 communiqués, the Secretary General initiated numerous contacts with all Timorese political persuasions in East Timor, Indonesia and abroad. Ignoring opposition from the Timorese Resistance, the Secretary General sent one of his officers to Chepstow in the UK, where the second edition of the "reconciliation"

farce sponsored by Jakarta was underway. The aim of this exercise was to have consultations with the group of collaborators with the Indonesian regime, led by Mr. Abilio Araujo, a former Fretilin Marxist-Leninist ideologist, and Mr. Francisco Lopes da Cruz, former leader of UDT, and currently Indonesia's "ambassador," based in Jakarta.

All those taking part in the Chepstow farce expressed to the UN representative their support for an inter-Timorese meeting sponsored by the UN.

The UN, an impartial body, depository of the right to self-determination of peoples of non-autonomous territories, would therefore be the only organisation, acceptable to all the persuasions, to host the meeting, and it would therefore be the UN which ought to send out the invitations, finance the participants' travel expenses and moderate the meeting. Otherwise would not make sense.

The UN's consultations with Timorese of all the various persuasions took place over several months in Dili, Jakarta, Lisbon, Sydney and New York. Mr. Abilio Araujo went to New York on two occasions in 1994 (In May and October) for talks with the Secretary General's representatives, to whom he reiterated his wish that the UN organise the inter-Timorese meeting.

It is, therefore, surprising that Mr. Abilio Araujo is now echoing the claim made by Jakarta's dictatorial regime that the UN neither consulted him nor Lopes da Cruz. The truth of the matter is that the UN never worried about whether it might be offending the Resistance, because the UN knows that there is no powerful regional sponsor backing the Resistance. However, the UN proceeded with the utmost care so as not to offend Mr. Araujo and the puppet Lopes da Cruz, because it knows full well that behind these two gentlemen lurks Jakarta. The list of people invited by the UN is the result of direct consultations between the Secretary General's representatives and Timorese society outside and within East Timor. A look at the list reveals a significant majority of pro-Indonesians, led by Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz, and this was no accident. Understandably, the UN bent over backwards to ensure that the Jakarta Government would have no justification whatsoever to torpedo the meeting. Nonetheless, it is clear that even the UN's caution to the extreme was not enough to satisfy Jakarta.

What has really displeased and concerned Jakarta have been the invitations extended to Bishop Ximenes Belo, Dr. Armino Maia (Vice-Rector of the University of Dili), Florentino Sarmiento, and Dr. Mariano Saldanha - the first is a worthy representative of the people, and the three others are honest individuals who are not in the employ of Jakarta. Surprisingly enough, neither

has Jakarta reacted positively towards the invitation sent to the puppet Governor Abilio Osorio - of late regarded with some suspicion by Jakarta because of some independent views he is said to have expressed. The fact that Jakarta is opposing the participation of its own puppet at the Salzburg meeting is symptomatic of the complete failure of Indonesia's policy on East Timor.

Some of the names appearing on the pro-Indonesia list are repulsive to the resistance. When I informed the Secretary General of this he said that, as an ordinary citizen, I would be in a position to choose who I sit down at the table with. However, as representative of the CNRM, and being aware of the political implications of my tasks and responsibilities towards the process of the Timorese struggle, I would have to be flexible and agree to sit at the table with all the Timorese, even those who are known criminals and charlatans.

In a nutshell, it will not be on my account that Jakarta will find any excuse for the meeting not to go ahead. The CNRM (and its component Fretilin) expressed reservations about two clauses in the Geneva statement. Paragraph 2 prohibits discussion of the territory's legal status. Paragraph 3 appeals to the Timorese to avoid any actions which might jeopardise the favourable atmosphere in which the inter-Timorese talks should be held. The Geneva statement did not, however, appeal to the Jakarta authorities to abstain from instigating, organising or training paid terrorists who, since January, have unleashed a wave of unprecedented violence in Dili.

I reaffirm, and shall reaffirm, the CNRM's rigid guiding principle: the Timorese people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The CNRM nonetheless expressed, in a written message to the Secretary General, that it was prepared to take part in the Salzburg meeting, in the context of the Geneva agreement, and to observe the clause about non-discussion of the territory's legal status.

The CNRM is still prepared to go to Salzburg, with serious intentions and good will. It will fully respect the Geneva agreement. It will make an effort to contribute towards an unstrained atmosphere conducive to frank and open dialogue on some of the most urgent problems directly affecting our people, such as the need to put a stop to human rights violations perpetrated by the forces of occupation, the pressing need for total withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the territory, the formation by the UN of a neutral police force, a permanent UN presence in East Timor through specialised agencies and a representation of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the creation of a Timorese institution to work

for the promotion of peace, justice, fair distribution of wealth, the reinforcement of civilian society, the promotion of Timorese NGOs to work on human rights and development issues.

Could any true Timorese have any objection to these humanitarian aims? The CNRM has backed down by not insisting that the territory's legal status be included on the Salzburg agenda because, at the end of the day, the people invited to Salzburg have not been mandated by the people to make any decision on this, the crux of the Timorese problem. The territory's legal status can only eventually be decided through the free, democratic and internationally supervised consultation of the people of East Timor.

Today, 30 Resistance leaders, cadre and militants, living in Portugal, Mozambique, Angola, Canada, Australia and the US, will be gathering in Lisbon for meetings. The veteran generation of the 1970s will be represented as well as the younger generation, including the leader of Renetil, the student organisation which is the backbone of the underground resistance movement.

I received precise guidelines for the meeting from Xanana Gusmão in Cipinang. Recommendations (all about the need for unity and determination) also arrived from the mountains of East Timor, from Konis Santana. From my Fretilin brothers, from José Luis Guterres, leader of the External Delegation, Mari Alkatiri, Secretary of External Relations, and the tireless Roque Rodrigues, Ambassador in Luanda for 20 years, lover of Angola, tortured (and sole Marxist survivor in Angola), from my UDT brothers, João Carrascalão, Chairman, Domingos Oliveira, Secretary General and friend to all, from Zacarias Costa, Vice-Chairman and promising young figure in Timorese politics, I am sure of their loyalty towards the leadership of the Resistance and their deep conviction in the justice of our fight. We are all armed with good will, and determination to overcome any obstacle which the enemy puts in our way.

The meetings will end on Wednesday when, I am convinced, our tormented and heroic people will be presented with a fortified and dynamic front with a convincing plan.

RESISTANCE CHALLENGE TO DURÃO

Expresso, 1 April 1995. By Mario Robalo. Translated from Portuguese

Once again, Indonesia boycotts inter-Timorese meetings.

Lisbon – Durão Barroso ought to adopt an “inflexible attitude” towards Indonesia

for his meeting in New York on 19 May with Jakarta's diplomatic chief, Ali Alatas. This vehemently expressed belief is held by Xanana Gusmão's personal representative, Ramos Horta, who sees justification for it in the postponement of the inter-Timorese meeting, sponsored by the UN and scheduled for 24, 25 and 26 April in Salzburg, Austria.

The leader of the CNRM (Maubere Resistance National Council) attributes the postponement of the meeting (to late June or early July) to pressure brought to bear on the UN by the Suharto Government. In fact, two weeks ago, Ali Alatas himself was outraged by the fact that the UN Secretary General had “dared to invite Timorese in favour of independence.”

For their part, Suharto's ambassador for Timorese affairs, Lopes da Cruz, and the promoter of the so-called reconciliation meetings Abilio Araujo, reacted in a similar vein, echoing Alatas: they questioned the composition of the list of participants, including the presence of the Bishop of Dili, and expressed reservations about the way in which the UN had contacted the participants for the meeting (the date of which had also been set by Boutros Ghali), stating that it was the UN's task only to facilitate the meeting, not to organise it.

This has led Ramos Horta to state that, at the next round of ministerial talks on East Timor, to be held at the UN next month, Durão Barroso “should demand that Indonesia agree to the presence of a permanent UN mission in East Timor, as a precondition to having further meetings with Alatas.” The Portuguese Foreign Ministry did not wish to comment on the statement made by the CNRM representative, who said he had known about the cancellation of Salzburg since last Tuesday. Horta, relentless, said “These meetings have been dragging on for three years now, without the slightest sign of any progress ...”

Embarrassing Visitors

From 13 April, Abilio Araujo will be on his way to Indonesia, where he will have a private meeting with General Suharto. The trip, in preparation since last year, is connected with the so-called reconciliation meetings, but Araujo refused to reveal what matters he and the Indonesian President will be discussing.

The same day, Abilio Araujo will also meet with the Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, to whom he intends to express “concerns about exploration of Timor's oil.” The promoter of the “reconciliation meetings” told *Expresso* yesterday that he will be talking to Australia's diplomatic chief about his opposition to the agreement between Canberra and Jakarta to

jointly explore oil and natural gas reserves in the sea of Timor.

“SETTLEMENT FOR TIMOR - ONLY WITH XANANA AND XIMENES” (RAMOS HORTA)

Expresso, 1 April 1995. By Mario Robalo. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – During a three-day meeting which finished yesterday, at which all the components of the Timorese Resistance Movement - Fretilin, UDT and CNRM - were gathered together for the first time outside East Timor, the Resistance decided to make its diplomatic representation non-partisan.

Meanwhile, Ramos Horta stated that this is the right time for Portugal to urge its European partners to impose sanctions on the Suharto regime, and reaffirmed that no initiatives to resolve the problem of East Timor should be undertaken without Xanana and the Bishop of Dili.

Expresso: What will be the result of the postponement of the Salzburg meeting?

Ramos Horta: The Resistance did not have much faith in the Salzburg meeting. However, there is a positive element in all this: the Portuguese Foreign Minister could take a more aggressive stand at the EU Political Commission, especially to push through a statement at the UN condemning Indonesia's behaviour. This would certainly lead some countries (Australia, Canada, the US and England) to rethink their positions. Even recently, the Governments of these countries issued very strong public statements about the current deterioration in the human rights situation in East Timor.

Expresso: Will it be enough for Portugal to demand that the UE Political Commission take a stand?

Ramos Horta: Indonesia is only convinced when its actions incur material costs. Portugal, through the EU, could discover areas in which it is possible to apply sanctions on Jakarta. For example, like in the US where they stopped the transfer of light weaponry to Jakarta, the EU countries which have the same kind of trade relations with Suharto (England, France and Germany) could stop selling that kind of weapons.

Indonesia is on the defence because it is facing a serious internal crisis: a foreign debt of 100 billion dollars, permanent labour and student unrest, and a conflict with western industrialised countries because of the slave wages it pays its workers. So, the time is right for confrontation with Jakarta, for a public and strong condemnation by Portugal and by the Resistance. At the next meeting

in New York these matters should be raised, so that Alatas understands just how far Portugal is prepared to go.

Expresso: What did you mean when you said that the Resistance did not have much faith in the Salzburg meeting?

Ramos Horta: We were going along to Salzburg knowing full well that it would be impossible to reach a consensus on the fundamental issue: the illegal occupation of East Timor. We were, however, prepared to find a common denominator based on the following points: demilitarisation under UN supervision, improvement in human rights (there are 20,000 soldiers in Timor), release of all political prisoners, ICRC presence in the whole territory, and the installation of a delegation of the UN Human Rights Centre. I cannot imagine how any Timorese person, even one who is on Indonesia's side, could possibly object to such modest demands.

Expresso: Why did the Resistance approve of the people chosen by the UN Secretary General?

Ramos Horta: Because I am representing the Resistance, I agreed to sit down at the table with individuals who are known criminals, since the majority of those invited, coming from the interior, are people linked to Indonesia. We urged the UN Secretary General to invite Xanana Gusmão and Mau Huno to the Salzburg meeting, but if Indonesia is already panicking because Bishop Ximenes Belo was invited, just imagine Boutros Ghali daring to invite Xanana ...!

However, we agreed to Xanana not being invited, because it was not going to be negotiations but just a meeting between Timorese. Nevertheless, we are still pushing for Xanana's presence in the talks about the future of East Timor. He must be there, negotiating side by side with the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers. Any settlement for East Timor will have to go through two people: Xanana, as leader of the Resistance, and Bishop Ximenes Belo, who must always take part in the inter-Timorese meetings, even against the wishes of Indonesia, because he is the only impartial representative of our people, unlinked to any interest group.

Expresso: What are the advantages in having unified diplomatic representations?

Ramos Horta: The Resistance intends to erase the divided image it has abroad. There is no reason why we should have three representatives - Fretilin, UDT and CNRM - in a country. So there will now be only one representative of East Timor in Lisbon (Roque Rodrigues, currently the Resistance representative in Luanda), Washington, Brussels, Canberra, and at the UN. This will not, however, weaken partisan representa-

tion, because the whole is only strong when each component part is strong. The parties will still have their specific areas of responsibility, but all activity which is of a diplomatic or representational nature will, from now on, be non-partisan, and so carried out on behalf of East Timor and not on behalf of any party.

PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE CITIES CONDEMN TALKS DELAY

Rio de Janeiro, April 5 (LUSA) - summary - [The UCCLP is the Union of Capital Cities of Portuguese Language and includes 15 capital cities. The general assembly, UCCLA, has met in Rio.]

A UCCLA motion expresses apprehension with the delay in the inter-Timorese talks in Salzburg and appeals to that the UN promotes this meeting soon, and continue its efforts directed at a solution for ET within the framework of the UN charter. A letter signed by the 13 members that were actually present at the UCCLA meeting will be sent to Boutros Ghali, to the governments of the seven countries of official Portuguese language, and to the East Timorese Diplomatic Front's Coordinating Commission. The UCCLA decided also to propose Bishop Dom Ximenes Belo for the Education Through Peace UNESCO Prize.

CRITICISM AND EXPLANATIONS

Publico, 8 April 1995. By J. T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon -Lopes da Cruz and Abilio Araujo go to the UN to discuss the inter-Timorese meeting. After being the most vociferous critics of the UN for its alleged "excessive protagonism" in the preparations for the Salzburg meeting, which was postponed on their account, now they want to give their reasons in person.

Francisco Lopes da Cruz and Abilio Araujo, the two Timorese who most harshly criticised the UN for the way in which the Intra-Timorese meeting was organised, are going to be in New York until the end of this month for a series of meetings to discuss the inter-Timorese encounter, originally scheduled to be held in two weeks time, but later postponed until late June, early July.

Lopes da Cruz, Suharto's ambassador for East Timor related issues, and Abilio Araujo, leader of a minority faction of Fretilin, were the people mainly responsible for the postponement.

The meeting had been agreed between Ministers Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas during the January round of negotiations,

mediated by Boutros Ghali, and was to include representatives of all the different Timorese persuasions.

January's ministerial meeting issued a communiqué stating that inter-Timorese meeting could not discuss the territory's political status, but even this restriction, imposed by Indonesia, prevented the most militant of the resistance leaders to adhere to the initiative, in an attitude which Ramos Horta described as being "extremely flexible."

Lopes da Cruz and Abilio Araujo did not share in this attitude. Abilio was the first to complain about the UN's "excessive protagonism," accusing it of overstepping its role of "facilitator" - the expression used in the declaration agreed by the ministers in January - and being, in fact the "organiser" of the Salzburg meeting.

According to Abilio Araujo, the UN drew up the list of the 26 Timorese participants without previously consulting the representatives of the various viewpoints. Lopes da Cruz was next with the same argument, followed by Jakarta. Such was the non-conformity that the meeting was postponed.

In addition to expressing their reservations about the UN's role in person, Lopes da Cruz and Araujo are also likely to raise another matter at their meetings in New York - what happens now to the next meeting between the two ministers and the UN Secretary General? Said ministerial meeting was scheduled (when the inter-Timorese talks were still set to take place in April) for 19 May.

Abilio Araujo has said the meeting should still go ahead. Ramos Horta has stated that the postponement of one meeting should necessarily lead to the postponement of the other, in order to maintain the sequence of the events agreed in January. The official positions of the Portuguese and Indonesian Governments are not yet known, although it is likely that Lisbon's position will coincide with that of Ramos Horta, and Indonesia's with Abilio Araujo.

Before going on to New York, Abilio Araujo will stop at The Hague to meet with Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans. The meeting was requested by Araujo, who was prepared to travel to Australia for the meeting... The main item on the agenda for their meeting, according to Araujo who did not wish to go into details, is the oil in the Timor Gap. The Hague also happens to be the headquarters for the International Court of Justice, which has recently been hearing the case brought by Lisbon against Canberra concerning the agreement between Australia and Indonesia to jointly explore the natural resources of the Sea of Timor.

Letters

News of the postponement of the Salzburg meeting had already been confirmed when journalist Nuno Rocha sent a letter to 1,500 Portuguese, in which he tried to persuade them of the advantages of the immediate establishment of diplomatic relations between Lisbon and Jakarta.

Government ministers, MPs, and local authorities were among those who received the letter, signed by the most notorious adversary of the position held by the Timorese Resistance in Portugal. Convinced that "we could be just two steps away from resolving" the issue of East Timor, Nuno Rocha cites the examples of Saudi Arabia, North Korea and China "which President Soares will be visiting," to justify his conviction that Suharto's Indonesia "is one of the most open countries in Asia."

BELO TO PARTICIPATE IN UN TALKS

AFP, 18 April 1995. Abridged

Jakarta – The Catholic bishop of East Timor has decided to attend the planned UN-sponsored peace dialogue on East Timor, a newspaper reported here today.

Suara Pembaruan quote Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo as saying that he will accept an invitation to take part as an "active observer" in the dialogue among various East Timorese factions slated for some time in June. The venue has not been decided.

Speaking on Monday in East Timor's capital, Dili, Belo expressed misgivings about church involvement in politics but said the Vatican had told him to take part in the dialogue, the daily said.

He defined an active observer as one who works for unity, encouragement and guidance without steering the participants as they seek a settlement of the East Timor issue, the report said.

He said that the church deemed that a peaceful settlement was very important and must therefore take part in the dialogue between pro- and anti-Indonesian East Timorese factions based locally or abroad

INTERVIEW WITH MARIO CARRASCALÃO

'Suara Pembaruan' 4/24/95, as translated by BBC

Q: We heard that you turned down the UN Secretary-General's invitation to attend a meeting between pro-and anti- integration groups in Salzburg, Austria.

A: I had two reasons for turning down the invitation. First, I am the Indonesian ambassador to Romania. The invitation was not part of the duties entrusted to me. Second,

the invitation was addressed to me as an individual. I think that as an individual, I can only act on matters of no interest to the Republic of Indonesia. Once the interests of the Republic of Indonesia are involved, I cannot act as an individual. In assuming the post of Indonesian ambassador, I fully recognized the integration of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia, because I would not have become an ambassador if East Timor had not been part of Indonesia. Therefore, what would I talk about as an individual? I would explain the East Timor situation at the meeting if I was assigned to do so by the Republic of Indonesia government, acting as its envoy. As an individual, I can have nothing to do with Horta and Abilio Araujo. I consider the integration final; I accept the integration of 1975. I can question the situation, but not the integration. I was vocal when I was governor, but I did not question integration. I sought ways to improve the situation in East Timor as a manifestation of the integration, because I consider the integration final.

Q: How did the Department of Foreign Affairs react to your rejection?

A: I reported my rejection to the minister of foreign affairs and sent a letter to the UN secretary-general saying I was unable to attend the meeting because I represent the Republic of Indonesia government.

Q: What will the diplomatic value of the meeting be?

A: In my opinion, as a confidence-building forum, the meeting is designed to create a favourable atmosphere for substantive talks on the East Timor issue. I do not personally know what the substantive talks will be, but I think that substantive talks will not be held between the pro-and anti- integration groups but rather between the foreign ministers of the Republic of Indonesia and Portugal under the sponsorship of the UN secretary-general. The two ministers can achieve fair and good results if there is a preliminary mutual understanding between the pro- and anti-integration groups.

Q: Have you ever met any of those opposed to the integration, including your own brother João Carrascalão, while on duty abroad?

A: I have no interest in such meetings. I am a man of principle. Now that I have chosen Indonesia, I will remain committed to Indonesia. Following the Rome talks, my brother João Carrascalão came to the Romanian capital, Bucharest, after obtaining the consent of Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. He called me because he wanted to visit the official residence of the Indonesian ambassador to Romania. I asked what he wanted to see me for - I am Indonesian; you are not.

I am the ambassador of Indonesia, not East Timor. You cannot stay at the residence of the ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia. I cannot see you in a country to which I am accredited as ambassador. We are indeed brothers, and we can see each other in any place where I do not represent the diplomatic interests of the Republic of Indonesia. I learned that he stayed at a hotel after hearing my explanation. He later returned to Australia. We did not see each other. This was a matter of principle. I did not disown him as my brother. We remain brothers, but I have to uphold my principles.

Q: Ramos Horta and Abilio Araujo?

A: I am sorry. I know them too well. I do not and will not trust Fretilin [Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor]. Therefore, sorry no way I can trust Fretilin members. Based on my experience, they could not be trusted when Fretilin was still a political party. They cannot be trusted, not now or ever.

Q: How do you see public opinion in other countries regarding East Timor?

A: I am confident that foreign parties - Portugal and its allies - will gradually remove the East Timor issue from their agenda if the situation in East Timor improves further. Everything depends on the situation in East Timor itself. If there is no longer any disappointment, frustration, or displeasure in East Timor, the East Timor issue will disappear abroad because there are bigger problems in the world. We in East Timor seem to regard the

East Timor issue as a major problem, but the world sees Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, and others as very big problems. The East Timor issue does not bother the world. Put the issue this way: There is smoke abroad because of the fire in East Timor. Therefore, let us put out the fire to prevent any smoke!

Q: How can the situation in East Timor be redressed?

A: There should be a special development concept that can truly meet the aspirations of the East Timor people. The Republic of Indonesia government has spent a huge amount of money in East Timor. The government has paid special attention to East Timor, unlike other regions, primarily because of its background, which has frequently been exploited for political purposes.

Q: Is the unity of the East Timor people important?

A: It is very important. Unity is the main asset for a comprehensive settlement of the issue in the international arena. Accordingly, there should be no factions. Factionalism is

a sensitive point. There were already signs of factionalism when I was governor.

Creating favourable conditions

Q: How do foreign diplomats view the issue?

A: In my opinion, they do not question the status of East Timor, although there have been occasional complaints about the human rights situation in East

Timor. Portugal's position is important. If the situation in East Timor improves, Portugal may even approach us and urge the East Timor people to accept integration. We must realize that the East Timor issue is no longer a matter for any political party in Portugal because the issue now involves the government. Thus, whoever leads Portugal will continue to pay attention to the issue, which remains in the country's constitution. Accordingly, we must create favourable conditions in East Timor and Portugal itself will one day ask the East Timor people to be part of Indonesia.

Q: What is the government doing to settle the issue?

A: Hopefully, the issue will be settled under the Sixth Development Cabinet because of our commitment to this objective. Only one obstacle stands in the way of talks between the two foreign ministers under the sponsorship of the UN secretary-general. Portugal is still internationally recognized as the administrator power and East Timor remains in its constitution. For us, integration was finalized through Law No 7/1976. There should now be a take and give attitude towards mutual understanding to settle the issue. It is up to us now. Seriously improve the situation in East Timor! The authorities have grown closer to the people. This is a good step. They should seek ways to be closer to the people. The people will thus truly feel the presence of the armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia and the local administration as their protectors. The people will develop a sense of happiness, and Portugal will one day concede defeat and recognize Indonesia as the only country capable of making the East Timor people prosperous.

Q: What about the role of the Catholic Church?

A: All sides must understand and realize that the Catholic Church plays a very important role in East Timor on a short and long-term basis. We know that the Catholic Church is still directly under the Vatican because of the international nature of the East Timor issue, but we must create harmonious relations for the sake of development here. We must encourage the East Timorese to give information on develop-

ment not only to the church but also to local administration officials. In other words, we must create a conducive atmosphere that will enable the people to see local administrations, not just the Catholic Church, as their protectors. We must create such conditions without any deviation.

FORMER EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR ON XANANA

Tiras, 11 May 1995. Translated from Indonesian. Brief items

Mario Carrascalão, former Indonesian governor of East Timor, says in a long interview his appointment as Indonesian ambassador to Rumania is 'forced leisure.' He can't see the point of the coming dialogue between pro- and anti-integration East Timorese, because there is nothing to talk about. He refused an invitation from UN Gen. Sec. to come along in his personal capacity, saying he has no 'personal capacity' whilst he remains an Indonesian ambassador. He won't even accept his own brother João Carrascalão into the ambassadorial residence, because João is an anti-integration spokesperson. João is ill-informed, Ramos Horta is an opportunist, but everyone in East Timor respects Xanana.

President Suharto's coming meeting with Abilio Araujo is ill-advised because Abilio is no longer recognized by Fretilin. It may have some propaganda value. The only person who can properly represent the anti-integration position is Xanana. When he was captured, Mario suggested Xanana should be released into society, just like Mauhudu was. But he was tried and jailed.

Ramos Horta got his idea of the Maubere from reading about the Marhaen in Bung Karno's autobiography. East Timor's opening, at his urging, in 1989, did not come too soon but too late. It should have been done in 1979. He will not say why at that time the decision was taken not to open it then. He believes Xanana might have come around to the idea at that time, but was talked out of it by Mauk Muruk.

When he (Mario) arrived in East Timor as governor there were two governments: an ineffective civilian puppet government, and the real government run by an ex-military Regional Secretary (Sekwilda), who manipulated all the money but was collecting no taxes for the centre. Corruption ran at 40-60%. He says he reduced it to 5-15%. The next governor should be someone from outside, a general that the East Timorese will respect.

ALL-INCLUSIVE INTRA-EAST-TIMORESE DIALOGUE SCHEDULED FOR 2-5 JUNE IN AUSTRIA

UN Press Release, 9 May 1995

The following statement was issued this morning by the Spokesman for Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali:

Notifications are being sent out to 30 East Timorese of various political views from both inside and outside East Timor to attend the All-Inclusive Intra-East-Timorese dialogue contemplated in the Geneva communiqué issued at the conclusion of the fifth round of talks between Indonesia and Portugal on 9 January. The dialogue is now scheduled to take place in Austria from 2 to 5 June.

The sixth round of ministerial talks between Indonesia and Portugal under the Secretary-General's auspices will now take place in Geneva on 8 July.

INDONESIAN CRITICS TO ATTEND UN'S TIMOR TALKS

By Lewa Pardomuan

JAKARTA, May 12 (Reuter) - An outspoken Catholic bishop and a human-rights activist from East Timor have been included in an Indonesian delegation to attend U.N.-sponsored talks on the troubled territory, the foreign ministry said on Friday.

Bishop Carlos Belo and Florentino Sarmento were in the 16-member team, which also includes East Timor governor Abilio José Osorio Soares, picked to attend the talks in Austria from June 2 to June 6, the ministry said in a statement.

U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the Indonesian government have approved the list of delegates to attend the talks.

The talks were originally scheduled for April but shelved following a protest from Indonesia, which objected to the inclusion of critics from East Timor such as Belo and Sarmento.

"The United Nations wants to unite East Timorese people who represent various political points of view," Lopes Da Cruz, Indonesia's ambassador-at-large for East Timor and a delegate to the talks told a news conference on Friday.

He said 14 East Timorese presently living abroad - including sacked rebel Fretilin group leader Abilio Araujo - would also attend the talks.

A ragged band of Fretilin members, now estimated by the Indonesian military to number only 176 has been waging a 20-year battle for independence from Indonesia.

East Timor, which Indonesia invaded after the Portuguese colonialists left in 1975 and annexed the following year, has been a thorn in the side of the sprawling archipelago.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesian rule in East Timor and instead sees Portugal as the administering authority in the territory.

Boutros-Ghali, during a visit to Indonesia late last month, said he was optimistic about the talks but stressed a solution would take time.

Da Cruz said Indonesian delegates to the talks would include Clementino dos Reis Amaral of the government-backed human-rights commission.

Da Cruz said he had tough meetings with two Boutros-Ghali aides in New York last month over the previous delegates list but did not say why Indonesia had not objected to the inclusion of Belo and Sarmento this time.

"The U.N. secretary-general has tried to unite East Timor leaders in Indonesia and those overseas who are against Indonesia," he said.

Da Cruz said the June talks would serve as a forum to hear both views from both sides on East Timor and was not to find solutions to the territory's problems.

EAST TIMORESE WELCOME FRESH TALKS

by Lewa Pardomuan, abridged

Jakarta, May 31 (Reuter) – East Timorese activists welcome the opportunity to air grievances over Jakarta's rule of their troubled homeland in U.N.- sponsored talks starting this week, even though the meetings will avoid key political issues.

But activists feel the scope of the talks is limited because of Jakarta's refusal to discuss the island's political future. The government has vowed never to give up the former Portuguese colony it annexed in 1976 and has instead favoured a policy of integration with the rest of Indonesia.

"I am afraid the talks may not produce anything because they do not concern East Timor's political status," human rights activist Florentino Sarmento, who will attend the talks, told Reuters.

"But this meeting will at least collect input for the U.N. secretary-general on how to solve the problems in East Timor. This is good progress. Dialogue between Dili (the East Timor capital) and Jakarta has long been frozen," he said.

The key problems that would be raised included human rights abuses and auton-

omy. He said Indonesia should regard East Timor as a political case and not a military threat, adding there should be autonomy. "If there is no autonomy, I think there won't be any integration," he said.

But he praised Jakarta for finally agreeing earlier this month to include several outspoken figures such as East Timor Bishop Carlos Belo in the 16-member delegation from Indonesia.

A group of East Timorese youths, who fled Dili to live in Jakarta for a better life, said the meeting was just a game.

"East Timor is a political issue. If the participants do not talk politics, the meeting will be useless," one said.

One government official said the talks would be exploratory. "I am not overly optimistic but I hope it will bring positive results. Hopefully, this will not be the first and last meeting," said the official, who declined to be identified.

Sarmento said it was time Jakarta showed commitment to improving conditions for East Timorese.

"Indonesia has never had a clear strategy to solve East Timor's problems in international fora. It always has contradictory view points and is inconsistent," he said.

TIMOR RESISTANCE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT AUSTRIA MEETING

Lisbon, May 30 (Reuter) – The spokesman for jailed Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão said on Tuesday he was pessimistic about a U.N.-sponsored meeting of Timorese groups in Austria next month.

"We don't have many illusions about the success or not of the meeting," José Ramos-Horta told Channel 1 television during a visit to Lisbon. "We don't have the mandate to address the fundamental question which is self-determination.

The meeting will take place in Salzburg from June 2 to 6.

The Portuguese news agency LUSA quoted Ramos-Horta as saying the meeting on the troubled former Portuguese colony was "practically condemned to failure."

Indonesia's ambassador-at-large for East Timor, Lopes da Cruz, quoted President Suharto as saying on Friday Indonesia would not give up East Timor and stressed that the archipelago was ready to face any challenge on the territory.

"It is enough to consider the recent remarks of Ambassador Lopes da Cruz who said he had instructions from President Suharto not to accept any suggestions from abroad," LUSA quoted Ramos-Horta as saying.

AN ASSESSMENT OF "ALL INCLUSIVE INTRA EAST TIMORESE DIALOGUE"

Anonymous posting by 'Lenito,' an East Timorese on the 'inside' who has chosen not to join the 'diaspora.' May 30.

This article is simply an overview of the upcoming meeting, the so-called All Inclusive Intra East Timorese Dialogue, known as AETD which will take place in Austria this weekend, 2-6 June 1995. It will be participated by 30 Timorese members both from inside East Timor and abroad.

Talking about East Timor (ET) one would associate with the on-going economic development efforts, socio-cultural relationships, religion, human rights and political issues that occur in the troubled territory. Human rights violations and political debate are the most contentious issues in the territory over the last 20 years under the Indonesia's occupation.

The classical argument of the government of Indonesia (GOI) is that ET had decided to integrate into the Unitary Republic of Indonesia in July 1976 both 'de jure and de facto.' However, the fact proves that the UN never recognizes Indonesia's sovereignty over ET and that the UN recognises Portugal as the administering power over the troubled territory. Due to its frequent appearance in the International arena, even Foreign minister Ali Alatas has once said it diplomatically that East Timor is an 'irritating pebble in Indonesia's shoe' and his Australian counterpart recently labeled the pebble is now becoming a rock in Indonesia's shoes.

Evidences inside ET and in the international arena show that the GOI has shown its inflexibility in moving forward (i.e. is improving the alleged human rights violations which are INTOLERABLE and BEYOND THE LIMIT OF ACCEPTANCE by human rights standard, whereas Portugal is also trying to save its face by taking proactive attitude on ET in the international arena). Overall the situation in East Timor deteriorated, constant terror, intimidation, the show of force, arbitrary arrests, disappearances, tortures, and the imposition of chronic suspicion attitudes by the Indonesian intelligence agents (SGI) are elements that overwhelmed the psyche of every East Timorese.

A series of events that still fresh in our minds over the last few months in East Timor can be listed as follows: (This is not an exhaustive list, but rather to refresh our mind of what happened in ET lately).

-The desecration of the Host in Remexio District (June 1994),

- The harassment of two nuns which sparked protest of East Timor University Students (known as the July 13-14 incident).

-The murder of an East Timorese trader by an Indonesian trader which sparked an instant outcry of the public in East Timor (in 12-16 November 1994), plus 29 young Timorese who scaled the American fence and sitting-in at the US embassy, Jakarta during the APEC meeting.

-The clash between East Timor University students and the security forces on November 24, 1994),

- The shooting of young people by the Indonesian soldiers in Baucau on January 1, 1995;

- The peaceful demonstration of 24 East Timorese in the campus of East Timor University and the latest was the slash of six villagers by Indonesian soldiers in the district of Liquiça.

In the international arena, there were series of meetings, conferences and dialogues on ET on different subjects over the same period, and the latest one (AETD meeting) will take place this weekend in Austria, for which this article attempts to assess from a Timorese perspective.

In the diplomatic front, five round of talks have been held alternately in Rome, New York, and Geneva between the two foreign ministers (Portuguese and Indonesia) under the UN Sec.Gen auspices. The meeting is mediated by the UN Sec Gen. to seek "an internationally-acceptable solution on the question of East Timor." The sixth round of talks (tripartite meeting) has been set for July the 8th, 1995 in New York after the AETD meeting in Salzburg.

The AETD meeting which was scheduled to take place on April 24-26 in Austria was consequently postponed until this weekend following the protest by the GOI saying that the UN failed to consult with them at first place on the list of participants. They went on by saying that it contradicts with the Geneva meeting last January where the UN is supposed to act as facilitator of the meeting among East Timorese. In two letters sent separately by Abilio Araujo and F.X. Lopes da Cruz who claimed themselves as the Timorese leaders to Ismat Kittani (the UN Sec Gen. special adviser) inquiring whether the UN as facilitator or organiser of the AETD meeting. This results in a postponement of the meeting until early June 1995.

Now, there are 30 East Timorese participants invited in their private capacities by the UN SecGen to attend the AETD meeting. Comprising 16 from abroad (diaspora) and 14 from inside East Timor, among them, the outspoken bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo; the former ET governor of ET, the

then Indonesian ambassador, Mario Viegas Carrascalão; the current ET governor, Abilio Osorio Soares, the Indonesian ambassador-at-large, F.X. Lopes da Cruz; F.X. do Amaral (former president of Democratic Republic of East Timor) and other rising figures will definitely attend the meeting. Whereas to name a few from the diaspora, José Ramos Horta (the special spokesperson for the jailed Timorese resistance leader), Father Francisco Fernandes, Abilio Araujo, and other prominent figure of East Timorese abroad will also tune up at the UN -first ever sponsored meeting among East Timorese.

Inside East Timor, in response to the invitation of the UN Sec Gen., a big political rally was held in Dili on March the 24th, which was attended by over 4,000 Timorese representing various tribes to denounce the UN Sec Gen. invitation for 12 participants (at that time). In a statement read out and presented by Zeca Araujo, one of the integrationist leader, to the governor of ET, Abilio Osorio Soares, saying that they refuse the UN Sec.Gen's invitation to the Timorese inside ET and support the existing reconciliatory meeting which was held in London to be continued and endorsed.

It sounds ambiguous in a statement like that, which later came into public notice that the governor himself was unaware of the big rally as he was in Jakarta attending the 'Lemhanas' course. As soon as he arrived in the airport of Dili, Abilio Soares (the governor) was informed by the then military commander of East Timor, Col. M. Simbolon to address the meeting of Timorese Leaders. As the meeting went by, most of the attendants became aware that they were forcibly MOBILIZED to come to Dili by the security officers. As cynically observed by one of the Timorese intellectuals: "This rally is the climax of drama over the last 20 years."

Surprisingly in Dili, East Timor, according to my reliable sources, the AETD meeting gains a wide publicity in a local newspaper 'Suara Timor Timur' (the Voice of East Timor) and it always hits the headlines and its opinion columns. Readers are anxiously looking forward to the likely outcome. Several writers came up with their analysis of the possible outcome which varies from one to another.

Certainly there are some cynical points that arise such as:

- if the political status of ET is not going to be discussed, the crucial question is **WHAT IS THE MAIN GOAL OF THIS MEETING AND WHAT IS THE LIKELY OUTCOME ?** Perhaps the most frequent asked questions for the meeting will be on:

- the implications on the people of East Timor,
- the main agenda of the meeting,
- mechanism of achieving the compromise if each of them represents various opinions and trends which exist among themselves.
- Are there any other substantive issues and alternative parameters that can be pursued in the meeting apart from the reconciliatory meeting held in London twice last year ?
- how essential and effective is the meeting itself if none of the resistance leaders (those who were involving in the struggle such as José Alexandre Gusmão known as "Xanana" (who is now in jail), and other former activists such as Mau Huno, Mau Hudo, or David Dias Ximenes and others) were invited as participants of the AETD meeting ?

Well, the list of questions could be more exhaustive if one reflects on the nature of the meeting since the political status which affect directly the Timorese themselves is ruled out.

Realising the complexities of the problem of ET, and bearing in mind that the specific agenda of the meeting is not known, and all circumstances faced by the participants, a possible SCENARIO can be forwarded as follows:

1. The AETD meeting will serve as a medium of 'Confidence Building Measure' among East Timorese prominent figures. They can share their ideas, perspectives about East Timor in person within the spirit of brotherhood among themselves, thus help provide a thorough analysis on the situation of East Timor to the UN Sec.Gen to the upcoming tripartite meeting in July '95. Since the two ministers will discuss some substantive issues (such as the possible withdrawal of Indonesia soldiers, the release of imprisoned Timorese, access of foreign observers to assess the situation), the AETD meeting will again serve as a 'credible source of information directly from the Timorese people' to the UN Sec Gen. in order to help him seeking the question of ET once and for all. Embarking from this point, one would expect that in the tripartite meeting, Indonesia should show its flexibility to deal with its Portuguese counterpart on the solutions of East Timor at a diplomatic basis. After all, the representants of ET could be included in its tri partite meeting once the Confidence Building Measure is achieved.

2. Different opinions and factions, plus vested interest among East Timorese are inevitably taking place, and whether or not, the presence of Bishop Belo as 'observer' with his forthcoming document which will

come into public notice in time, there will be some kind of moderated agreement achieved by the two parties attending the meeting (East Timorese inside East Timor and those from the diaspora). NB. I rather use the term "inside" and "diaspora," to avoid the misinterpretations of using the term "pro independence and pro-integrationists." It would be misleading to call those coming from inside ET are 'pro-integrationists' and vice versa. I would not go into details into this matter and leave it to the readers to assess it for obvious reasons. One must take into account as why they were selectively invited by the UN Sec Gen.

3. It is understood that members from the Diaspora have set up the so-called 'Uni front diplomatic' and are ready to table their proposal in the meeting. Whereas, those coming from inside seemed to be well-prepared as well, by preparing several points to be shared with their brothers in the meeting. Points such as demilitarization, providing access to humanitarian aid or organizations into ET, abolishment of extra judicial institution, reintroducing the Portuguese and Tetum language as subjects in the schools, granting more autonomy for missionaries and academics for educational purposes. Whether this is understood as a transitional period of meeting leading to a final proposal (i.e. referendum as an act of self-determination) is depending upon the discussion among the participants.

4. The likely outcome of the meeting in this time is that a statement of confidence building measure listing all the contentious factors such as the idea of demilitarisation, vast autonomy of the territory under the Indonesian rule (for the time being) and this should be understood as an INTERMEDIATE TRANSITION for self determination of the Timorese people. The statement will be lodged to the UN Sec Gen. as "input" for the upcoming meeting under his auspices.

5. There will be a similar meeting extended to other former political leaders, activists representing various opinions to RECONCILIATE themselves. This platform will only take place and effectively done under the UN initiatives.

Having said that, and realizing the road to freedom is underway, I would like to end this article by putting forward a joke that the current governor of ET Abilio Osorio Soares has made:

"Integration to me like an 'eel' (spelling ?) in my hands. I feel so slippery and the more we talk about ET in the international arena, the great this 'eel' will come out from hands. It's like a soap being polished in my hands, and my hands become more slippery. I even don't know whether the 'eel' will

jump out forward or backward from my hands."

Touching on the idea of 'Autonomy' the governor says that:

"The Timorese people are like "users" of a T-shirt produced by the Central government (Jakarta) as 'producers.' Ideally the producer would ask the user whether the T-shirt is too tight (small) or too large. In fact this simply doesn't happen to the Timorese people."

In my view, after observing the issue that is kept alive in the international scene, I only got the impression that even the governor himself feels INSECURE of the current political situation and the status quo of ET under the Indonesia's rule. The existing platform and public awareness activities on what is going on in East Timor together with solidarity groups that are courageously fighting for the plight of East Timorese are absolutely FANTASTIC. I salute you all ! Your friends inside Indonesia also are more aware of the existing policy of the GOI and they also become more militant in fighting according to their capacity for the JUSTICE and piece of freedom of their brothers namely East Timorese.

I look forward to having a fruitful discussion here.

Thank you,

THREAT TO QUIT AT EAST TIMOR TALKS

Reuter and AFP, 4 June 1995

Stadtschlaining, Austria – A leading East Timorese activist threatened Sunday to walk out of UN-sponsored talks if they did not address key political issues.

"If political issues such as that of a referendum in the territory are not discussed in the afternoon session, I shall quit the meeting and so will several others," João Carrascalão told journalists before the start of the session. During the morning session of the second day some 30 E Timorese of different political shades, living in East Timor and in exile discussed demilitarization, security, human rights, reduction of the military presence and transfer of power to civilian leaders, delegates said.

José Ramos Horta said the four days of discussions had broken new ground but insisted there could be no solution to East Timor's problems as long as Indonesia continued to occupy the territory. "I want to see the total withdrawal of Indonesian troops and elections," he said.

UN officials have stressed the meeting is not a negotiating forum and it not intended to replace ministerial talks between Indonesia and Portugal under UN auspices. "The talks will not address the political status of

East Timor," UN political affairs officer Tamrat Samuel told delegates in a welcoming address.

Carrascalão said discussions with delegates coming from inside East Timor made little sense as they were afraid of taking an independent line. "It's not worth talking to them," he said.

Bishop Belo served mass attended by all the delegates on Sunday morning when he called for reconciliation. "God has already forgiven the mistakes of 1974 and 1975, and now is the time for the Timorese to forgive each other," Belo said in a sermon.

Jailed Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão has criticised the dialogue because it skirts the issue of East Timor's political future. "If in fact the cause of East Timor's problems resides in the fact of Indonesia having forcibly annexed the territory, then of what importance is reconciliation among East Timorese?" he said in a statement last week.

According to AFP, the talks proceeded in "tense" fashion Sunday, a UN spokesman said. The talks are being attended by two UN officials. Spokesman Axel Wuestenhagen said the talks had been characterized so far by a "tense atmosphere."

The discussion will touch on everything with the exception of the political status of the territory, which is the exclusive preserve of Indonesia and Portugal, he said.

CALL FOR INDONESIA PULLOUT AT EAST TIMOR TALKS

STADTSCHLAINING, Austria, June 4 (Reuter) - East Timorese activists on Sunday began a second day of UN-sponsored talks aimed at easing tensions in the troubled territory as a key dissident called for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops.

Overseas resistance leader José Ramos Horta said the four-days of discussions bringing together some 30 Timorese of different political shades broke new ground.

But he insisted there could be no solution to East Timor's problems as long as Indonesia continued to occupy the territory it forcibly annexed in 1976.

"I want to see a total withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and elections," said Horta, one of 14 delegates living abroad.

He described East Timor as "a non-self-governing territory whose status can only be changed by a U.N. referendum."

Horta delivered a message from jailed Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão. "I conveyed the message that we cannot forget the thousands of people who have died in the last 20 years," he said.

Gusmão has criticised the dialogue in Stadtschlaining's imposing mediaeval castle, 140 km (90 miles) south of Vienna, because it skirts the issue of East Timor's political future.

"If in fact the cause of East Timor's problems resides in the fact of Indonesia having forcibly annexed the territory, then of what importance is reconciliation among East Timorese?" he said in a statement last week.

FORMER TIMORESE ENEMIES MAKE PEACE

The Irish Times, 5 June 1995. By Jill Jolliffe

Schlaining – East Timorese who were on opposing side in a bloody civil war 20 years ago made peace yesterday in this remote Austrian hamlet 100 Km south of Vienna – and 15,000 Km from the former Portuguese colony which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

They began the second day of a UN sponsored meeting between pro-Indonesian and pro-Independence personalities with a Mass celebrated by Bishop Carlos Belo. . "What we need now is peace first of all, peace for every individual, peace for Timor," the bishop told the group of 30 who had been flown to Austria by the UN from places in exile in Australia, Portugal, Macau and Africa and from East Timor itself.

"We must look to the future and advance hand in hand," he continued. "I believe God has forgiven us for what happened in 1974 and 1975."

The former enemies sang hymns together, embraced each other and prayed for peace in a ceremony charged with emotion

The UN Secretary General, Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, called for the conference to obtain a concerted opinion from Timorese leaders for the first time sin 20 years of slow moving negotiations about the future of East Timor. They have dragged on since the Security Council unsuccessfully called on Indonesia to withdraw its troops from the territory in 1975.

In 1982 the secretary-general was mandated to use his good offices to seek a diplomatic solution between Indonesia and Portugal, which the UN still considers the legal administrating power.

Since he came to office Dr. Boutros Ghali has quickened the pace between Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers, and his decision to bring the East Timorese themselves into the talks is seen as part of a more determined attempt to reach a negotiated political settlement and end the long and painful war between the Indonesian army and the guerrilla resistance.

However, the emotional outpourings at the Schlaining meeting have not been matched so far by political consensus, with a threat of a walkout yesterday by Mr. João Carrascalão, president of the pro-independence UDT party, unless the pro-Indonesian Timorese present declared publicly that they had been coerced by Indonesia to sign a declaration of support for Jakarta at the end of the civil war in 1975.

"Things look happy on the surface." Mr. Xavier do Amaral, A former leader of the liberation movement FRETILIN, said, but the reality is that the differences remain deep"

EAST TIMOR ACTIVISTS UPBEAT AFTER TALKS IN AUSTRIA

By Jan Krcmar

STADTSCHLAINING, Austria, June 5 (Reuter) - A U.N.-sponsored meeting of East Timor activists wound to a close on Monday with delegates saying they were optimistic some progress had been made towards easing tensions in the troubled Asian territory.

"The meeting has been generally useful. The talks went well and were held in a friendly climate," said Clementino Reis Amaral, a member of the Indonesian Human Rights Commission.

He was among 30 Timorese of different political shades, living both in East Timor and in exile, who were brought together for the first time for three days of discussions in a medieaval castle 140 km (90 miles) south of Vienna.

Despite objections from some delegates, mainly exiles, no political motions were put forward at the meeting under the ground rules set by the United Nations.

Delegates tackled questions of demilitarisation, security, human rights, reduction of the military presence in the territory and transfer of power to civilian leaders.

Conference sources said there was a general feeling that some problems had been solved and that the dialogue had given East Timorese a valuable opportunity to talk openly and to air grievances.

They said that East Timor Bishop Carlos Belo, respected by all sides in the dispute, had persuaded leading dissident João Carrascalão not to quit the meeting over his objection to the ban on raising politically sensitive subjects.

Overseas resistance leader José Ramos-Horta said the discussions had broken new ground, but insisted there could be no solution to East Timor's problems as long as Indonesia continued to occupy the territory it forcibly annexed in 1976.

"I want to see a total withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and elections," said Horta, one of 14 delegates living abroad.

Jakarta won praise, however, for its decision to include several outspoken figures such as Bishop Belo in the 16-strong delegation from Indonesia. Belo said a mass attended by all the delegates on Sunday at which he called for reconciliation.

"God has already forgiven the mistakes of 1974 and 1975, and now is the time for the Timorese to forgive each other," he said in a sermon.

E TIMOR TALKS RESULT IN CONSENSUS

Reuter, 6 June 1995. By Jan Kromer. Abridged

Stadtschlaining, Austria – A UN-sponsored meeting of East Timor activists ended Monday with consensus on a common declaration and agreement to hold further talks.

"We are satisfied and happy with the result which fulfilled our expectations and laid the ground for further cooperation," UN mediator Tamrat Samuel said.

The meeting brought together for the first time 30 Timorese of different political shades. Prominent opponents of the Jakarta regime included José Ramos-Horta and Bishop Belo. The 16-member delegation from East Timor contained several pro-Indonesian officials.

In a final declaration all sides called for the respect of human rights in East Timor and the preservation of the cultural identity of the region. "The participants reaffirm the need to implement the necessary measures in the field of human rights," the joint statement said. It also urged "the preservation of the cultural identity of the people, including their tradition, religion, history and language as well as the teaching of Portuguese and Tetun."

"This was a small but important step forward. We agreed on the basic principles but did not touch on political issues. Our political positions remain unchanged," Horta said.

Jakarta's ambassador Lopes da Cruz said: "We will welcome further ideas we can develop."

All parties stressed the need for further UN-sponsored dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal and proposed that future ministerial meetings between the two nations should be preceded by intra-East Timor talks.

"The meeting has been generally useful. The talks went well and were held in a friendly climate," said Clementino dos Reis

Amaral, a member of the Indonesian Human Rights Commission.

Despite objections from some delegates, mainly exiles, no political motions were put forward under the ground rules set down by the UN. Delegates tackled questions of demilitarisation, security, human rights, reduction of the military presence in the territory and transfer of power to civilian leaders.

INTRA-EAST TIMORESE DIALOGUE ADOPTS 'BURG SCHLAINING DECLARATION'

United Nations Information Service, June 6.

Calls for continuing talks; human rights measures to promote peace, stability, justice and social harmony; preservation of cultural identity of East Timor people

STADTSCHLAINING, AUSTRIA, 5 June 1995 (UN Information Service) – Concluding an all inclusive intra-East Timorese dialogue at Schlaining Castle, Austria, today, thirty East Timorese, representing a broad cross-section of political opinion from inside and outside the Territory, adopted the "Burg Schlaining Declaration" calling for a continuation of the dialogue. The meeting was initiated by the Secretary-General in the context of his good offices on the question of East Timor.

The declaration proposed to the Secretary-General the holding of another intra-Timorese dialogue with a view to continuing the debate on issues annexed to the declaration. While noting that despite the frank and open spirit in which the dialogue was conducted, the fundamental, different political options remained unchanged. Such meetings should precede each round of negotiations on the question of East Timor between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia

Adopted by consensus, the declaration reaffirms the need to implement measures in the field of human rights and other areas with a view to promoting peace, stability, justice and social harmony. It also reaffirms the necessity of the social and cultural development of East Timor to be based on the preservation of the cultural identity of the people including the teaching of the Tetun and Portuguese languages.

The declaration also calls for the involvement of all East Timorese without discrimination in the development of the Territory in a climate of mutual understanding, tolerance and harmony.

The participants affirmed the importance of the ongoing negotiations between the Governments of Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the Secretary-General which aim at finding a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to

the question of East Timor, according to the provisions, letter and spirit of the General Assembly resolution 37/30. The declaration notes with appreciation the consultations undertaken by the United Nations with the various shades of Timorese opinion, aiming at their gradual involvement, as well as the availability of the ministers of Foreign Affairs of Portugal and Indonesia for direct dialogue with Timorese personalities. The declaration also requests the Secretary-General and the two Governments to facilitate the free movement of Timorese families to and from East Timor.

The declaration pays special tribute to the contribution of the Catholic Church in East Timor and the participation of Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili, in the dialogue, whose concrete proposals for improving the physical and spiritual conditions of life of the East Timor people were agreed upon.

Facilitated by the United Nations, the intra-East Timorese dialogue served to explore practical ideas that could have a positive impact on the situation in East Timor and assist in creating a conducive atmosphere for a solution of that question. The Government of Austria provided meeting facilities and accommodation for all participants. A number of other Governments also extended financial support to this initiative.

TIMOR DIALOG ENDS, MORE TALKS AHEAD

Jakarta Post, 6 June 1995. Unabridged

[This is the most complete report I've seen. If anyone who attended the meeting can iron out any inaccuracies, their contribution in a response to this topic would be most welcome. Carmel, TAPOL]

Jakarta – East Timorese leaders with opposing views on integration ended their meeting in Austria yesterday, one day earlier than scheduled, while agreeing to convene for more talks in the future.

Delegates participating in the All-Inclusive Intra-East Timor Dialog in Stadtschlaining, 100 kms from Vienna, said the decision was made due to the departure of Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of Dili who had to leave Austria yesterday evening.

Fretilin (sic) separatist leader, Ramos Horta, confirmed the reason the dialog ended ahead of schedule.

Horta said that delegates considered Bishop Belo a father figure and thus "without his presence the credibility of the meeting would not be the same."

Clementino Dos Reis Amaral, a member of Indonesia's National Commission on

Human Rights, said that despite the early closing, delegates would meet again at a time and place to be determined later.

When asked about the future meeting, Horta replied "I do not know when or where. It could be on the moon."

He acknowledged that having East Timor as a venue for the next meeting was a possibility.

The dialog is a result of trilateral talks between Portugal, Indonesia and United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Geneva last January.

The informal dialog was aimed at creating a conducive atmosphere for talks between Jakarta and Lisbon to find an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor issue.

It was also designed to facilitate an exchange of views which could foster a healthy atmosphere among the East Timorese divided by a civil war in 1975.

The UN still recognises Portugal as the administrative power despite East Timor's integration as the 27th province of the Republic of Indonesia in 1976.

Thirty East Timorese leaders, 16 from Indonesia and 14 from abroad, took part in the dialog.

RIGHTS

Amaral said that among the issues discussed during the dialog were the number of military personnel stationed in the province, human rights and socio-economic and cultural development, along with freedom of religion.

He said that Indonesian Timorese had rejected a proposal from their counterparts for the establishment of a joint human rights commission in East Timor under the supervision of the UN.

Amaral contended that the commission would overlap with the already existing Peace and Justice Committee under Bishop Belo and the National Commission on Human Rights which is about to open a branch office in Dili.

"If a new commission was formed there would be the impression that the existing ones are not reputable," he told ANTARA.

Though there were some threats to pull-out of the meeting unless political issues were included, delegates eventually obeyed the ground rules of the dialog and excluded discussion on the political status of East Timor.

THREATS

As reported by Reuters, Bishop Belo persuaded João Carrascalão to withdraw threats made in reaction to the exclusion of political issues.

A prominent East Timor scholar from Indonesia, João Mariano Saldanha, further

stated the anti-integrationists' willingness not to force political issues.

"The hard line leaders such as Ramos Horta and João Carrascalão who had reportedly wanted to withdraw from the dialog if the question of a referendum was not included in the meeting, in the end continued to participate," he said.

A joint communiqué was to be released later yesterday. A team of six people, three from each side, was selected to formulate the communiqué.

João Saldanha, Florentino Sarmento and Rui Emiliano Teixeira Lopez were chosen from the Indonesian side, while Abilio Sereno, Mari Alkatiri and Constâncio Pinto [sic, actually it was Fr. Constâncio Gusmão] were chosen from among those representing the Timorese abroad.

LOPES DA CRUZ ON TALKS

Tiras, 8 June 1995. Translated from Indonesian

After seeing President Suharto just before going off to Austria for the All-Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue, Lopes da Cruz reports Suharto as saying that: He as president indeed did not have a mandate from the MPR to accept East Timor into Indonesia. But the Constitution emphasizes an Indonesian responsibility to contribute to world order <ketertiban dunia>. The incorporation was done after consulting the Parliament, and has since been written into law, and is thus irreversible. The president says that Indonesia's next president will retain East Timor for the same reason.

ALATAS CAUTIOUS ON NEW TIMOR DIALOG PROSPECTS

Jakarta Post, June 7 1995. abridged

The Indonesian government is reacting cautiously to the prospect of a second meeting between opposing East Timorese factions.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas said yesterday such a proposal must be examined further and discussed with Portugal at the next round of formal talks.

"We will have to look at the relevance and need for such a meeting," he said.

Alatas told journalists that the results of the All-Inclusive Intra-East Timor Dialog must be further studied. He is waiting for a report from F.X. Lopez da Cruz, the coordinator of the Indonesian delegation.

At the end of their meeting in Austria on Monday, delegates issued the "Burg Schlaining Declaration," which proposed that the UN Secretary General organise another dialog.

"That is precisely a point which needs to be discussed at the next meeting between the two foreign ministers and the secretary general," Alatas said.

He added that the government will carefully examine the Declaration and decide which points can contribute to the talks between Jakarta and Lisbon.

Those that are not relevant will be noted, he said.

The sixth trilateral talks are scheduled to be held on July 8 in Geneva.

Commenting on the Declaration's call to "implement the necessary measures in the field of human rights," Alatas said that Indonesia has always tried to implement these measures.

"There is no feeling that we have never implemented them, on the contrary, in every meeting we have proven how we have done it," he contended.

Though not included in the Declaration, delegates during the dialog discussed the high level presence of the military in East Timor.

Alatas said the matter has been discussed several times before in previous meetings with the Portuguese foreign minister.

"That has been a running topic of all the five meetings," Alatas said, adding that he did not see "anything new that needs to be specifically addressed."

When asked if Jakarta would accept the possibility of including the possibility of including the political status of East Timor in future dialogs, Alatas argued that such discussions would confuse the issue.

"After all, on this question what is needed is a governmental decision. We cannot just leave it up to the East Timorese from both sides," he said.

Alatas maintains that the political discussions should be reserved for the Indonesian and Portuguese government alone, and that the dialog should not become a second track to those talks.

ALATAS ON TALKS

Jakarta, June 9 (REUTER) - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Friday a settlement of the East Timor problem could be reached only by the Indonesian and Portuguese governments, under the auspices of the United Nations.

"The settlement of the East Timor problem cannot be done by any other parties," Alatas told reporters.

"Only the tripartite meeting between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments, under the auspices of the United Nations, can solve the problem," he added.

Alatas was commenting on talks in Austria between 30 East Timorese community leaders - some in exile, others still living in

the former Portuguese colony - which ended last Monday.

Participants agreed to hold further talks and issued a declaration calling for respect of human rights and preservation of East Timor's cultural identity, including teaching of the Portuguese and local Tetum languages.

Indonesian invaded East Timor in December 1975 and annexed it seven months later. The annexation is not recognised by the United Nations, which regards Lisbon as the administering power.

In East Timor, the territory's military chief, Colonel Mahidin Simbolon, said on Friday the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) would respect human rights there.

"ABRI will continue to improve human rights as well as to uphold the law," Simbolon told reporters in the capital, Dili.

ALATAS: NO LOSER IN EAST TIMOR DIALOG

Jakarta Post, June 10 1995.

JAKARTA (JP): Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas yesterday dismissed the suggestions that the "Burg Schlaining Declaration" was unfavorable to Indonesia, saying that the recent All-Inclusive Intra-East Timor dialog should not be viewed as a win-lose situation.

"From the beginning the important thing for me is not gaining or losing (in the talks). There is neither winning or losing," Alatas told journalists here yesterday afternoon.

He said that in the Declaration there was nothing new introduced except the call for further reconciliation talks.

East Timor was integrated into Indonesia in 1976. However, the United Nations still regard Portugal as the administrative power there.

Under the aegis of the UN, talks have been conducted by the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers to find an internationally-acceptable solution to the issue.

During their last meeting in Geneva in January the two foreign ministers agreed that a reconciliation dialog between opposing East Timorese factions would be held to help create a conducive atmosphere for the talks between Jakarta and Lisbon.

Thirty pro- and anti-integration East Timorese gathered in Austria last week for a three-day reconciliatory dialog under the facilitation of the UN.

At the end of their meeting they released a declaration which called, among others things, for the implementation of necessary measures in the field of human rights and the preservation of the East Timorese cultural identity by introducing the teaching of Portuguese and Tetun languages.

In the aftermath of the meeting, various interpretations of the results have emerged, including a media report quoting a former East Timor Governor who is currently Indonesian ambassador to Bucharest, Rumania, Mario Viegas Carrascalão.

In the report the former governor was quoted as saying the results of the dialog and the declaration were unfavorable to Indonesia.

When asked by journalists, Alatas expressed regret at the ambassador's comments.

'I regret that an ambassador, who should be better informed than other people, could draw such a conclusion,' Alatas remarked, stressing that nothing in the declaration was detrimental to Indonesia's position, including paragraph six, which cites UN Resolution 37/30.

LOPES DA CRUZ: "I WAS CHEATED BY RAMOS HORTA"

Expresso, 10 June 1995. By Mario Robalo. Abridged

Lisbon – The inclusion in the final communiqué of the intra-Timorese meeting of a UN General Assembly resolution which recognises "the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence" and reaffirms Portugal's role as East Timor's administering power put an end to the festive atmosphere in which the meeting had ended.

"I was cheated by Ramos Horta," said Francisco Lopes da Cruz on Thursday. He told *Expresso* that Xanana Gusmão's representative, Horta, had stated that the meeting of the Timorese had "resulted from the application of that resolution (not supported by Indonesia), as well as the meetings between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia, promoted by the UN Secretary General, which is not true."

The incident then led the Timorese who had come to the meeting from Timor itself to elaborate, while still in Vienna, on Tuesday, a document which "has already been sent to Boutros Ghali," in which they state that "these talks are the result of the UN Secretary's General's initiative, within the scope of his own mandate, which is the reason Indonesia accepted them. They removed the part which had caused the disagreement from the paragraph in question: "To affirm the importance of the talks underway between the Indonesian and Portuguese Governments, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, with a view to finding a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution for the question of East Timor, in accordance with the letter

and the spirit of Resolution 37/30 of the UN General Assembly."

Diplomatic Pressure

According to Ramos Horta, however, Jakarta's Timorese ambassador had been "pressured by the Indonesian Government to go back on what he had signed of his own free will." He referred to the fact that the point in question had been "discussed for two hours by all the participants in the meeting, who freely agreed to its inclusion."

Xanana's representative supported the inclusion of the text in question, Resolution 37/30 (which states that the Secretary General should undertake consultations "with all directly interested parties," to argue that "the Secretary General did not take initiatives of this kind without being mandated by the General Assembly." "In fact," he goes on to say, "it is within this juridical framework that he gets the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia to meet."

Lopes da Cruz denies that any pressure was brought to bear on him by Suharto's executive, saying that he will be meeting Ali Alatas only later today, and that only on Wednesday will he meet with the Vice President of the Republic, Gen. Try Sutrisno. Ramos Horta, however, claims that on the last day of the meeting in Schlaining, two PAKIN (Indonesian security service) agents were in the hotel room of Lopes da Cruz for over two hours and brought him the text of the UN resolution. The following day, in the Austrian capital, Lopes da Cruz met with four Indonesian ambassadors (from New York, The Hague, London and Vienna) in the Hilton Hotel.

It was during this meeting that the document rectifying the "Schlaining Declaration" was elaborated, which the "Liurai" from Atesabe did not subscribe to. On the very first day of the intra-Timorese meeting, Guilherme Goncalves read out a document which amazed his kinsmen, as he demanded the Timorese people's right to independence.

It is curious to note, however, that Lopes da Cruz's "rectifying" document states that in the Schlaining Declaration - passed unanimously, in the presence of journalists - there were omissions, such as the fact that it contained no reference to "the efforts made by different Timorese personalities" to ensure that the Austria meeting became a reality. This paragraph, which Lopes da Cruz wants the UN Secretary General to add to the original document, is a clear reference to the Timorese participants in the so-called London reconciliation meetings. One of the main organisers, and leader of a Fretilin faction, Abilio Araujo, is not said to be concerned about the "rectifying" document. "I do not consider the incident as being so

important, and I do not believe it will effect the chance of further meetings taking place," he told *Expresso*, saying that the Schlaining document "is much less progressive than the document that came out of Chepstow," the venue of the second "reconciliation meeting." Araujo referred to the fact that in the Chepstow declaration "there were already calls for the release of political prisoners, Timorisation of the administration in the territory, and demilitarisation, which has not occurred in the Austria document."

Meanwhile, Ramos Horta said that the document elaborated by Lopes da Cruz "weakens Indonesia at the forthcoming ministerial meeting (Barroso and Alatas) on 8 July, with the UN Secretary General: "It makes it clear that the Jakarta regime does not allow the Timorese to freely express what they think."

ETRA REPORT ON AUSTRIA EAST TIMOR MEETING

The All-Inclusive Intra-Timorese Dialogue: A SMALL BUT CRITICAL STEP FORWARD FOR EAST TIMOR

By Ines Almeida, ETRA, 10 June 1995 (Sydney)

(...) as a Bishop, a priest, as a man of the Church, I am pleased with the strong political maturity of the Timorese" These were the encouraging remarks made Bishop Ximenes Belo during his closing speech.

When the All-Inclusive Intra-Timorese Dialogue was announced by the United Nations Secretary-General's office soon after the fifth round of talks between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia held under the auspices of the United Nations, the reaction was one of scepticism, pessimism and condemnation. Not only the title is already a mouthful but also because there were no clear guidelines, apart from a paragraph asserting that the political status of the territory is not to be discussed in this 'dialogue.'

The preparatory stage of this meeting was also muddled by constant manoeuvre by Indonesia to neutralise the role of the United Nations in solving the issue of East Timor. Jakarta tried to argue that UN was supposed to 'only' organise the logistics and not to 'invite' the Timorese at all, specially those from East Timor. But UN went ahead and managed to directly invite the participants to attend this talk. Jakarta continued to accuse the UN of stepping the line by turning itself into the 'organiser' instead of being the 'facilitator.'

The tension promoted by Jakarta prior to the 'dialogue' appeared to be aiming at making it difficult for the Timorese to have a real dialogue and, Jakarta hoped that the meeting

would not go beyond the first day. This would institutionalise the Indonesian key propaganda that if the Indonesia withdraws from East Timor, there will be civil war.

Such propaganda intensified soon before the dialogue taking place in Austria negatively influenced the environment. The early days (arrival and day one) were so obviously tense.

As the meeting progressed, however, the environment gradually shifted from one of 'adversaries' to one of 'common gains'; for many leaders who took part in the meeting, that was the first time in twenty years, that they saw each other again. They would not allow the terror of Indonesia to stand between them. They used this opportunity to, instead, enhance an environment of real dialogue regardless of their differences in political views which, twenty years experience tells them, can be a good ingredient for real democracy in an independent East Timor.

The fact that the bishop of East Timor, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, was present in the meeting, was a real asset for success, since his arguments of abuse of human rights in East Timor could not be countered by the Indonesian public servants participating in the meeting, specially Lopes da Cruz, the so-called 'Indonesian Ambassador' in charge of East Timor related issues. So much so that a sixteen-point document presented by Bishop Belo, in a subtle way, critical of Indonesian occupation, was approved by consensus and annexed to the final document of the meeting. No one criticised his views about the current tragedy of the people of East Timor. Apart from other points reiterating the role of the (Catholic) Church in East Timor, concerning the political status of East Timor, Bishop Belo stated that

"regarding the political future of East Timor (integration or independence), the position of the Church in East Timor is that to accept whatever options of the East Timorese. However, the Church declares and demands the defence of human right based on the United Nations Charter (1948) and the promotion of common good based on the respect to the religious, cultural and historical identity of the East Timor"

As for the socio-political conditions, he stated that

"(...) as long as the East Timorese are treated as a defeated people and become hostage in their own land than it will become the major obstacle of a genuine, just and integral development as human being, as family and as the East Timorese"

Another asset for success was the discipline displayed by most members of the resistance abroad who decided to sit and listen to the arguments presented by the

Timorese working for Indonesian diplomacy, namely Lopes da Cruz, Clementino Amaral and Abilio Araujo. Their arguments were not contested by the resistance leaders in order to avoid what the Indonesian Government wished: disrupt the meeting and declare that the Timorese can not understand each other.

Furthermore, the resistance members participating in the meeting were conscious of the difficulties of those coming from East Timor. Although they were all invited on a personal capacity, their views could cost them their jobs, their families jobs and other difficulties. For the resistance, success meant to succeed in holding meetings of this nature but always organised by the United Nations, regardless of the jargon used by the participants from East Timor during the meeting. So, the position of the resistance was a strategic one rather than one for short-term gain. Provided that the position of the UN and Portugal can be strengthened after this meeting, the resistance can be satisfied with the outcome. The next step will be to continue to argue for direct participation of Xanana Gusmão, the National Leader of the Timorese Resistance so that the resistance, at structural level, can undertake to implement the decisions reached at UN level.

The patience of the resistance leaders bore fruit when, after the first day, some key Timorese figures from East Timor started to argue objectively within their own circumstances, demanding that Timorese directly participate in the on-going negotiations under the auspices of the UN, respect for the fundamental human rights of East Timor. A former Indonesian-appointed governor decided to read his statement to the meeting. He accused two members of the Timorese political parties abroad (present in the meeting) as having been the authors of the so-called 'Balibo Declaration,' stating that he defends independence. Although such statement brought some brief tension to the meeting, specially for two participants from Jakarta, the will to succeed exceeded the desire to show 'Indonesian authority' over the Timorese in the meeting. Another Timorese from East Timor stated that he criticises the UN for not having included in the guidelines for this meeting the discussion of the political status of East Timor. Ironically, those statements seem to have enhanced the feeling of openness in the meeting, enabling further discussions and evenings 'off-the-record serenatas,' socialising moments which further helped to discharge the psychological and political tensions.

Apart from the Timorese participants, the meeting was invaded by journalists from Portugal and Indonesia, insatiable for daily

on-the-spot news to relay back to their respective countries.

The presence of the UN was marked by its senior officer, Mr. Tamrat Samuel, who was the Assistant to Prof. Vendrell, the Asia-Pacific Representative of the UN. Mr. Tamrat Samuel is a hard working UN officer who put so much energy into the organising of this meeting and stay with all the participants right until the end. The UN recorded all the meeting and provided a translator from Portuguese to English language. It was also significant to note that the entire three-day meeting (except when Bishop Belo blessed the meeting) was held in Portuguese.

During this meeting, a number of documents were produced. Following is list of some of the most important ones tabled:

1. "Practical Issues" - a sixteen points document as mentioned. It was presented by Bishop Belo and approved by all by consensus;
2. A three-page letter from Xanana Gusmão, in Cipinang prison. The letter was addressed to all Timorese participants from East Timor. A very moving document alerting the participants for the need to take on the challenge of the present circumstances and defend the fundamental rights of the people of East Timor;
3. "Issues Discussed by the Participants of AITD" - documenting all the key topics/issues discussed by the participants.
4. The "Burg Schlaining Declaration" - the final communiqué issued by the AITD;
5. Statement made by one of the participants regarding his views about the future of East Timor;
6. Timorese students organisations also sent their document said to be signed by 1500 (one thousand five hundred) students, youth and workers; although their document was not part of the discussion, it was handed over to the UN secretariat;

BURG SCHLAINING DECLARATION

The Timorese, meeting in the All Inclusive Intra-Timorese dialogue on June 3-5 1995 in Schlaining, Austria, in the framework of the initiatives of the United Nations Secretary General:

Expressing their gratitude and greetings to the Secretary General and his staff for this initiative:

Taking note with appreciation and thanking the generous hospitality of the Austrian Government in welcoming the participants; Expressing their gratitude for the voluntary contribution by several countries towards the holding of this meeting;

Recognising the invaluable contribution of the Catholic Church in East Timor in the past and at present in East Timor;

Bearing in mind the contribution of His Excellency Rev. Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo in the course of this Intra-Timorese dialogue;

Noting that in spite of the frank and open spirit in which this Intra-Timorese dialogue was conducted, the fundamental different political options are unchanged;

DECIDE TO:

1. Salute the presence of H.E. Rev. Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili, for his invaluable contribution in the course of the debate, such as proposals for concrete measures that were agreed upon with a view to improving the physical and spiritual conditions of the lives of the people of East Timor;
2. Propose to the UN Secretary General the holding of another Intra-Timorese dialogue in the same framework in which this one was undertaken with a view to continuing the debate on the issues annexed, preceding each round of negotiations between the diplomatic heads of Portugal and Indonesia;
3. Reaffirm the need to implement the necessary measures in the field of human rights and in the various areas with a view to promoting peace, stability, justice and social harmony;
4. Reaffirm the necessity for the social and cultural development of East Timor on the basis of the preservation of the cultural identity of the people, including tradition, religion, history and language as well as the teaching of Tetun and Portuguese;
5. Expresses the need to create the basis for the involvement of all East Timorese without discrimination of any sort in the development of East Timor in every sphere of human life in a climate of mutual understanding, tolerance and harmony;
6. Affirm the importance of the ongoing negotiations between the governments of Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the Secretary General of the United Nations with a view to finding a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor according to the provisions, letter and spirit of the UN General Assembly resolution 37/30.
7. Register with appreciation the consultations undertaken by the United Nations with the various shades of Timorese opinion, aiming at their gradual involvement, as well as the availability of the

Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Portugal and Indonesia for direct dialogue with Timorese personalities;

8. Request the good offices of the UN Secretary General and of the governments of Portugal and Indonesia to facilitate the free movement of the Timorese families to and from East Timor.

Burg Schlaining, 5 June 1995

Above all, the meeting was to respond to only one authority: the people of East Timor. The vast majority of those present in the meeting appeared to feel that each of them and all of us as a whole, carry a national responsibility to make sure that the outcome of the meeting is something our people can be proud of. Consequently, no one wanted to be seen as the reason for failure. Perhaps this was the underline strength of the meeting itself. In spite of the difficulties due to human suffering, time and history, all the participants appeared to look at each other as a 'team,' the team of East Timor, playing the same game but in different camps. The statements made by some of the participants from East Timor, and the content of the final communiqué are a testimony of this perception. The nature of the communiqué and the annexed Bishop's statement show a middle ground encountered after three days of intensive, not debate, but consultation.

To conclude, one can argue that the meeting achieved the following:

- (i) enhancement of the role of Portugal as the administrative power of East Timor because all the Timorese participants agreed that the UN should continue to use the good offices of the Secretary-General to find a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution for East Timor. The points included in the Bishops document and 'issues discussed' can be a powerful tool for Portugal to use, arguing that "Portugal is merely representing the views of the Timorese participants in the All-Inclusive Intra-Timorese Dialogue" which included 'Indonesian appointed authorities' for East Timor.
- (ii) the role of the Secretary-General of the UN was also enhanced because the meeting took place with formal agreement of Indonesia, and the final communiqué reiterated the need to implement the spirit and letter of the resolution 37/30 of November 1982. This was the last resolution passed by the UN General Assembly on East Timor. It charged the UN Secretary-General to bring all interested parties together to find a solution.

- (iii) the statement made by the Secretary-General that improvement of (human rights) conditions in East Timor is sine qua non to a solution for East Timor was reinforced by the sixteen-point document presented by the Bishop of East Timor, Dom Carlos Ximenes Belo which was approved by consensus by all the participants;
- (iv) the manoeuvre of Indonesia to hold the so-called 'reconciliation talks' outside the UN framework so that the role of the UN can be weakened and East Timor can be derail from the UN auspices was killed.

Some critical observations for future meetings may be summarise in the following way:

1. The selection of participants should be made according to their readiness to give an input in the meetings rather than to be there just for the sake of it. Although the majority of the participants did show interest, there were also some who did not appear to have serious interest in having an input;
2. The absence of reasonable presence women (55 % of East Timor population) in the meeting (the author was the only one); representatives from the youth and students organisations in East Timor and in Indonesia itself, (even if only in their personal capacity) should be invited in the future. The absence of these key elements of East Timor society did not help to galvanise a broad view and enhance the political base of this kind of meetings.
3. Since Indonesia argues for "pro-Indonesian" heavies in the meeting, a range of options are also open to the Timorese and the UN. These include the participation of Xanana Gusmão and other prisoners with political cloud in the process, be it within the students and youth organisations, or in the resistance in the mountains; without the need to state their specific status in the resistance, elements within this spectrum of Timorese politics should be invited.
4. The number of participants should increase;
5. Since
 - the Timorese have proven to be ready to tackle all aspects of the issue
 - the role of the UN has been properly respected by all the Timorese participants,
 - future meetings of this kind require further gains by the Timorese in order to keep the momentum,

perhaps future meetings would be more appropriately called "All-Inclusive Intra-Timorese Consultation."

CNRM STATEMENT ON INTRA-EAST TIMORESE DIALOGUE AND 'BURG SCHLAINING' DECLARATION

*CNRM East Timor National Council of
Maubere Resistance, 12 June 1995*

The UN Secretary General sponsored Intra-East Timorese Dialogue held at Burg Schlaining, Austria 2-5 June 1995 proved a success for the East Timorese people and their struggle for self determination and justice. It represented a set back to Indonesia, confirming Jakarta's fears that if let free from Indonesian control, most East Timorese will express dissatisfaction with the present occupation of their homeland.

The Schlaining meeting demonstrated the continuing existence of a strong sense of East Timorese nationalism, overshadowing the apparent submission of those under Indonesian forced tutelage. Despite pressures exerted on them by Jakarta, many chose to join with their fellow nationals in exile, adopting by consensus the 'Burg Schlaining Declaration' which in effect is a denunciation of the unjust and oppressive conditions now prevailing in East Timor.

The Declaration calls for continuing intra-Timorese talks and affirms the importance of the UN Secretary General's current efforts to seek a just, comprehensive, and internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor problem "according to the provisions, letter and spirit of the General Assembly Resolution 37/30." It also refers to the need to address human rights, and to promote peace, stability, justice and social harmony in the territory. The declaration further acknowledges the need to preserve the people's cultural identity, and the need to teach their national language Tetum, and Portuguese.

Politically, the most significant aspect of the declaration is its support for the UN Secretary General's efforts as mandated by resolution 37/30. This shows clearly that East Timorese leaders, whether in exile or under Indonesian tutelage, affirm the international status of the East Timor problem, implicitly rejecting the Jakarta promoted myths that decolonisation of East Timor has been achieved. UN GA Resolution 37/30 asks the Secretary General to initiate consultations with all directly concerned parties so as to find a settlement. It also asks the UN GA 'Committee of 24' (on granting independence to colonial territories) to keep monitoring the East Timor situation, and calls upon UN specialised agencies to assist the people of East Timor, "in close consultation with Portugal, as the Administering Power."

Most dialogue participants allowed by Jakarta to participate were not really independent nor representative, being Indonesian public servants. Only some truly independent East Timorese were able to attend, as a result of a most praiseworthy UN insistence with Jakarta. Yet all unanimously joined their exiled compatriots in stressing the present poor human rights and justice situation in the occupied territory. Their call for development to be attentive to the people's cultural identity, and for the teaching of the Tetum and Portuguese languages, can be read as a criticism of the current Jakarta policies of cultural obliteration.

Former Indonesia appointed East Timor Governor Guilherme Maria Goncalves, violently condemned the current situation in East Timor, strongly calling for a referendum on independence. With Dili Lawyer Tarcisio Amaral periodically reporting on the meeting's progress by telephone to Indonesian intelligence, there are grounds for grave fears to exist regarding the safety of Goncalves after his return to Indonesia. Foreign embassies and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Jakarta need to monitor his situation.

The defiance by East Timorese Indonesian subjects was short lived. Immediately after the adoption of the Burg Schlaining Declaration, two Indonesian secret intelligence agents rushed to meet Suharto Ambassador Lopes da Cruz at Schlaining town. The next day, Indonesian Ambassadors to London, the UN in New York, The Hague and Vienna met the East Timorese Indonesians at the Vienna Hilton Hotel, and forced them to issue a retraction to the Declaration.

Observers travelling with the East Timorese delegation on their return flight from Vienna to Jakarta, noted members' apprehension about the negative consequences they anticipated from their expression of intra-East Timorese nationalist solidarity at Burg Schlaining. It is clear that their Jakarta overlords, particularly Foreign Minister Alatas, can not be happy with this latest diplomatic defeat.

From an East Timorese perspective, the Schlaining Intra- East Timorese Dialogue represents a further valuable step forward in the UN Secretary General's efforts to seek a just and genuine solution to the East Timor problem.

Further comment:

José Ramos Horta: +351 1 297 3217,

Ines Almeida: +61 2 891 5861

José Gusmão +61 89 275478, Kate

Khoori: +61 2 368 0396

SELF CONFIDENCE VITAL OVER E TIMOR

The Jakarta Post, June 12, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): A feeling of self-confidence is essential for Indonesia in dealing with critics of Jakarta's policy on East Timor, a prominent political scientist said on Saturday

"If we have self-confidence, we will not object to being scrutinized," said Juwono Sudarsono, the vice chairman of the National Resiliency Institute and former dean of the University of Indonesia's faculty of social and political sciences.

Juwono told journalist that, in other countries, the issue of East Timor will always be associated with questions of human rights.

"I think that from the outset we should realize that East Timor is something which always surfaces as a problem of human rights in the international forum," he said, comparing the issue with other controversial human rights issues such as Kashmir and Tibet.

East Timor, formerly a Portuguese colony, was integrated into Indonesia in 1976. However, the United Nations still recognizes Lisbon as the administrative power there.

Speaking on the recent reconciliation talks in Austria between East Timorese of opposing factions, Juwono said he did not see any reason why Indonesia should oppose the plan to hold further such discussions in the future.

"I don't think we have any objections," he said.

At the end of their meeting the East Timorese released a declaration calling for the UN to facilitate a further dialogue.

The declaration also stressed the need to safeguard human rights in the territory and to preserve East Timor's culture.

"We have also accepted and implemented the two points in the Austrian declaration calling for attention to human rights and respect for East Timor," Juwono said. "The most important thing is that East Timor's political status and sovereignty was not made an issue."

Juwono said that holding a future dialog in East Timor itself, as has been suggested by some, could have positive as well as negative consequences.

"There would be a gain in that it would show that we are self-confident, but we could lose if the event was manipulated in such a way that it became an international media event," he said.

Separately on Saturday, Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas again said that the results of the dialog were being reviewed and

that, therefore, he could not say what Indonesia's position was concerning the holding of a further dialog.

EAST TIMOR NEGOTIATIONS COULD NOW BE ENTERING DECISIVE PHASE

The Irish Times, 12 June 1995. By JILL JOLLIFFE.

The Burg Schlaining Declaration, which emerged from last week's meeting in Austria, has focused minds on Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor,

Negotiations on the future of East Timor are set to enter a decisive phase after a UN sponsored meeting in Austria last week.

At the meeting, pro-independence Timorese came face to face with compatriots who favour Indonesian rule. These diametrically-opposed forces reached an agreement, but this is already in danger of collapsing after 15 pro-Indonesian delegates claimed they had been manipulated.

Mr. Francisco Lopes da Cruz, leader of the pro-Indonesian group, accused the main pro-independence delegate, Mr. José Ramos Horta, of altering the text of the conference's final resolution after it had been voted on. "We negotiated in good faith," he said, "and it seems we've been defrauded." He denied that the Indonesian government had put pressure on the pro-Indonesian Timorese to denounce the agreement because they had conceded too much to the independence supporters.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and is still under military occupation. Despite regular condemnation, the UN has failed, in 20 years of negotiations, to persuade Indonesia to withdraw. It still considers Portugal—the former colonial power—as the legal administrator.

The eight point Burg Schlaining Declaration which emerged from the Austrian meeting will be discussed on July 9th in Geneva. Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN Secretary General, meets with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr. José Durão Barroso, and his Indonesian counterpart, Mr. Ali Alatas, providing the current dispute is resolved.

By previous agreement the ministers should also begin to discuss "substantive" aspects of the Timor conflict—a clause which observers interpret as reference to sovereignty.

The Schlaining document was a moderate declaration of consensus which recommended to Dr. Boutros Ghali that similar meetings to consult East Timorese opinion should be held regularly.

It noted that, "in spite of the frank and open spirit," of the meeting, "fundamental

different political opinions are unchanged," it urged the improvement of human rights in Timor, while expressing support for the ongoing UN negotiations.

The controversy arose when the pro-Indonesian group claimed the text of the document read at the press conference differed from that voted on by the delegates—in particular a phrase quoting UN resolution 37/30, which refers to the need for an act of self-determination in the territory and criticises the Indonesian occupation. Under the terms agreed for the Schlaining meeting, delegates were to set aside the issue of sovereignty in the interests of finding common ground on lesser issues which might break the impasse in negotiations. The critics said that clause had been inserted by Mr. Horta, and that two other controversial paragraphs were omitted.

The 30 participants were drawn from a range of East Timorese political factions, some living under Indonesian occupation, others living abroad. Many had fought against each other in the 1975 civil war. Such was the tension at the beginning that it seemed the meeting would not last more than a day, but at the end of three days there was an unprecedented atmosphere of unity, and leaders from both sides were expressing contentment—and the hope that UN talks might now move into a meaningful phase.

Key to the success was Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, who acted as moderator, intervening to calm sentiments when the debate became heated.

Behind the bland official declaration, there was a document with a harder edge, to be forwarded to Dr. Boutros Ghali but not released publicly, calling for further discussion of issues including the Indonesian military presence, the activities of death squads known as the ninjas and abuse of East Timorese women.

A source inside the meeting said there was also agreement to apply the brakes on the urban youth revolt in Dili, the capital—much as Mr. Yasser Arafat's PLO has agreed to police Palestinian areas—to lower tension and create a climate of good faith in which negotiations might proceed.

The fate of the negotiating process will now depend greatly on the Indonesian government's attitude to the talks. Soon after the Schlaining meeting ended Jakarta's London ambassador, Mr. Junus Habibie, said by telephone from a Vienna hotel that it was too early for comment, "but I do hope the spirit of the meeting was to discuss the existing situation not debate it."

TIMOR GAP OIL AND OTHER CORPORATE INTERESTS

MORE OIL DISCOVERIES IN TIMOR GAP

The Australian, March 15 1995. By Matthew Stevens - business section - slightly abridged

BHP Petroleum has confirmed a new Timor Gap oil discovery after surprising results from a production test in its latest exploration well, Elang West 1.

The company said yesterday that Elang West had flowed oil at 1640 barrels a day from a zone that was a secondary drilling target. Until yesterday this area was unknown to oil analysts.

BHP Petroleum is still preparing the Elang West well to test the target zone, which is about 30m below the 165m zone tested earlier this week. It is understood that not all of the 161m zone tested by BHP Petroleum contains oil and that the secondary reservoir uncovered by the production testing is complex.

"This is an unexpected little windfall. They got oil they didn't expect to get, with no gas and no water. It's light oil; it flowed through a small choke. And there's a lot of potential left yet," one oil analyst said.

BHP Petroleum confirmed 12 days ago that it had recovered hydrocarbons from the lower target zone. Oil analysts say the recovery of oil from a zone above the target zone almost certainly means that the lower zone contains oil.

While a BHP consortium spokesman described the Elang West result as encouraging, others in the exploration consortium are known to be much more enthused. However the initial flow does not come close to matching the huge flows from the other 3 oil discoveries made recently in the Timor Gap. Petroz NL, the smallest player in the consortium, expressed pleasure.

BHP's reluctance to make any speculative comment about the latest find stems from the complexity of the discovery zone. Elang West is 7km west of BHP's major oil discovery in ZOCA 91-12 (this is permit number), Elang 1 and Elang 2. Analysts estimate that discovery contains upwards of 50 million barrels. While the Elang West structure is understood to be smaller than the nearby Elang (early estimates are for a maximum of 20 million barrels) it would be possible to link the two developments should the latest discovery prove economic.

Partners in Elang-West-1 are BHP Petroleum (42%), Santos (21%) Inpex Sahul (21%) and Petroz (15%).

PETROZ: RELYING ON EAST TIMOR'S OIL

By Anthony Brown, *Green Left*, March 15

Since discovering what appears to be a major oil find in the Timor Gap in February 1994, Brisbane-based oil and gas company Petroz NL has been the focus of protests over Australian exploitation of the situation in East Timor.

Protesters argue the immorality and illegality of Australian oil and gas companies moving into the Timor Gap, saying that by working with the Indonesian authorities, they are taking advantage of the East Timorese and helping to maintain Indonesian control over their country.

They contend that for all the dollars in royalties Australia and Indonesia can expect, not one cent will go into the pockets of the East Timorese.

Petroz NL was incorporated as a business in 1969 under the name of Offshore Oil NL. In 1986 it changed its name to Petroz.

The Sydney-based Australian Gas Light Company had a 59.85% controlling interest in Petroz until it sold its interest to institutional and private investors in September 1993.

Petroz is now seen as an independent oil and gas company, with its largest institutional shareholders being ANZ Bank and AMP, each with an interest under 5%.

However, according to a journalist from one of Queensland's leading business publications, *Business Queensland*, gas and construction giant Boral Limited is emerging as a major shareholder.

Petroz NL has three interests in the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation.

Following on from the 1989 Timor Gap Treaty, Australia and Indonesia signed the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation Treaty in early 1991.

Basically Indonesia and Australia have divided about 60,000 square kilometres of the Timor Gap into three commercial administrative zones: Zone A, Zone B and Zone C.

The northern Zone C is administered by Indonesia, the southern Zone B by Australia. Zone A, in the centre, is administered by both countries under a Joint Authority which issues exploration licenses.

It is in Zone A where most exploration is taking place.

In Zone A, there are two major exploration blocks: Zone of Cooperation (ZOCA) 91-12 in the west and ZOCA 91-08 in the east.

Petroz NL originally had a 100% interest in oil and gas exploration in both. But according to a *Business Queensland* journalist, it wasn't able to afford the cost of exploration

by itself. So it negotiated what are called farm-out agreements with other companies for both blocks.

In the Elang field in ZOCA 91-12, Petroz divided its share with three other companies so that they would chip in for exploration and development costs.

The companies are BHP Petroleum (which has a 42% stake in any finds), Inpex Sahul Ltd. (21%) and South Australian oil and gas company Santos Ltd. (21%), with Petroz retaining about 15%.

In the Elang field last February, Petroz, acting as exploration operator or manager for this group of companies, discovered what is believed to be a major oil find. Elang flowed at a rate of 5800 barrels of oil per day, the first significant oil discovery in the Timor Gap.

In November 1994, the semi-submersible drilling rig, *Atwood Eagle*, while assessing the commercial viability of the Elang field for the group, found oil flowing at 7500 barrels per day just 1.7 kilometres west of the February drill.

The group is currently assessing the field for commercial development. The chances that ELANG will be developed appear to be strong.

In his address to shareholders at the 1994 annual general meeting, Petroz chairperson Gregory Swindon said the company was optimistic that Elang was a commercial field. Swindon said that if it was a commercial discovery, he expected production to begin in the second half of 1997.

Some analysts predict that the Elang field may hold up to 50 million barrels of oil.

In a memorandum to the Australian Stock Exchange in December, Petroz announced yet another major discovery, about 15 km from the Elang find, at the Kakatua-1 field.

This field produced a flow of 9000 barrels of oil per day. BHP Petroleum, acting as operator, is currently assessing Kakatua-1 for commercial development.

In the ZOCA 91-08 block, Petroz NL, Shell Development (Australia), South Australian company SAGASCO Resources Ltd. (a Boral subsidiary) and Brisbane-based Crusader Ltd. are exploring what some experts believe to be one of the biggest wells in the Timor Gap, the Sikatan-1 well. Each company has a 25% share of a farm-out agreement.

Besides having interests in Area A of the Zone of Cooperation, Petroz also has interests in the Australian zone, Area B. There, Petroz is exploring an area called WA-74-P, where it has an 83.75% interest.

Since the Elang discovery, major stockbrokers such as Wilson HTM and Morgan Stockbroking have been advising investors to buy Petroz stock for its enormous potential.

The company's market capitalisation rose sharply with the Elang discovery: from \$24 million in June 1993 to \$94 million in June 1994 to \$110 million in October 1994 - a rise of some 352%.

Besides its involvement in the Timor Sea, Petroz also has natural gas exploration and development interests in the Surat Basin in western Queensland, Brisbane's main source of gas.

In 1993 Petroz generated about 50% of its revenue from the sale of Surat Basin gas.

This was sold to distributor Allgas Energy Ltd. and accounted for about one-third of Brisbane's gas requirements.

All of Petroz's exploration activities are funded by the cash flow from its Surat Basin production interests. In its 1993 annual report, Petroz told shareholders that its Surat Basin interests were mainly mature and likely to decline before production was developed in the Timor Sea.

In the same annual report, Petroz declared that its strategic direction for the future was based on its Timor Sea activities.

In effect, this means that Petroz depends on the sale of Surat Basin gas to continue its exploration of the Timor Sea and the future development of oil and gas there. It also means that as its Surat Basin interests dry up, it needs to develop Timor Sea oil and gas to survive.

According to a recent report in *Business Queensland*, Petroz has just enough Surat Basin gas to supply Brisbane for a little less than 18 months.

RTZ LINKS UP WITH FREEPORT: A MARRIAGE MADE IN HADES

from PARTIZANS (*People Against RTZ and Subsidiaries*), March 20 218 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LE England. tel/fax: (44) -171-700 6189. e-mail: colren@gn.apc.org

The world's most notorious mining company has taken a leading share in the world's most infamous minerals project.

British corporation RTZ is to purchase at least 10.4% - and possibly more than 18% - in the US company Freeport McM oRan Copper and Gold (FMCG). Already one of the world's major producers of these two metals, FMCG has been criticised for many years by human rights, environmental and indigenous support groups, for its operations since the early 1960's in West Papua (Irian Jaya - the western half of the island of New Guinea). This Indigenous Nation - occupied by Indonesia since a fraudulent "act of free choice" in 1969 - is the site of Freeport's Grasberg mine.

In 1991, on signing a major new agreement with the Indonesian regime, Freeport's

then President, James Moffett, proudly boasted that the company was "... thrusting a spear of economic development into the heartland of Irian Jaya." According to many observers, however, the consequences of that thrust have already been major river pollution, deaths and suffering following the forced removal of Indigenous peoples, and widespread sickness caused by chemical and acidic emissions.

RTZ plc (formerly Rio Tinto-Zinc) is also buying 40% of Freeport's Contract of Work (CoW), thus giving both companies access to around nine million acres (sic) of largely Indigenous territory in the West Papua Highlands. The people have never surrendered their traditional rights to land, nor been democratically consulted in any way about mining plans.

In two separate, but related moves, RTZ is buying 25% of Freeport's Huelva smelter in Spain - another longstanding target of environmental criticism - while Freeport has announced the go-ahead for Indonesia's first copper smelter, at Gresik in East Java. Its partners here are Mitsubishi of Japan, and Fluor of the USA.

Indigenous Peoples at risk

RTZ is the world's largest mining company. It operates several of the world's biggest open-pit mines and produces almost every metal and mineral on the planet. A significant proportion of its operations is in the territories of Indigenous Nations (such as Aboriginal Australians, native Americans, Igorot Filipinos, Finnish Saami) which have never consented to mining. The company's most notorious venture is the Panguna copper/gold mine, situated in eastern New Guinea, on the island of Bougainville. Land-owners, incensed at the mine's pollution and destruction, and protesting at the denial of adequate compensation, have been waging a war of independence for Bougainville since 1988.

In 1992, RTZ was named, by the international Indigenous Rights organisation Survival International, as the Number One corporate threat to Indigenous Peoples in the Americas.

Many RTZ operations are in areas of prime ecological value or sensitivity - such as Kalimantan, Ecuador, the Philippines and Papua New Guinea. Earlier this year, Friends of the Earth (FOE) launched an international campaign to halt RTZ plans to mine mineral sands in Madagascar.

Under the newly-announced deal, RTZ will benefit from access to Freeport's huge West Papua leases, its relatively low cost of copper production, and a share in its Spanish and Indonesian smelters. Freeport will benefit from RTZ's unrivaled financial strength, its ability to raise new capital, its expertise in exploration, and its unique ca-

capacity to exploit huge deposits by open-pit mining.

Supporting Indonesia's military dictatorship

Both companies enjoy a favoured relationship with the despotic regime of Indonesia's President Suharto. RTZ's 49%-owned affiliate, CRA, operates the country's biggest gold mine - at Kelian, in rain-forested East Kalimantan - in which the President has a direct personal interest.

Freeport is the biggest single foreign exchange earner for the regime. In 1991, Mines and Energy Minister, Ida Bagus Sudjana, claimed that "Freeport is the pioneer in Irian Jaya, and the government will continue support for the sake of the people of Irian Jaya."

"This is a tie-up which other mining companies usually only dream about" comments Roger Moody, a mining consultant for Indigenous Peoples, and founder member of PARTIZANS, the group which has monitored the company's activities for seventeen years.

"It will provide much-needed credibility for the Sukarno regime, international support for which has been faltering since the recent massacres in East Timor. But, for the Indigenous Peoples of West Papua, it could be a marriage in Hades. Hopefully NGO's which have previously been fighting these two companies on separate fronts, will now join forces.

"The expansion of mining into the mountains of West Papua must be stopped at all costs. Indigenous rights, and the unique ecology of the region, demand it."

Further information: please call, or fax: 44-171 700 6189

[There is a Background Briefing on the RTZ/Freeport deal, which may be enclosed with this Press Release. If not, you may request a copy from the above address or phone/fax number]

CHURCH INVESTORS LOST IN RTZ'S MORASS

by ALBERT BEALE, *Peace News*, April 1995

The recent revelations about massacres in West Papua by mine developers (see Peter Jones' article, above) have emerged just as campaigners are gearing up for the annual company meeting of mining multinational RTZ, which is implicated in the report.

It comes as no surprise at all that the infamous British-based company is actively investing in the Freeport mine despite these stories. So West Papua becomes yet one more part of the world where RTZ earns its profits at the expense of local inhabitants and their ecosystem - and yet one more area to add to the global catalogue of misery

about which dissident shareholders will be protesting at the 10 May company meeting.

Since attacks on RTZ have - justifiably - become a high-point of the corporate critics' calendar in Britain, the company now has a policy of "getting its retaliation in first." The latest edition of its glossy corporate propaganda magazine includes several pages on "Investment and the Moral Maze": this is mainly devoted to bragging that the Church Commissioners (responsible for investing more than GBP 1,000 million of the Church of England's resources) have invested in RTZ again after a gap of almost 20 years.

According to Antony Hardy who runs the Church Commissioners' investment department, "It is difficult with a large fund to get a balanced portfolio if you apply ethical guidelines too strictly." But he follows this admission by saying "I believe from our research that [RTZ] is the best example in the UK of a company that cares about the consequences of its business development, that cares about the environment in which it has operations, and that cares about the people with whom it is involved."

This claim raises the obvious question of which "research" led the Church Commissioners to this unexpected conclusion. Which of the bodies specialising in researching corporate ethics had Hardy drawn on? There are several impeccable sources to go to for such information, such as the Ethical Investment Research Service (EIRIS) and the Ecumenical Commission for Corporate Responsibility (ECCR) - not to mention the RTZ specialists, PARTIZANS.

In fact, none of these source had been used at all. Most of the "research" consisted of Antony Hardy's dealings directly with RTZ. He explained to PN that, as someone who had access to the highest levels in companies like RTZ, he was "reassured" by them, and was happy to base his judgment on what RTZ told him.

He certainly had little sympathy with people who saw RTZ as inherently problematic. As he pointed out, "If we all lived in caves and wore grass skirts, we wouldn't need companies like RTZ - but I live in the real world." No doubt the inhabitants of West Papua will be interested to hear that.

People Against RTZ and its Subsidiaries (PARTIZANS), 218 Liverpool Road, London N1, England (tel/fax +44 171 700 6189)

CLAIMS OF BHP OFFER OF AID FOR TIMOR

Ex-ambassador denied firm commitment
Brisbane Sunday Mail, March 26 1995. Paul Stewart.

Australia's biggest company BHP has offered financial aid to the people of East Timor, according to resistance leaders in (?) the former Portuguese colony. Speaking from Portugal, José Ramos Horta said a meeting took place in Darwin last week which included the former Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Mr. Dick Woolcott and a BHP representative.

BHP Petroleum has been a major beneficiary of the Timor Gap Treaty under which Indonesia and Australia share royalties from the area's vast oil deposits. BHP began exploration in the Timor Sea in 1983 and by 1990 had drilled 67 exploration and appraisal wells.

Mr. Horta, the personal representative of jailed East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, said his representatives met Mr. Woolcott (who arranged the meeting) and 'Colin McDonald who is a consultant for BHP.'

McDonald was asked to make contact with the East Timorese community as BHP said they were willing to help with humanitarian projects,' Mr. Horta said.

'He said he was going to make contact with BHP executives immediately after he had had the meeting with us.'

Mr. Don Norton, BHP manager of communications, said he was unaware of any meeting taking place.

Mr. Woolcott confirmed that a meeting had taken place between himself and East Timorese representatives in Darwin but said no firm commitments had been made. He denied that BHP representatives had been involved.

'Any publicity about this meeting is sure to kill any proposals that may have arisen. No commitments were made,' he said.

As head of the Australia/Indonesia Institute, Mr. Woolcott has been responsible for a number of development projects with Indonesia. He was Australian ambassador in Jakarta when Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975.

Mr. Horta said some members of the community had been invited to meet Mr. Woolcott and a representative of BHP. Financial assistance for various projects in East Timor had been discussed.

He said that 'while we welcome the offer of assistance we wouldn't accept it unless it was channeled through Bishop Belo in Dili or through the East Timor Relief Association.'

The money would not be accepted if it was channeled through Jakarta.

AUSTRALIA, THE TIMOR GAP AND THE WORLD COURT

Op-ed articles published in The Nation, Bangkok, April 25-26, 1995.

In the first of a two-part series, Geoffrey C. Gunn analyzes Australia-Indonesia ties in connection with the Timor question.

One of the givens of international relations is that while politics change, geography remains fixed. For Australia and Australians there is no escaping the reality of neighbourhood with the sprawling archipelago that Indonesia inherited as successor state to the Netherlands East Indies.

That was just as much the case under the left leaning Sukarno as it is with his successor, the New Order military-backed regime of General Suharto.

But whereas Sukarno's version of economic and political nationalism was perceived by the West as drawing Indonesia into the communist bloc of countries, Suharto was - and still is rewarded by the West for his rescue of Indonesia from leftist threats and economic penury and, in the bargain, for delivering up the resources strewn archipelago for economic plunder.

But whereas Indonesia - and the West - could live with Portuguese Timor as a decadent outpost of the Salazar-Caetano order, the political-developmental model espoused by Fretilin in the period of Portuguese-sponsored decolonization represented an ideological threat and anti-model to the very underpinnings of the Suharto regime.

While the act of cleaning up the map on East Timor implied by the Indonesian invasion of 1975/76 also heralded the naked plunder of East Timor's resources by military-linked companies, few observers at the time would have foreseen a brazen re-divisioning of East Timor's marine resources between Indonesia and another power. This is a reference to the Timor Gap Treaty signed between the Australian government and Indonesia in December 1989.

Not incidentally, the Timor Sea, lying between East Timor and northern Australia is believed to contain the world's 23rd largest oil field, with estimated reserves of 5 billion barrels of oil and 50 trillion feet of liquid natural gas.

The Timor "Gap," then, is an area, approximately 25 km long, which had been excluded from the seabed boundary line negotiated between Australia and Indonesia in October 1972. But where Indonesia conceded to Australia on the question of delimitation in line with the continental shelf prin-

ciple, Portugal held out over the principle of demarcating Timor's sea boundary with Australia according to the median point.

Indonesia, meanwhile, wasted no time in seeking negotiations with Australia on the "Gap" subsequent to its annexation of East Timor. In the course of a state visit to Australia in October 1976, then Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser offered recognition of Indonesia's de facto incorporation of East Timor, although, at that time the East Timorese resistance led by Fretilin was in control of large swatches of the territory and the ink was hardly dry on the UN Security Council resolutions condemning Indonesia's armed invasion and calling for withdrawal.

As the Indonesian newspaper, Kompas, (December 18, 1978), later made it known, Mochtar KusumatmaJa, Indonesia's Foreign Minister at the time, instructed his Australian counterpart that negotiations on the continental shelf boundary could not begin without Australia first recognizing Indonesian sovereignty over the whole island, especially as the south coast of Timor formed one of the survey base lines.

Sure enough, in January 1978, the ruling Australian conservative government recognized Indonesia's de jure sovereignty in East Timor, only holding reservations as to the method of takeover.

In a stroke, Australia acknowledged Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, by implication and contrary to UN law, derecognized Portugal's legal responsibility for the decolonization of East Timor and, in the bargain, cleared the way for negotiations on the Timor "Gap."

Commenced in February 1979, the negotiations over the Timor Gap Treaty were concluded some 10 years later in December, 1989 by the Labour government which assumed office in 1983. In early 1991, the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation Treaty was signed, otherwise determining the allocation and administration of spoils.

In essence, the treaty divides an area of some 62,000 sq. km lying between the northern coast of Australia and East Timor into three exploitation zones. The northernmost is to be reserved for exploitation by Indonesia with some provision for profit-sharing by Australia while, in the southernmost zone the position is reversed. The middle zone - touted as a creative diplomatic solution to resource sharing - involves the joint Indonesia-Australian management, exploration and exploitation of the zone. Exploration contracts have been awarded and drilling has commenced.

It is this treaty which Portugal protests at the International Court of Justice, which initiated proceedings at The Hague on February 22, 1991. In placing Australia in the

dock over this issue, Portugal is cognizant that there are two potential third parties to the claim, the people of East Timor and Indonesia.

The people of East Timor, in legalese, have no standing before the Court, and can only be represented by a State having that status (e.g. Portugal). While Indonesia stands as the obvious culprit in this affair, it has not accepted the jurisdiction of the Court and no case can be made against it. Australia, on the other hand, which prides itself as being a responsible member of the international community, will, doubtless, be morally obliged to adhere to a ruling by The Court.

Also known as the World Court, the International Court of Justice, established in 1945, is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

In general terms, Portugal asserted in its application before the Court that Indonesia's claims to sovereignty over East Timor stemming from its illegal 1975 invasion are invalid, and that Australia's negotiations with Indonesia and its own domestic evaluation apropos the Treaty are illegal acts vis-à-vis Portugal, the legal authority as far as East Timor is concerned. Moreover, Portugal argues, the Treaty violates the rights of the people of East Timor, notably by denying their right to self-determination and access to and sovereignty over natural resources in the relevant maritime zones.

At the time of lodging its application (February 28, 1991), Portugal stated that Australia had caused "particularly serious legal and moral damage to the people of East Timor and to Portugal" which would, in turn, become "material damage" if the exploration of resources were allowed to go ahead.

Portugal, which recognized East Timor as a non self-governing territory under Chapter XI of the UN Charter as of July 1974, otherwise supports its case by reference to relevant UN resolutions passed after the 1975 invasion, inter alia, reconfirming the right of East Timorese to an internationally acceptable act of self-determination.

Portugal is also asking the Court to demand of Australia to pay reparations for losses. Portugal also claims that it is not in pursuit of oil riches, but, rather, is concerned to uphold a matter of principle. In taking the case to the Court, it is clear that Portugal seeks from an influential international institution a firm declaration that, in the context of international law, the invasion of East Timor was illegal.

Before considering the case the Court had to determine certain facts as, to its admissibility, notably as to Portugal's "standing" as an interested party to the claim and that it

had not lost its standing, say as implied by its "abandonment" of the colony in 1975.

Coming before the Court on January 30 this year, Portugal initiated the substantive legal arguments by filing a memorial or detailed justification for its Court action. Australia followed up with a counter-memorial. Portugal then filed a reply, Australia, a rejoinder. Then the oral arguments began

It is worth replaying these arguments as they tell much about colonial history and tell us much about the processes of "settler colonialism," not to mention intra-colonial and imperial competition. In its counter-memorial, the Australian side launched into a tirade against Portugal's "neglect" of Timor in its 400 year old rule. Portugal, it was alleged, did little once the (Indonesian-backed) coup of August, 1975 broke out indeed, withdrew its administration to the island of Atauro, when it stayed until just after Indonesia's invasion of Dili.

Gratuitously, Australia contends, "No action could have been more calculated to encourage outside intervention in the affairs of East Timor."

In a bitter indictment of Australia's East Timor policy reaching back to the Second World War, Portugal charged that Australian actions in occupying Timor over Portuguese protests in December, 1941, while allegedly intended to forestall a Japanese landing ... may very well have triggered it." Moreover, at war end, and with hegemonic designs over the southwest Pacific, East Timor included, Australia made every attempt to stop Portugal reestablishing sovereignty in the territory. Portugal had to appeal to other Allied countries to protest a second violation of East Timor by troops sent to receive the Japanese surrender.

Turning to the boundary delimitation question, Portugal then allege that, beginning in 1970, Australia sought to persuade Portugal to divide the continental shelf on terms advantageous to Australia so as to include a geological structure known as "Kelp" believed to contain huge Petroleum reserves. Australia's interest in East Timor post-1974, Portugal contended, was guided by its interest in natural resources.

Moreover, when in 1974 Portugal sought to initiate the process of decolonization in East Timor, Australia offered no meaningful help. Former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam told president Suharto in September, 1974 that he did not think East Timor would be a viable independent state and would welcome it joining Indonesia.

In the period after Portugal moved its administration to the offshore island of Atauro (August 27, 1975), Australia refused to allow talks to be held in Australia between Portugal and East Timor factions, it refused to allow a Portuguese warship to

take supplies in Darwin and, in the weeks following Indonesia's invasion at the height of the Indonesian massacre of East Timorese, Australia took measures to help isolate the territory internationally, namely banning radio and ship communication.

"Contrary to what it claims in its defence, Australia has not been a mere innocent spectator of the tragic events which have led to so much bloodshed," Portugal asserted. Noting Australia's fervent desire not to displease either Indonesia or the US, Portugal summarized that: "It was its designs on East Timor's petroleum that carried more weight than all the rest ... only this greed can explain the de jure recognition of an annexation by force at the cost of over 100,000 lives."

In its rejoinder, Australia said that it was "astonished" that Portugal had questioned its motivation and integrity. Australia contended that it was not its policy to support Indonesian use of force in East Timor. Australia had always expressed regret at the way Indonesia forcibly annexed East Timor. It did not care whether negotiations over the sea-bed boundary were with Indonesia or Portugal.

In written submissions, released when the Court began hearing oral pleadings, Australia contended that Portugal's legal actions against Australia would more likely harm than help the East Timorese people. Australia argued that if Portugal wins the case and the treaty is ruled inoperative, the real winner will be Indonesia, which will be able to claim the right to all the resources in the Timor Cap against the best interest of the East Timorese.

"In effect, Indonesia would be at large to pursue its own interest, unencumbered by any agreement with the neighbouring State." Accordingly, it would be the responsibility of the UN to ensure that the East Timorese received an equitable share of the profits Indonesia made from the agreement. More dubiously, the Australian side argued, if Portugal won the case, "the people of East Timor would lose any prospect of benefit from the treaty." In particular, Australia argued, the real target of Portugal's suit is not Australia but Indonesia.

Undoubtedly the ruling by the Court on the Timor Gap will also have commercial implications for the oil industry.

From Portugal's point of view -whether it wins or loses at The Hague - it is bound to succeed politically in refocusing attention on East Timor's claims to self-determination." It goes on that many Australians are uneasy at the signing of the treaty and "feel that this is one international event where it is not all important that Australia comes out winner."

CODDLING INDONESIA IN THE NAME OF BUSINESS

The Nation, 26 April 1995.

Geoffrey C. Gunn, in the last of a two-part series, argues Australia's defense-business links with Indonesia run smack of hypocrisy.

[This article is headed by a photo captioned "Best of pals?: Indonesia's Ali Alatas and Australia's Gareth Evans.]

It is clear, that in its ingenuous and egregious defense in the Timor Gap case in the World Court, Australia has been obliged to appease both Indonesia and hostile domestic opinion.

It is known that Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans went out of his way prior to the World Court hearing to brief his Indonesian counterpart on the defense that Australia would take. In making this defense public on Radio Australia prior to the hearings, Evans dodged between the standard official Australian appeasement of Indonesia-line and the mounting crescendo of Australian public opinion and even opinion within his own Australian Labour Party that would see Indonesian policy (and ipso facto Australian policy) on East Timor as a failure.

In this demarche, and for Indonesia consumption, Evans reiterated that Australia recognizes Indonesian jurisdiction over East Timor. However, in a line of argument that has puzzled observers as it had never before been publicly stated, he also declared that recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over the island is not in contradiction to the recognition of East Timor's right to self-determination according to the principles of the United Nations.

The rub is, however, that the self-determination question would have to be brokered according to new realities, namely on the basis of which power, Portugal or Indonesia held sovereignty,

While Evan's language is as diplomatic as his logic is tortured, intimations of the real Australian position have recently been laid down with startling clarity by former Australian diplomat Richard Woolcott (*International Herald Tribune*, March 6). Australia, he asserts, has never denied an East Timor right to self-determination, but holds that this could only be carried out within the framework of Indonesian sovereignty.

Woolcott, Australian ambassador in Jakarta at the time Indonesia launched its campaigns to destabilize and invade East Timor, also claims – wishfully – that Portugal has long forfeited any credible claim to be seen as administering authority of East Timor and that the time for a UN-

supervised act of self-determination has "probably" passed.

Woolcott also observed that there has never been a UN-supervised Act of Self Determination in Mozambique, Angola or Guinea Bissau. This is true, but neither were these countries invaded by a neighbour, at least not before they proclaimed their own versions of Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). In fact, it was Mozambique's UDI which encouraged Fretilin to do the same, but whereas Frelimo in Mozambique prevailed and since gained international recognition, in East Timor, by contrast, Fretilin were overwhelmed by the Western-backed Indonesian invasion, making its UDI irrelevant or "illegal" and otherwise pre-empting an internationally acceptable Act of Self Determination.

But what is the meaning of Evan's admission/concession or revelation, as it comes to most Australians, that Canberra all along finds no contradiction in recognizing Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor and the right of East Timor to self-determination? Does it represent a softening of Australia's position, or is it pure chicanery? Is it a position that can be exploited by supporters of East Timor's independence?

Undoubtedly, back in 1976, when Australia framed its policy on post-invasion East Timor, the caveat that Australia disapproved of the method of "incorporation" was entered into as a way of appeasing fairly hostile Australian public opinion. While the caveat remained obscured in the long intervening years, especially as an academic, political and media consensus emerged on East Timor in Australia that portrayed it as a fringe left wing issue hardly meritorious of serious support, this duplicitous bit of manipulation came to be challenged by the events surrounding the Dili massacre of November 12, 1991.

Yet, notwithstanding the horrors surrounding the massacre and the iniquitous system of military abuses that it exposed, Evans was still prepared to accept Indonesian blandishments and call the event an "aberration." While Australian public and official opinion appeared to be deeply affronted by the human rights abuses committed by Indonesia at Dili, still no editorial leader in any mainstream newspaper in Australia spoke out for self-determination or independence for East Timor at that juncture.

But with the quiet re-engagement of the UN in the East Timor question, now leading up to the first intra-Timorese dialogue under UN later this year, Australia has now found itself out of step with a growing body of world opinion on East Timor that simply finds the situation there as morally reprehensible.

The release in November last year of the damning report on the Dili massacre by UN Special Rapporteur, Waly Bacre Ndiaye, is a case in point. The credibility gap of the Keating Labour government in Australia over East Timor has been further exposed by the events of the last few months, notably the escalation of military-initiated terror in the occupied territory.

But while external criticism of the Suharto regime appears to be reaching a new level, internal evidence suggests the regime is facing terminal crisis. This is, in part, a reference to the succession question.

History has shown that there has never been a bloodless transition of regime in Indonesia and no-one is betting on a smooth change-over to a post-Suharto order. While the hallmark of the New Order regime has been its ability to win economic legitimacy, the demography/resources relationship suggests that poverty elimination has its limits within the present development parameters, notably an economy that privileges cronies surrounding the palace, including the infamous cukong or Chinese billionaires, and a system which prioritizes high technology industry, the brainchild of Minister of Industry and Resources, and Suharto confidant, B.J Habibie.

While economic development in Indonesia has produced a sizeable middle class it has also introduced elements of civil society which are increasingly critical of the excesses of the Suharto regime. This has been matched in recent years by the expansion in Indonesia of home-grown NGOs.

Willy nilly, after more than a decade of silence, certain Indonesian intellectuals and others have broken ranks over the Indonesian consensus on East Timor and have been able to link repression of dissent in Indonesia with abuses inside East Timor. However, after two or three years of so-called keterbukaan (or openness), the Suharto regime has revealed to the world, the limits of its concession to less authoritarian controls over society. Notable in this respect was the closing last year of three popular and mildly critical news magazines and the current crackdown on independent journalists.

How has Australia responded to this crisis? Instead of building bridges to democratic forces inside Indonesia which would include moderate Islamic forces, Australia has struck out in a direction from which there seems no return. As with France in Algeria, it has sought to strengthen ties with the ruling regime, whatever the consequences.

While Australia has been careful to cultivate defence links with the Indonesia New Order from its inception, these links have hitherto been focused upon such areas as officer training and the provision of equip-

ment along the lines of better getting to know a testy neighbour.

Of late, and very late, the defense relationship between Australia and the Suharto regime has undergone a qualitative shift to one of collaboration, not only with the air force and navy, whose defense functions might be to a certain extent circumscribed (although that was not even the case in the invasion and occupation of East Timor), but to coddling the army whose repressive police role in the sprawling archipelago is well documented,

Indeed, a recent Australian Defence White Paper views Indonesia as strategically against "northern" threats.

The announcement earlier this year that Australia will supply ammunition to the Indonesian armed forces affronts large numbers of Australians with any knowledge of recent Indonesian history, so the upcoming military exercises in northern Australia between Australian and Asian militaries, including Indonesia – dubbed Kangaroo 95 – has met with serious opposition as one would expect in an erstwhile democratic political culture.

Australia knows, just as Indonesia celebrates its 50th anniversary of independence, that, the ability of ABRI (the Indonesian armed forces) to invigilate against the Left and Islamic Right is the best guarantor of stability in the archipelago. But is it?

By more than likely backing the wrong horse in the post-Suharto era, Australia may find itself offside with an increasingly restless population in this, the most populous Muslim country in the world.

Defence links lock in with business links, the hallmark of Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating's "Asia-links" policy and Australia's up front role in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. But on the question of stressing business links ahead of, other considerations like human rights, democratization and fair play, Australia fails even by the self-set criteria that sets the country apart as a bolt hole for refugees from authoritarians gone wrong.

While the merits of the Timor Gap case might seem black and white to the reader, the fact of the matter is that a final ruling by the Court will, to a large extent, turn upon procedural questions, international precedents and determinations relating to Portugal's "standing" and that otherwise may appear as obscure to lay persons.

In June 1993, for example, action initiated in the High Court of Australia by José Ramos Horta, José Gusmão and Abel Guterres that Australia's entry into the treaty was contrary to established norms of international law, failed.

A ruling by the Court would go a long way in reaffirming Portugal as the adminis-

tering power concerned with East Timor. It would give moral force to the rights of the East Timorese people in their quest for self-determination. It would strengthen the hand of the UN in its re-engagement in the issue. A ruling by the Court against Portugal would give strength to the process in international law known as "historical consolidation" whereby, with the passage of time, a new reality is seen as in the world communities interest, even though the origins of the dispute may have been illegal.

Indonesia obviously, but also Australia, along with interested international oil companies, are counting on this kind of solution. But in any case, international momentum on the East Timor question, including the ongoing UN-mediated dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia, has gathered its own momentum.

As former UN Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar, made it known in a public forum in Brunei Darussalam in September, 1993, Australia's entry into the Timor Gap Treaty with Indonesia severely clouded a solution to the problem. Hopefully, justice at the World Court will lift the veil on the East Timor self-determination question once and for all.

Geoffrey C. Gunn is Professor at the Faculty of Economics, Nagasaki University. He is the co-author of "A Critical View of Western Journalism and Scholarship on East Timor" published by the Journal of Contemporary Asia Press, Manila.

TEXACO ANNUAL SHAREHOLDER MEETING REPORT

Report by Charles Scheiner, East Timor Action Network, May 9, 1995

The Texaco corporation, one of the largest oil companies in the world, has left a bad taste in many people's mouths. From toxic dumping in Ecuador to dealing with the Indonesian and Burmese military dictatorships, Texaco has earned the wrath of people throughout the world. It has also angered its own employees through a persistent pattern of gender and race discrimination.

Their annual stockholder meeting was held on May 9, 1995, at the Rye Town Hilton in New York. Among the 750 people attending were representatives of church groups and activists concerned with Burma, Ecuador, and East Timor. This is an informal report based on my inadequate memory, without extensive notes or a transcript. It is intended more to give the flavor of the events than a precise recounting of events and statements.

Paulina Garzon of Acción Ecológica in Ecuador, travelled the farthest to present the

case of her people. Other participants in the meeting included Shannon Wright of the Rainforest Action Network, Charles Scheiner of the East Timor Action Network, journalist Allan Nairn, Rev. Tim Smith, director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, and several other ICCR staffers and member organizations.

More than half of the 2-1/2 hour meeting was spent on issues raised by these speakers, and much of the rest on the grievances of Texaco's female employees. Although the discussion generally remained civil, CEO Alfred DeCrane kept the meeting under tight control, and responded curtly to many of the charges against company.

The Burma/Ecuador/East Timor ad hoc coalition prepared "Shareholder Information Packets" on Ecology and Human Rights issues, but Texaco security did not allow the packets into the meeting room. After the meeting, however, over 100 were distributed in the hallway, and a video about Texaco's desecration of the Ecuadorian rainforest was shown to interested journalists, stockholders, and Texaco flaks.

In addition to the dozen people raising uncomfortable issues inside, about 30 people from the Wetlands Rainforest Action Group and other organizations picketed peacefully at the bottom of the Hilton's driveway, with signs pointing out how "Texaco Kills" in various parts of the world.

There were four shareholder resolutions on the ballot, all proposed by ICCR members.. Other resolutions (including one on Burma) were kept off the ballot by Texaco management. The ones which made it were all defeated but got enough votes to be reintroduced next year:

1. Directors to have one-year (instead of 3) terms: 43.6%.
2. Executives' compensation to be tied to their environmental and affirmative action performance: 9.1%
3. A more specific affirmative action policy and monitoring: 8%
4. Corporate conduct guidelines on international human rights: 5.5%.

With regard to East Timor, our discussions with CEO DeCrane revealed the following (don't blame me if it's inconsistent, hypocritical, or nonsensical):

Texaco is not involved in the Timor Gap.

Texaco will not commit itself to refuse to do business with mass murderers.

Texaco does support (verbally, in the abstract) obedience to UN Resolutions and international law, in addition to US law. But it is not their job to enforce the law.

Texaco subsidiaries (such as Amoseas and Caltex, the largest oil

company in Indonesia), are not held to the same environmental, human rights, legal, and ethical standards as Texaco claims to be, as they are separate corporations. Although all Texaco employees are directed not to pay bribes or commit other crimes, DeCrane could not say whether Caltex and Amoseas workers receive the same instructions.

Texaco wants to be a force for positive change on political and social issues (DeCrane's opening statement). However, they do not know enough about particular instances (such as Indonesian genocide in East Timor) to take action on them. They have been doing business with Indonesia for 60 years (since it was a Dutch colony), and therefore have no responsibility for the actions of the Suharto regime.

DeCrane could not reconcile Texaco's PR work for Indonesia (which includes a 1992 full-page NY Times ad welcoming Suharto to NY and service as the "Corporate Patron" for a series of Indonesian government-sponsored conferences across the US last year) with his claims not to take a position on Jakarta's activities.

Following is the text of the East Timor piece in the packet:

to: Texaco Shareholders, Directors, and Executives

from: East Timor Action Network, United States

re: Damaging effects of Texaco's partnership with Indonesia

date: May 9, 1995

As you probably know, Texaco is deeply involved with the military regime that has ruled Indonesia for almost thirty years. Texaco and its partner Chevron jointly own Amoseas Indonesia, Inc. and PT Caltex Pacific Indonesia, Indonesia's largest oil producer.

The repression and corruption of the Indonesian dictatorship, headed by General Suharto, have been thoroughly documented and widely known. We are particularly concerned with its conduct in the neighboring territory of East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and is still under military occupation. Over the last two decades, that occupation has taken 200,000 East Timorese lives – one-third of the population.

Indonesia's egregious violations of human rights and political self-determination for the people of East Timor have been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations, the United States government, and human rights organizations. The U.S. Congress and State Department have restricted military aid and

arms sales to Indonesia. The controversy continues, with significant legislative battles expected this spring.

We believe that shareholders are entitled to know whom Texaco is involved with, and to decide whether it may adversely affect earnings. Indonesian oil comes with significant human and political burdens. Please evaluate company policies in Indonesia and decide if they are in your best legal, financial and ethical interests.

Texaco is in bed with a genocidal dictator.

Since taking power nearly 30 years ago, the Suharto government has been responsible for killing over 300,000 Indonesian people (1965-66) and 200,000 people in East Timor (1975-1995). Democratic rights like freedom of expression and assembly, taken for granted in the United States, are severely restricted.

The 1995 U.S. State Department Human Rights Country Report for Indonesia calls it "strongly authoritarian" and notes that "it became markedly more repressive" during 1994, as "the Government continues to commit serious human rights abuses." The State Department noted that "Widespread unemployment persists, as do corruption and influence peddling."

There is a Shareholder Resolution this year to expand Texaco's Corporate Conduct Guidelines to include human rights. Human and ethical concerns should be part of Texaco's business plans. If they are, Texaco can play a significant role in encouraging the Indonesian government to improve freedom and democracy for its people.

It is impossible to do significant business in Indonesia without trafficking with the corrupt autocracy of General Suharto.

Many American companies decline to do business in Indonesia because of rampant bribery and the domination of the nation's economy by Suharto and his family. Texaco has probably had to pay bribes or give kickbacks to secure contracts, and may well be in violation of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.

Indonesia pressures U.S. corporations to lobby on unrelated issues.

During Congressional debates over U.S. military aid and arms sales to Indonesia, the Suharto regime enlisted American corporations to lobby on their behalf, even though the legislation being discussed had nothing to do with the companies' business. Has Texaco been subjected to such pressure? How has the company responded?

Indonesia puts American companies in a double-bind. If they refuse to lobby, their Indonesia will be upset. But if they go along with the requests, they may be acting illegally as unregistered Foreign Agents. Furthermore, valuable political capital, which could be used to further the Company's true

interests, will be wasted, and Congresspeople who might support Texaco on other issues could be alienated.

Texaco is not ashamed of its involvement with the Suharto dictatorship, and has undertaken to legitimize this illegitimate regime. In 1992, Texaco (together with Chevron and their affiliates Caltex and Amoseas Indonesia) took out a full-page advertisement in the New York Times, praising "Indonesia: A model for economic development." Last year, Texaco was the single "Corporate Patron" for a series of government-sponsored programs around the United States glossed Indonesia's record of gross human rights violations. The public alliance of Texaco and Suharto leaves a bad taste in the mouths of shareholders and customers alike.

Indonesia is selling oil that doesn't belong to it.

There are undersea oil deposits in the disputed Timor Gap, a body of water that lies between East Timor and Australia. Although explorations are just beginning to produce oil, the Timor Gap reserve could be very large. However, the ownership of the oil is a matter of international controversy. If Texaco were to take the wrong side, the company could lose access to this potentially lucrative oilfield.

In 1989, the governments of Indonesia and Australia signed a treaty dividing the Timor Gap oil reserves between them. However, the waters (and the oil underneath them) do not belong to either country – they belong to East Timor. The United Nations does not accept Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, and a case is pending before the World Court to decide the legitimacy of the Timor Gap Treaty and the validity of contracts signed for developing the oil.

We do not know if Texaco is directly involved in Timor Gap exploration. However, its partner, Chevron, has signed contracts there. Shareholders should insist that Texaco does not become involved until the legal issues are clarified. The East Timorese resistance has stated they will be glad to do business with international oil companies, including Texaco, once their country is free. However, it would be unseemly, immoral, and perhaps illegal for Texaco to become involved in the Timor Gap while East Timor remains under brutal military occupation. It could also jeopardize access to oil located in the future independent Republic of East Timor.

Thank you for your attention.

For more information about East Timor and Indonesia, and the liabilities to Texaco for being involved, please contact the East Timor Action Network at P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 or call 914-428-7299.

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

CLOSER AUSTRALIA- INDONESIA TIES BUOY IPTN BID

By Gregor Ferguson, *Defense News*, January 16-22, 1995, page 6

Adelaide, Australia - Buoyed by increasingly close relations between Australia and Indonesia, Indonesian Aircraft manufacturer IPTN will compete for the first time for a major Australian defense contract.

IPTN will offer the CN-235 Phoenix as a replacement for the Royal Australian Air Force's fleet of Caribou transports, a spokes man for IPTN's Sydney based agent Aerospace Technical Services Pty Ltd., confirmed Jan 5.

The Air Force plans to acquire between 10 and 15 short take-off and landing (STOL) Light Tactical Transport Aircraft worth up to 450 million Australian dollars (\$337,5 million) to replace the Caribous in Project AIR 5190.

Air Force officials plan to place an order by late 1998 with deliveries scheduled in 2000.

The CN-235 Phoenix is a militarized version of the CN-235 civil transport, which was developed jointly by IPTN, Bandung and CASA of Madrid Spain.

Air Force sources told *Defense News* Jan 12 that funding approval for AIR 5190 may be delayed 12 months while the Australian Army reviews its requirements for the aircraft.

Other contenders (...) [from Italia, French/Italia, US, MB]; and CASA with its own version of the CN-235. (...)

Indonesia's bid for Project 5190 likely will attract considerable support, sources said.

The 1994 Defence White Paper described Australia's defense relationship with Indonesia as its most important in the region, and the two countries are exploring collaborative industry and defense research programs."

ASIAN DEFENCE JOURNAL 5/95

The Asian Defence Journal writes on the issue: "Although there are a number of players in the game, the Caribou replacement looks like a contest between the Italian Alenia G-222 and either the Spanish or Indonesian version of the CASA -235. Given Australia's developing security relationship with Indonesia, there are suggestions that IPTN might have the inside running for the approximately A\$300 million project."

AUSTRALIA, INDONESIA NEGOTIATE JOINT PROGRAMS

Defense News February 20-26, 1995,

(...) The efforts include [after negotiations in Jakarta on Dec. 4]: * Australian Industry proposals to establish an aircraft structural test and fatigue program with Indonesian Industry Partners.

* A flight loads test program on Australian built Nomad utility aircraft used by the Indonesian Army, the Australian Army and the U.S. Coast Guard.

* Militarizing the CN-235 transport aircraft built by IPTN (...).

* Feasibility studies to jointly manufacture carbon-fiber composite aircraft components. In Jakarta, and at a second round of talks Feb. 6-10 in Melbourne, officials identified some 40 areas of potential collaboration.

(...) The final report will be considered April 24 by a joint committee (...).

The Defence Science and Technology Organisation and the firms Hawker de Havilland Ltd., Melbourne; British Aerospace Australia Ltd., Adelaide; and AeroSpace Technologies of Australia Pty Ltd., Melbourne, have established the Australian Structural Test Group to establish joint ventures on a commercial basis with Indonesian companies, such as IPTN.

The Test group's proposal to form a joint structural test program with IPTN could involve aircraft such as the CN-235 or the British Aerospace jet trainer, which is operated by the Indonesians and is a possible MB-326 replacement."

INDONESIANS AND AUSTRALIANS IN JOINT MILITARY EXERCISES

Publico, 7 March 1995. Translated from Portuguese

About 50 military personnel from an Indonesian air transport unit are already in Sydney, where they will be joining an Australian paratrooper battalion for joint military exercises. The manoeuvres will go on for two weeks and are designed to train the units from both countries for the large-scale Kangaroo 95 manoeuvres which will start next August in Darwin and involve military personnel from the armed forces of Australia, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, the UK and US. This new camaraderie between Canberra and Jakarta comes less than a week after the discovery of more oil in the sea of Timor was announced. The treaty in which both countries have agreed to share the oil extracted from the Sea of Timor is being challenged by Por-

tugal on grounds that it violates international law.

EAST TIMOR CAMPAIGN IN AUSTRALIA PICKS UP PACE

By Nick Fredman, *Green Left*, March 12

SYDNEY The campaign in solidarity with East Timor continued this week with a public meeting and a lively picket against the presence of Indonesian troops in Australia.

A meeting organised by the Democratic Socialist Party, entitled "East Timor 1995: a turning point?," at the Resistance Centre on March 7, attracted more than 70 people. Speakers were Harold Moucho, NSW coordinator of Fretilin, Agio Pereira from the East Timor Relief Association, Amy Philips from Resistance and Max Lane from Aksi, Indonesia Solidarity Action.

Discussion centred on recent repression in East Timor from the so-called "ninja gangs," and increasing solidarity with East Timor in Indonesia and throughout the region as shown by the formation of the Asia Pacific Coalition for East Timor. Coming events such as the UN-sponsored talks and the Resistance May 13 National Day of Action in solidarity were also discussed.

Thirty Indonesian troops were in Sydney briefly on their way to military exercises in Queensland. The troops are from the elite Special Reserve Force or KOSTRAD, a unit which has played a murderous and repressive role in the invasion and occupation of East Timor.

Twenty-five people attended a quickly organised lunchtime picket on March 10 outside the Defence Department Building, which was supported by the Australia East Timor Association, Aksi, Resistance and the DSP.

The demonstrators, who distributed hundreds of leaflets, collected more than 100 signatures on a petition and attracted a lot of media coverage as they demanded an end to military ties with Indonesia, an end to oil exploration in the Timor Gap and recognition of East Timorese resistance organisations.

INDONESIANS IN DARWIN

From: Affet (Australians for a Free East Timor), March 14

The Indonesian frigate Kri Fatahillah is now in Darwin. The ship is moored off shore in the harbour and the sailors are brought in for shore leave on regular transports to Larrakeyah barracks which is situated in town.

Affet members have been busy giving out leaflets to the sailors who are easy to find.

They are giving the pornographic shops good business.

A few of us picketed the Larrakeyah barracks this evening (14th March) but there was no real traffic to speak of. We are planning some surprises however. We will keep you posted.

Australian Rear Admiral, Don Chalmers was seen on Darwin's channel eight news welcoming Indonesian Rear Admiral Bambang Surdono in a joint press conference calling for closer links with the Indonesian Navy.

When Admiral Surdono was asked if there would be more joint exercises in the future, he replied "We'll see."

Affet members are also extremely busy covering Darwin city in posters condemning Australian collaboration with Indonesian state terrorism. This work is very risky with the police under pressure to press charges on those they catch.

Red paint has also been mysteriously appearing on Indonesian government property.

ABC radio has been broadcasting interviews with New Zealand Labour politicians who said they were lied to by the New Zealand government regarding the exercises. Anger seems to be mounting in New Zealand that the NZ navy involvement was only announced last week after the defence minister denied any knowledge of the exercises.

A New Zealand citizen was shot dead in the Santa Cruz massacre and a journalist was tortured before being knifed to death during the invasion of East Timor.

Else where in Australia, Indonesian commandos are training in Queensland as reported for the past few nights on all the news bulletins of the Australian Broadcasting Commission. The reports have carried footage of the exercises taking place.

This means the government is upping the anti and this is very worrying. These developments are extremely insulting to so many of us and means we must become far more daring, creative and innovative in our attack.

There is one consolation however. The Indonesians officers still cannot show their faces in public and all their movements are secret. This means that while the occupation of Timor continues relations can never be normal.

Seven of us were in court yesterday morning for a mention on a trespass charge. We were arrested last December on the anniversary of East Timor's invasion. On that occasion we invaded the yard of the Indonesian consul's home so he would understand what it's like to have your space invaded.

We all remain defiant and will question the judiciary's commitment to true justice and human rights and remind them of their

participation in our government's betrayal of East Timor.

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS CONVICTED MURDERER

CIETSA Media Release, 14 MARCH 1995

The following statement was issued by Andrew Alcock, Chairperson of the Campaign for an Independent East Timor (South Australia):

"Late yesterday, Australian Timor support groups were informed that one of the Indonesian officials visiting Australia with the Indonesian Technology Minister is General Sintong Panjaitan.

Late last year, Panjaitan was forced to flee the US after the Boston District Court fined him \$US14 million for the crime of mass murder.

Panjaitan was the head of the Indonesian military forces at the time of the Dili Massacre at the Santa Cruz Cemetery on 12 November 1995. Two hundred and seventy three people were murdered by Indonesian soldiers and another 370 were wounded in one incident. Follow-up murders were carried out over the next few weeks.

Human rights and church groups estimate that 400 people are still missing from that time.

The New York Centre for Constitutional Rights filed the action on behalf of Helen Todd, the mother of Malaysian-born, NZ student Kamal Bamadhaj, who was amongst those shot. Kamal was working for the Australian aid agency Community Aid Abroad as an interpreter at the time.

Panjaitan was sent to Harvard's Business School as a "punishment" for his involvement in the Massacre. His response to the conviction was:

"Just assume that it is a joke," he said with a laugh.

He showed no repentance, sorrow or compassion for the victims of the mass murder.

Why has our Government allowed this unrepentant mass murdering criminal come to Australia?

If the Australian Government truly believes in human rights and justice, it should immediately extradite him to the US to face his sentence.

It should also stop supplying arms and providing training to soldiers of this repugnant regime. And the invitation for the Indonesian military to participate in Kangaroo 1995.

PANJAITAN VISITING AUSTRALIA

Briefing from Beth Stephens, Center for Constitutional Rights, New York, RE: Sintong Panjaitan, March 14, 1995

I received notice today that Panjaitan is in Australia, and began to think about possible legal actions related to the lawsuit we litigated against him on behalf of Helen Todd. Could you pass this memo and the attached judgment to a sympathetic lawyer, to see whether anything is possible in Australia?

We won a civil judgment against Panjaitan, meaning that he is obligated to pay Ms. Todd \$14 million, but he is not subject to arrest or imprisonment, even if he returns to the United States and refuses to pay the money.

If he were here, we could ask a court to order him to answer questions about his assets (i.e., where does he hide his money? how much does he have? what property does he own and where? what is his income?) Would it be possible to ask an Australian court to order him to answer such questions there? Would just making the request have some impact, even if the court ultimately said no?

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS
HELEN TODD, Plaintiff, v. SINTONG
PANJAITAN, Defendant.
CIVIL ACTION NO. 92-12255-PBS
DEFAULT JUDGMENT

Defendant SINTONG PANJAITAN having failed to please or otherwise defend in this action and his default having been entered,

Now, upon application of the plaintiff, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. S 1350, the court having considered plaintiff's submissions regarding damages, as well as the impressive and painful testimony of Allan Nairn, Constâncio Pinto and Helen Todd, it is hereby
ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED that plaintiff recover from the defendant the following sums as provided by law:

(1) An award of compensatory damages to Helen Todd as administratrix of the estate of her son Kamal Bamadhaj for the conscious mental and physical pain and suffering of Kamal Bamadhaj in the amount of two million dollars (\$2,000,000), plus interest.

(2) An award of compensatory damages to plaintiff Helen Todd for her pain and suffering and loss of companionship of her son in the amount of two million dollars (\$2,000,000), plus interest.

(3) An award of punitive damages to plaintiff Helen Todd in the amount of ten million dollars (\$10,000,000).

The Court reserves the right to issue findings of fact in the event of appeal.

Dated: 10/26/94

//signed//

PATTI B. SARIS

United States District Judge

PANJAITAN VISIT A DISGRACE

The following is a Press Release issued by Parliamentarians for East Timor on 17 March.

Parliamentarians for East Timor (P.E.T.) through Convenor Laurie Ferguson, has joined criticism of the visit by Major General Sintong Panjaitan to Australian Shores.

"PET has been mindful throughout the hearings of the International Court of Justice not to be construed as a negative grouping, dedicated to undermining Australia's position. Our views have been amplified by positive moves by Australia in the past three months with important statements by Gareth Evans, the ambassador to Indonesia and other foreign affairs officers. As a group we also acknowledge the reality of continuing military ties with Indonesia."

"Nevertheless, facilitating this visit must be deplored as a shameless instance of duplicity. This man's dismissal over a universally condemned massacre of civilians was greeted by Australia's Government as a necessary, welcome measure. It should be emphasised that that gesture was in context of initial revelations that were subsequently found to be understated."

"It is three years after the events and the Indonesian authorities have still not accounted for tens of people who disappeared, but whom they previously claimed had not been slaughtered," said the Federal Member.

As an all-Party group, we join those critics who judge this to be two-faced. Major General Panjaitan's visit undermines Australia's credentials as a force of reform and self determination in Timor. It signals to the Indonesians that Australia can be taken for granted in this matter. We have simultaneously read in recent weeks diverse journalistic accounts of the worsened conditions for the Timorese population under Indonesian military rule," Mr. Ferguson said.

PROTEST FOR EAST TIMOR

By Jon Lamb, Green Left, March 19

ADELAIDE - A noisy and vibrant crowd protested against military aid to Indonesia outside the Australian Defence Force Recruiting office here on March 17. The action was organised by Resistance, Aksi - Indone-

sia Solidarity Action and Campaign for an Independent East Timor (CIET).

Speakers called for the suspension of all military cooperation with the Indonesian military, including the current exercises with Indonesian troops from the Indonesian Army Strategic Command (KOSTRAD). These exercises are the first of several prior to the Kangaroo 95 war games to be held near Darwin in August.

Adelaide was also visited during the week by Indonesian General Sintong Panjaitan, who was commander of the Eastern Region, which takes in East Timor, during the Dili massacre in 1991. Panjaitan last year fled the United States to escape a court judgment of US\$14 million against him won by Helen Todd, the mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, one of those murdered in the massacre.

Defence Force statements claimed Panjaitan was visiting to purchase "humanitarian aid" such as water purifiers for East Timor. Stan Thompson from Aksi told Green Left Weekly, "The best form of humanitarian aid that Indonesia could offer would be to withdraw its military forces and allow the East Timorese the right of self-determination."

END THE ATROCITY IN EAST TIMOR

Noam Chomsky in "The Guardian," Australia, March 22

In January of this year, Noam Chomsky paid a visit to Australia and gave a number of lectures. This is an abridged version of what he had to say about East Timor in one of his talks.

His comments have been published by "The Guardian" newspaper of the Socialist Party of Australia in its issue dated 22nd March, 1995. At the present time Indonesian Special Strategic Reserve paratroopers are in Australia, by invitation of the Australian government, to participate in military exercises with the Australian Army.

Noam Chomsky said:

The relevant background begins at the end of World War II when the United States assumed, out of self-interest, responsibility for the welfare of the world capitalist system. They're not my words. I'm quoting the respected diplomatic historian Gerald Haines who was also the senior historian at the CIA.

The responsibility for the welfare of the rich and the privileged was taken very seriously. US business and political leaders carried out sophisticated global planning in which Indonesia had, in fact, a key role. The main task was to reconstruct the rich societies, crucially those that were called the "natural leaders" or the "great workshops," namely Germany and Japan, which had just

demonstrated their prowess and therefore had to be rebuilt, but now safely under US control.

In that general context, South-East Asia took on major importance, in particular Indonesia, which was the richest prize.

Indonesia was called "Japan's empire towards the South." Those words are George Kennan's. He's one of the leading architects of the post-war world, the Head of the State Department Policy Planning staff.

So Japan's empire towards the South had to be reconstructed. In other words, the US undertook to reconstruct Japan's colonial empire, to which, incidentally, the United States had no serious objection prior to the war, except that the US was not being given privileged entry into it, one of the facts which I'm sure will be highlighted with the commemoration of the end of the war in the next couple of months.

In fact, every part of the world was assigned a specific role by the planners. Africa for example was to be "exploited" as Kennan put it.

Africa was to be exploited for the reconstruction of Europe, and the US took over the Western hemisphere for itself, unceremoniously kicking out France and Britain.

As for South East Asia, it was, as the then group of planners put it, to fulfill its main function in providing resources and raw materials for Western Europe and Japan, to help in their reconstruction and for the United States as well.

Timor, incidentally was mentioned in the early planning. [Former US President] Franklin Delano Roosevelt held at one point that Timor did deserve independence, but he thought they shouldn't be too impatient about it. He suggested they wait about a thousand years, expressing the usual contempt for the "power orders."

"A political victory for the PKI [Communist Party of Indonesia]," Kennan said in a secret discussion "would be an infection that could sweep over all South Asia"; meaning others might make the same effort to win a political victory.

Specialists on Indonesia here considered the expectation of a political victory not unrealistic. [One specialist] Harold Crouch writes that "the PKI had won widespread support, not as a revolutionary party, but as an organisation defending the interests of the poor within the existing system." So you can see what problems they were posed with.

Kennan's terminology, incidentally, about an infection sweeping over the region, that's pretty standard. For example, Henry Kissinger [former US Secretary of State] described democratic Chile as "a virus that might infect others."

For the public that's called the "domino theory." There's a rational version of the domino theory, namely the virus of democracy and successful independent development could well spread, could have a demonstration effect, and that's dangerous. When there's a virus around you've got to destroy it.

You also have to inoculate others so that they don't get harmed and that happens typically. A good bit of world history, I should say, falls under this pattern.

In mid-1958 the Dulles brothers – one of them was Secretary of State, the other the head of the CIA – in a private conversation were deploring what they called the "communist ability to get control of mass movements, something we have no capacity to duplicate."

"Unlike us they can appeal directly to the masses," President Eisenhower complained.

Then John Foster Dulles explained the reason for this unfair advantage that they had. He said: "the poor people are the ones they appeal to and have always wanted to plunder the rich. That's the great problem of history and somehow we find it hard to sell our values, namely that the rich should plunder the poor."

That's a kind of public relations problem that no one has yet quite figured out how to overcome. And because we can't overcome it we are forced to resort to our comparative advantage in violence and terror.

By the early 1960s, US experts were urging their contacts in the Indonesian military to "strike and sweep their house clean." That's Gary Parker of the Rand Corporation Airforce Research Tank.

However, the Indonesian allies [of the US] ... understood Western values ... thoroughly and they proceeded to cleanse their society with the 1965-66 massacres that took perhaps half a million lives and wiped out the PKI.

The country was quickly turned into what was called "a paradise for investors." US investment shot up with other associates and the threat of political victory by a party representing the poor was put off for a long, long time.

The Indonesian generals had eliminated the threat of democracy by a staggering mass slaughter that destroyed the political party that had gained popularity by defending the interests of the poor and they had also, by then, compiled one of the worst human rights records in the world, while offering enormous riches to Western investors.

There were of course more particular reasons for the West to lend its hand to the new atrocities as the Indonesians invaded East Timor.

There was indeed great concern at that time about the fate of the Portuguese empire. Coverage of East Timor was quite high in the United States. If you think of what East Timor is to the United States, it's a bit surprising, but coverage was quite high in 1974 and 1975, in the context of the concern over Portugal and the fate of its empire.

It's well remembered that it was not only East Timor that was subjected to a devastating Western-backed assault. The exact same thing was true of Angola and Mozambique, starting at the same time.

There were also strategic interests. Some of them had to do with the deep water passage for nuclear submarines. My own suspicion is that when the record is released – if it ever is, and I wouldn't count on that – but if it's ever released we may well find that one major factor was one that was indeed emphasised by Australian Ambassador to Jakarta, Richard Woolcott in August 1975, right before the invasion started, which Australia knew all about, as did everyone despite the pretences.

In August 1975, in a famous cable that was leaked, he [Woolcott] advised that Australia must go along with the impending invasion because Australia could make a better deal on the oil reserves in the Timor Gap with Indonesia than with Portugal or an independent East Timor.

And what's good for the energy companies is always the national interest. That's true virtually by definition.

Australia's de jure recognition of the annexation was in that context, so it seems, simultaneous with the beginnings of the negotiations on the oil.

That treaty was actually signed in 1989. It really went into effect immediately after the Dili massacres when the Indonesian and Australian joint authority began signing exploration contracts with major oil companies to rob the oil of what the treaty calls "the Indonesian province of East Timor," which you will recall, does not deserve the inalienable right of self-determination, we are told, because it's not viable economically.

That's the message being told by the people who are robbing [East Timor's] rich resources.

In his treatise on Australian foreign policy, Foreign Minister Evans offers the Timor Gap Treaty as an example of non-military solution to a problem – a model for the world to follow. It's pretty impressive! Not many people could carry that off!

This horror story can be brought to an end if Westerners can exhibit even a fraction of the integrity and the courage shown by the Indonesians who were protesting what their government is doing under conditions

vastly more onerous than any of us face or can imagine.

And I do not even speak of the incredible courage of the Timorese which shames all of us, perhaps Australians in particular, because of the debt of blood which remains from World War II, which I'm sure you know.

We are, I think, at an important turning point in this case.

With enough energy and commitment to change Western policies, which we should be doing, there is good reason, I think ... that one of the world's major atrocity stories can be brought to an end: that the people of East Timor can enjoy their inalienable right of self-determination, perhaps in less than a thousand years.

AUSTRALIA PART OF JAKARTA'S TIMOR WAR EFFORT

Max Lane, Green Left, March 26

"Australia is becoming more and more a part of Jakarta's war effort in East Timor," Max Lane, national coordinator of Indonesia Solidarity Action, told Green Left Weekly at a demonstration protesting against Australian military ties with Indonesia in Sydney on March 24. "Just as Jakarta is sending more troops into East Timor, Indonesian troops, ships and generals have been invited to Australia by the Keating-Evans government."

According to Lane, during March Indonesian naval vessels have been part of exercises in northern Australia, Indonesian combat troops from the Army Strategic Command have been taking part in joint exercises on Australia's north-east coast, and the former military commander of eastern Indonesia, Major General Panjaitan, was invited here apparently to investigate possible arms purchases.

Panjaitan was the officer in command of eastern Indonesia, including East Timor, when the 1991 Dili massacre took place. He was later sued in a US court by Helen Todd, the mother of massacre victim Kamal Bamadhaj, as the officer responsible. Todd was awarded US\$14 million in damages.

"It's clear that Evans and Keating are determined to assist Suharto in Jakarta's war effort. Evans went out of his way to defend Panjaitan during his visit, claiming Panjaitan had no role in the massacre. Evans can say this because he sticks to his dishonest statement that the Dili massacre was an 'aberration' in Jakarta's policy.

"It was not an aberration, and indeed Jakarta is making preparations for more violence in East Timor if there are any protests before the next meeting between the Indone-

sian and Portuguese foreign ministers. Still Evans and Keating are more than doubling spending on war cooperation with Jakarta, going ahead with inviting Jakarta to send troops for the Kangaroo 95 war games, and still hoping for arms sales to Jakarta.”

Lane explained that East Timorese resistance sources have reported that two battalions of Indonesian troops disembarked on March 19 in Dili, where they will remain until May. According to intelligence gathered by the Underground Front (Frente Clandestina) of the resistance movement, the additional units are Battalion 643, which will be operating in the west of the capital, and Battalion 521, which will cover the east side of the city.

According to the Timorese resistance reports, the Indonesian troops' mission is to prevent any demonstrations of opposition to the annexation of East Timor that could be staged before the foreign ministers' meeting, scheduled for May 19 in New York.

“It is clear that there is no change to the repressive policies of the Suharto dictatorship. The Portuguese press has reported that the military have drawn up a list of 180 Timorese civil servants living in Dili to be arrested over the coming weeks for their alleged membership of, or support for, the resistance movement.”

Lane said that there was also news that Abilio Osorio Soares, the governor of East Timor appointed by Indonesia, was urged to sign the arrest warrants, but refused to do so and had been transferred to Jakarta.

“We don't know what the East Timorese freedom fighters will do in the lead-up to May 19,” Lane said, “but I'm glad people are planning to do things here and in the Philippines. The initiative by Resistance for a national day of protests in all cities in solidarity with East Timor on May 13 is just the kind of action we need.

“We in Indonesia Solidarity Action are also supporting this day of action; in the struggle of the East Timorese and Indonesian people for freedom, each helps the other. Some of the East Timorese community and political groups are joining in too, and some East Timor solidarity committees. The big student organisation, KAMALAYAN, in Manila will be holding protests on the same day. We can't let Evans and Keating get away with this policy of war cooperation. We have to organise more people on to the street.”

“ORDER OF AUSTRALIA” FOR ALI ALATAS

Sydney, March 29 - The Australian government awarded Ali Alatas with the Order of Australia, one of the country's highest

awards, which replaces the previous Order of the Queen. Gareth Evans declared himself pleased with his government's decision. Evans added that Australia has no more important foreign relations than those with Indonesia. “The vision and constant and constrictive analysis of Ali Alatas about the larger bilateral issues, such as the Timor-Gap Treaty, has been decisive to the development of the productive relationship that exists today between Australia and Indonesia,” adds Evans' communiqué. *[quote translated from the Portuguese translation.]*

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT SHAMELESSLY SUCKS UP TO ALATAS

Press Release from Australians for a Free East Timor, March 30

As Australians we are absolutely appalled and insulted with the “Order of Australia” award to the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas. Making this award to him has cheapened it, politicised it and reduced it to the status of a trinket.

Who could possibly see any relevance in such an award once it's been given to the public face of a regime which is busy implementing state terrorism in an occupied East Timor while frightening the population there out of their most basic human rights.

This award and the developing military links show the federal government is now rushing to normalise the Indonesian government to the Australian people and are calculating that the East Timor support groups will have a limited impact in national public opinion.

The government also knows that the majority of Australians are largely apathetic and indifferent to the plight of East Timor.

Senator Gareth Evans will award Alatas with the trinket during his visit to Indonesia in August.

In the ‘West Australian’ newspaper on 30th March, Evans said he was “delighted with the award to my counterpart and friend.”

ARAUJO TO MEET WITH EVANS AT THE HAGUE

Lisbon, April 12 (LUSA) - summarized and abridged

Timorese faction leader Abilio Araujo will meet with Oz minister of Foreign Affairs Gareth Evans at the Oz embassy in The Hague (Netherlands) on Thursday. Araujo left today for the Netherlands, with Timorese Abilio Sereno and Rogerio Pereira. Prior to departure, Sereno told LUSA that the meeting had been solicited by Abilio Araujo in light of the “change of attitude”

towards ET demonstrated by the Oz government. “Recently, the Australian government has been showing a critical attitude relative to the [lack of] respect for Human Rights in East Timor,” said Sereno.

One of the topics to address at the meeting will be the inter-Timorese upcoming meeting in Salzburg, which has been delayed due to the criticism of the UN role in the meeting planning both by the Indonesian government and by Abilio Araujo. Another topic will be the two “reconciliation meetings” involving Abilio Araujo and ET roving ambassador Lopes da Cruz. The topic of the Timor-Gap treaty and the question of the oil reserves in the Sea of Timor will also be addressed.

Sereno told LUSA that Araujo had asked Gareth Evans that the meeting take place in Canberra, but that Evans suggested that since he would be digressing through Europe, the meeting take place at the Oz embassy at The Hague, which Araujo agreed to.

OZ SUBSIDY TO ICRC IN ET

Sydney, April 21 (LUSA) - summarized

The Oz government announced today the allocation of a 300 thousand Oz dollars subsidy to the Int'l Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for support of its organizing work in ET. The Oz Minister for Development and Cooperation, Gordon Bilney, indicated that the subsidy is intended for that the ICRC continue its work of protecting human rights in ET and Indonesia. Part of the subsidy is intended for campaigns in support of Timorese in jail in Dili or Jakarta; and for humanitarian programs, said Bilney. Bilney stated that “the regional delegation of the ICRC in Jakarta plays a crucial role in monitoring the situation in ET, and pays visits to all detainees and family members of those who are jailed away from home.” Bilney added that the work of the ICRC has also included in some instances the search for peaceful solutions between demonstrators and military authorities. The ICRC is also developing in ET programs in the sectors of health care and education, through the construction of a water pump and undertaking educational project in the most remote regions of the territory, with the help of the Indonesian Society of the Red Cross.

DARWIN ANZAC DAY INCLUDES EAST TIMORESE

Report from Hugh Ekeberg (AFFET), April 23

Hugh Ekeberg reports that for the first time, next weeks ANZAC day commemora-

tions will include the Timorese community in Darwin, in recognition of the tremendous contribution of East Timor to the defence of Australia during World War II.

ANZAC day (25 April) is a public holiday in both Australia and New Zealand, which is traditionally observed by a pre-dawn march and commemorative service at the local war memorials, of returned soldiers in every major town throughout both countries, in honour of those who served in previous wars. It originated with the combined Australia/New Zealand corps of WWI and grew to include other conflicts.

The Darwin Returned Servicemen's League (RSL) "has graciously offered the Timorese community all their support for the day" and will be helped by Darwin's East Timor support group to organise the participation of the Timorese people.

ANZAC DAY IN DARWIN (HATUDO DALAN REMEMBERED)

From: Affet (Australians for a Free East Timor), April 25

[Please note that the term 'Creado' is frowned upon by those known as Creados. I've used their terms which are:

Hatudo dalan.. -guide to the way

Hatudo fatin.. -guide to the place

Members of Darwin's East Timor community attended today's ANZAC remembrance to see three men lay a wreath in honour of all people who have perished in war and who continue to perish in all kinds of wars.

The three men were Mr. Antonio Casimiro, Francisco Morato and Antonio Maia Pereira.

The three Hatudo Dalan laid a wreath at the beginning of the dawn service with a note reading "In loving memory of tens of thousands of East Timorese comrades & families fallen in WWII in support of the allies, and the many more since. OS VOSSOS AMIGOS NOA ESQUECEM. ANZAC day Darwin, 1995."

A service followed for an hour with requiem and the last post before the ceremony was declared closed.

The Hatudo Dalan were greeted by members of the Returned Services League and politicians. They were then extensively interviewed by the media.

About the Hatudo Dalan:

Mr. Francisco Morato's father operated Dili's radio station and after the Japanese invasion, Francisco worked with the resistance by broadcasting coded messages to the Allies. He was 20 years old at war's end

Mr. Antonio Casimiro sheltered Australian commandos at his property outside Ermera. The Australians would arrive from

the bush at 9PM to rest and be fed before moving off at dawn. Antonio had good intelligence of Japanese movements around Ermera allowing him to be an effective guide and helper for the commandos.

He was 26 years old at the end of the war.

Mr. Antonio Maia was 17 years old at war's end and was a guide for a Captain Steven and his group. He found them hiding places, food, and guided them on reconnaissance.

All the Hatudo Dalan said the Japanese reprisals against the Timorese because of their active participation on the Allies side, had left bitter memories.

The invitation extended to the Hatudo Dalan for ANZAC day by the RSL goes a long way the soothing the pain. The Hatudo Dalan were emotional that some Australians do sincerely believe in "Lest We Forget" and not in an Australia which selectively forgets certain sacrifices by our war time allies because this clashes with economic certainties.

ADELAIDE CAMPAIGN FOR EAST TIMOR TAKES OFF

By Jon Lamb. Green Left, April 30

ADELAIDE - The campaign in support of a free East Timor is well and truly under way here, with several successful meetings and events over the past month.

On April 7, Resistance launched its campaign to end military ties with Indonesia. Campaign stalls for East Timor in the Rundle Street Mall have collected hundreds of signatures calling on the Australian government to end the training of Indonesian troops and the sale of military supplies.

Sponsors for the march and rally on the National Day of Action, May 13, include Campaign for an Independent East Timor - SA (CIET), Aksi - Indonesia Solidarity Action, Bougainville Action Group and the CFMEU.

Davey Thomason, an organiser with the Construction, Mining and Energy Division of the CFMEU, explains why his union is supporting the day: "After the coup in '65 there was no longer the freedom for workers to organise in Indonesia. As a result, the Indonesian regime was able to squash resistance in Indonesia and elsewhere - such as through invading East Timor and West Papua.

"The recent jailing of trade unionists shows how far the Indonesian regime will go in suppressing the independent organising of workers. Unfortunately, the ACTU has been noticeable in its silence on this. We should all condemn the jailing of activists in Indonesia and the occupation of East Timor."

Amnesty International held a well-attended meeting on East Timor on April 4 to mark the conclusion of their year-long focus on human rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor. Speakers included David Barreto, an East Timorese activist with CIET, Kathy Kingston from Amnesty, Senator Gordon Bilney and Greg Hunt, an adviser to Alexander Downer (opposition spokesperson for foreign affairs), who delivered a speech on Downer's behalf.

Both Barreto and Kingston condemned the position of the major parties and the close ties they advocate with the Suharto dictatorship.

Andy Alcock, chairperson of CIET, told Green Left Weekly, "Jakarta would be pleased about the proposals being suggested by Australia's two main political parties because they change nothing. The Indonesian military can continue to profit from East Timor's resources while they proceed with the genocide of the people. At the same time the Australian government and key individuals can also enrich themselves from East Timor's resources and from the sales of arms and military equipment to the Suharto regime."

"The pressure that we can exert here on our own government is crucial to the East Timorese resistance movement," Phillipa Stanford, Adelaide Resistance organiser, told Green Left. "The federal Labor government is extremely sensitive to any criticism of its chummy relationship with the Suharto dictatorship. More and more people - especially young people - are disgusted by the fact that our government is playing a big part in propping up the military dictatorship."

PROTEST AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

By Michael Tardif, Green Left, April 30

SYDNEY - More than 100 people gathered outside the Global Cultural Diversity Conference on April 28 to protest against continued human rights violations in East Timor, Bougainville and West Papua.

While the conference, hosted by the Australian government to celebrate 50 years of the United Nations, described itself as a celebration of cultural diversity, protesters pointed out that the Australian government continues to directly support governments which are destroying important cultural groups in the region.

Despite UN resolutions against Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, Australia has been one of President Suharto's most vocal supporters. Australian aid is used in Indonesia to train troops who continue to occupy East Timor. In addition, Australia is

now selling small arms and other military equipment to the Indonesian military.

East Timorese and much of their traditional culture have suffered severely under the occupation.

The Australian government's general support for the Indonesian government also condones its transmigration policy, which is swamping the cultures of the people of West Papua and parts of Sumatra.

In Bougainville, Australian military aid has been used to support the PNG government's blockade of the island. Many people have died as a result of being denied access to medical attention.

The rally heard speakers from a range of groups, including José Filipe from Fretilin, John Otto from West Papua and Moses Havini from the Bougainville Interim Government. Heidi Pegrem from the socialist youth organisation Resistance urged people to support the National Day of Action on East Timor, organised by Resistance and sponsored by a number of organisations, on May 13.

MELBOURNE RALLY FOR EAST TIMOR

By Jo Brown, Green Left, April 30

MELBOURNE - About 500 East Timor supporters picketed the opening of the "Great Expectations: The United Nations at 50 Years" Conference at Melbourne University on Thursday, April 27.

The target of the protest was foreign minister Gareth Evans, who was speaking at the conference opening with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The protesters chanted "No Blood For Oil" and "Shame Gareth Shame" and held candles to commemorate the 200,000 East Timorese who have died since the 1975 invasion by Indonesia.

Earlier, an East Timor Freedom Festival was organised by "University Students for East Timor" from Melbourne University was held with performances by the East Timorese Youth Cultural Group and Painters and Dockers.

Guest speakers addressing the rally included Abel Guterres from CNRM, Joaquim Santos from Fretilin, Pedro Batista from UDT and Justice Einfeld. Guterres told the rally that the international struggle for East Timor was intensifying, and that people in Australia had an important role to play in challenging Gareth Evans and the Australian government to end its support for the Indonesian occupation.

CONFERENCE: PEACEMAKING INITIATIVES FOR EAST TIMOR

*ANU DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE, FACULTY OF ARTS, Canberra.
10-12 JULY 1995*

Venue: Australian National University,
Canberra, Australia

Sponsors:

Faculty of Arts, Australian National
University
Peace Research Centre, Australian National
University
University Of Oporto, Portugal

Convener: Dr. Michael Salla, Department of
Political Science, Faculty of Arts, ANU
Ph: +61-6-249 4697; email: mi-
chael.salla@anu.edu.au

Enquiries: Sharon Merten, Department of
Political Science, Faculty of Arts, Aus-
tralian National University ACT 0200.
Phone: +61-6-249 4420; Fax:+61-6-249
5054

RALLIES DEMAND: FREE EAST TIMOR, END MILITARY TIES!

By Wendy Robertson, Green Left, May 14

"Suharto is a Butcher; free East Timor Now," "Free Xanana Gusmão, Indonesia Out Now" and "No Blood For Oil" were some of the chants that echoed through city streets across Australia on Saturday, May 13. Around 1500 people across Australia took part in the National Day of Action to Free East Timor.

The National Day of Action was organised by the socialist youth organisation Resistance and supported by East Timorese organisations, as well as many East Timor solidarity committees, student unions and trade unions.

In its message of solidarity, the Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor (APCET) highlighted the role of young East Timorese in the struggle: "Today we recall the heroism of the youth of East Timor, pay homage to those who have fallen in the struggle and express our utmost solidarity to those who continue to suffer and to labour."

The importance of the rallies' demand for an end to military ties between the Australian government and the Indonesian government was conveyed in a message received from the National Council of Maubere Resistance: "By providing military support in the form of training to the Indonesian armed forces, Australia has become an accomplice

in the crimes of the Indonesian dictatorial regime."

In Adelaide, Philippa Stanford reports, 200 demonstrators attended the action at Victoria Square. Participants at the rally listened to several speakers call on the Labor federal government to end its military and diplomatic support for the Indonesian regime.

Speakers included Andy Alcock from the Campaign for an Independent East Timor, the longest-running Australian East Timor solidarity group. David Barreto gave greetings to the rally from the East Timorese community in Adelaide.

Davey Thomason from the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union spoke of the history of the trade union movement providing international solidarity and urged any members of the Labor Party at the rally to leave the party because of its complicity in the atrocities in East Timor.

Eleanor Lawson from Resistance said, "The best thing we can do here in Australia to show our solidarity with the East Timorese people is to build a movement which includes high school students, university students and young people from all walks of life."

The rally then marched to the Australian Defence Recruiting Office, where Bruce Steer from the Bougainville Action Group spoke of the similarities between the situations in Bougainville and East Timor. David Barreto presented a postcard to defence minister Robert Ray with messages of protest from demonstrators. Participants then marched to Santos, where they placed crosses at the doors of the oil multinational in memory of those who have died in East Timor.

In Brisbane, 150 people marched to the army recruitment office and then to Garuda Airlines, reports Zanny Begg. An East Timor "freedom now" banner was placed on top of the army recruitment centre. Speakers included Maria Cortereal from the East Timorese community, Sam Watson Junior from the Aboriginal community, Tayna McDonnell from Resistance, Zanny Begg from the Democratic Socialist Party, Clare Moore, secretary of the Community and Public Sector Union, and Nick Everett from Aksi - Indonesia Solidarity Action.

Watson explained the link between the struggles of the indigenous East Timorese and Australian Aborigines. "If people don't believe what's happening in East Timor, all they need to do is look at the Australian government's treatment of Aboriginal people," he said. "Like the East Timorese, Aboriginal people are forcibly sterilised, they face germ warfare and are massacred." He called for ongoing solidarity between Australia and East Timor.

Moore called on workers to struggle together to stop repression all around the world. Workers are the majority of society and therefore society should represent their interests.

Everett said, "The recent arrests of student and worker militants in Indonesia show the brutality of the Suharto regime." He called for support for the democracy movement in Indonesia as vital to the liberation of East Timor.

In Canberra, despite pouring rain, 100 people attended a speak-out in Garema Place. Maree Roberts from the Democratic Socialist Party, Alex Morton from Resistance, Graham Mathews from Green Left Weekly and Bill Kelly from the Campaign for an Independent East Timor spoke.

Katrina Dean in Hobart reports that street theatre at the Salamanca Markets highlighted why the Australian government supports the illegal occupation of East Timor: "It makes for very good business." This was followed by a public forum addressed by Jenny Herrera from the Hobart East Timorese community, who spoke about the independence movement and Natalie Woodlock from Resistance, who described Australia's role in the Asia-Pacific.

From Melbourne, Sean Healy writes that a lively rally of 500 people gathered and marched from the GPO to Treasury Place to the ministerial suits of Gareth Evans, Paul Keating and Robert Ray. Speakers included Joaquin Santos from Fretilin, Chantal Wynter from Resistance, Ben Reid from Aksi, and representatives of Australian Humanitarian Aid for Bougainville, the Community Aid Abroad East Timor solidarity group and the Democratic Socialist Party.

Wynter said: "Australian people have responsibility to campaign for East Timor's independence given the Australian government's support for the occupation. We need a mass movement which involves university and high school students, workers and trade unionists and people in the communities. For our part, Resistance is totally committed to the fight for the liberation of East Timor."

All of the speakers condemned the role of the ALP, in particular Gareth Evans for Australia's military aid to Indonesia. Several of the speakers pointed out the similarity to Australian foreign policy on Bougainville.

In Newcastle, Alex Bainbridge reports, 70 people gathered for a lively speak-out in the Hunter Street Mall and marched to the Tax Office to highlight the fact that Australian tax dollars are spent on military cooperation. One hundred and sixty people signed a petition against military ties, and many others stopped to listen. The day of

action was endorsed by Australia Asia Solidarity Network and the Newcastle Trades Hall Council. Speakers included John dos Santos from the East Timorese community and Geoff Payne, a rank and file trade unionist working at BHP's Newcastle steel-works.

Resistance activist Kamala Emanuel stated that the government's policy on East Timor reflected the ALP's concern for profits before the interests and needs of ordinary people. "To this extent," she said, "their policy on East Timor is in complete harmony with their economic rationalist agenda at home."

Vaarunika Dharmapala reports from Perth that 80 people rallied. Speakers included Jaqui Clee from Resistance, who spoke about military ties between Australia and Indonesia. Clee called for building a political alternative to the ALP, which puts profits before the needs of people.

Francisco Soares of Fretilin talked about the East Timorese struggle for independence. Bill Game from the Communications, Electrical and Plumbing Union condemned the ALP's role in Indonesia and East Timor.

In Sydney, Andrew Hall reports, a vibrant march through the centre of the city by 300 people demanded and chanted for a Free East Timor and for the Australian government to end military ties with the Suharto regime.

Support for an independent East Timor was shown by the broad range of speakers, including Resistance, Fretilin, UDT, Aksi, Free West Papua, the Greens, Filipina unionist Terasita Carpio, Amnesty International and the Democratic Socialist Party.

Highlights of the rally included the large number of East Timorese and young people who participated.

The rally finished with a call to continue the actions exposing the lies of the Labor government on East Timor and to keep building the movement until independence for East Timor is won.

MANTIRI AS INDON. AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRALIA

Patrick Walters reports in today's Australian (15/5/1995), without quoting his sources, that Gen. (ret.) Herman Mantiri, 55, is to take up an appointment as Indonesian Ambassador to Australia 'in a few months.' He would replace former journalist Sabam Siagian. Mantiri recently retired as Chief of General Staff of ABRI. Walters adds that the appointment 'would confirm the importance the Suharto government places on the closer relations the two countries have established in recent years.'

In February 1992, three months after the Dili massacre, he was appointed as Commander of Udayana Military Area, which includes East Timor. In July he gave an interview to Editor magazine about that incident. An extract from that interview is included below.

Editor interviews Major-General Mantiri

Editor, 4 July 1992.

Sections not related to East Timor are excluded.

[extract only]

....

Q: As commander after the Dili Incident, it's your responsibility to eliminate the bad image which resulted from that incident.

Does this make things heavier for you?

A: If you say heavier, it's relative. A good image as seen from where? As seen from abroad, that's true. People abroad indeed said: 'Goodness!' But from our vantage-point, that is not the case. We don't regret anything. What happened was quite proper ('wajar'). As military, this is so. They were opposing us, demonstrating, even yelling things against the government. To me that is identical with rebellion, so that is why we took firm action. From our perspective, there is no question of a bad image. People abroad are yapping away, magnifying things. But things were not as bad as they claim.

Q: Proper ('wajar')?

A: If people demonstrate around the idea of opposing the government, we take action. For me that is 'wajar.'

Q: For the purposes of confrontation?

A: Yes. Their theme was opposing the government. Long live Fretilin. Long live Xanana Gusmão. Waving Fretilin flags. That's the enemy. If they try that on now, I will not tolerate it. I will order (our men) to take strong action. For me, I don't think there's anything strange in that. I would tolerate it if they held demonstrations for higher wages, for jobs, for education. We would channel those demands. There are ways of doing this. Go to the DPRD [the local people's assembly], in a proper, orderly fashion. They can do that.

Q: Is it correct to say that freedoms are somewhat restricted now?

A: The idea that there is no freedom is incorrect. If you compare it with the freedoms they had before when they were allowed to do anything, to demonstrate, yelling 'Java go home!', 'Kick out the Javanese!', 'Long live Fretilin!', 'Long live Xanana!', that clearly cannot be tolerated. That's clearly

the case now. I will not tolerate such things. So, freedoms are restricted.

Q: What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Dili Incident?

A: My attitude is that every event is an act of providence, including the Dili Incident. So, I have never been shaken by anything. I hope that my men are never shaken either. Nothing happens by chance. Everything is the will of God. Of course there are advantages and disadvantages.

Q: What were the advantages?

A: We were able to learn a lot. We succeed because of experience. Theory without practice gets nowhere. Practice without theory is blind. We need experience. We need to take the right decision. If we take the wrong decision, we need to change, not to repeat it.

Q: Were there any basic errors during that Incident?

A: The policy was correct. Only, perhaps, the implementation was wrong, resulting in militancy from that group or from certain elements. That resulted in some difficulties, but I can't blame anyone. That would be unethical.

INDONS OPPRESSIVE: EVANS

The Age, Melbourne, May 17, 1995. by Gareth Boreham, Canberra

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, last night condemned Indonesian's "oppressive military presence in East Timor and conceded that little progress had been made in improving human rights in the troubled province.

Responding to a Melbourne male nurse's claims of atrocities, Senator Evans denied that Australia was turning a blind eye to the 'disconcerting' evidence of human rights abuses in East Timor.

"There is no doubt that there is an oppressive military presence in East Timor far and away beyond that which is needed for the security of the place," he told the ABC's 7:30 Report. Senator Evans admitted that the international pressure had failed to improve the lot of the locals.

"No country has been successful whether they are adopting a rough and tough deny-aid-unless-you-change-policy or hurl-abuse-and-don't-stop-unless-you-change-policy or try to talk constructively behind the scenes," he said.

"The truth of the matter is that there is no progress towards the kind of reconciliation strategy that we would all like to see," he said.

Senator Evans said that senior Indonesian Government officials and ministers wanted

to scale down the military presence in East Timor. "There is an active debate going on, but that needs to be translated into action."

In a report in yesterday's Age, Mr. Simon de Faux said that while working as a volunteer in East Timor, he had treated locals who had been tortured, raped and bashed by some Indonesian soldiers. He said he was assaulted when he tried to stop troops beating an eight-year-old boy

Mr. de Faux also said he was warned by Australian officials not to tell the media about his experiences. He said the East Timorese had been sold out by the Australian government.

"They just didn't want people outside East Timor to know what was happening there," he said.

But Senator Evans said the advice to Mr. de Faux from Mr. Alistair Cox, the first secretary at the Australian embassy in Jakarta, was "based wholly on concern for (his) own welfare" while he was still in Indonesia.

"It was known by the embassy team that Mr. de Faux, who had been in East Timor for a month at the time of the meeting (Mr. Cox), was intending to leave East Timor in a matter of weeks," he said.

"(He) has manifestly not felt inhibited about telling his story now that he is out of the country and nor should he be. We would like to talk to Mr. de Faux and get a fuller account."

Mr. de Faux said he was told there had been six massacres in East Timor since the killing of scores of people in Dili in November 1991.

After the incident with the Indonesian troops, Mr. de Faux was smuggled north.

He spent seven weeks in the mountains and said he was followed constantly followed constantly by the Indonesian secret police.

Senator Evans said there was "a lot of openness creeping into the system" and this needed to be extended to East Timor.

"It is the kind of problem you have got with the whole country being in the transitional condition that it is. There is good news and there is bad news."

PICKET HABIBIE ON AUSTRALIAN TOUR

Media release 21 May 1995. From Friends of East Timor (Western Australia)

Demonstration against Perth visit of top Indonesian Minister

Oz Gov't condones East Timor genocide and high level corruption.

East Timorese and supporters to say "No Guns for Habibie" at Hyatt protest.

VENUE: HYATT REGENCY HOTEL, 99 ADELAIDE TCE TIME: ASSEMBLING AT 5PM, SUNDAY 21/5/95

Indonesia's Research & Technology Minister, B.J. Habibie, flew into Perth last night for a ten-day Australian visit, which will include high level talks with State and Federal politicians, and further negotiations with Australian Defence Industries (ADI) over the sale or licence of Australian Steyr combat rifles for the Indonesian army.

Friends of East Timor (WA) and the Perth East Timorese community will be holding a demonstration this afternoon outside the Hyatt Hotel, the venue where Habibie will be entertaining a number of guests, including Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, and most probably Premier Court, the Governor of Western Australia, and Federal Science & Technology Minister Peter Cook. Protestors will seek to personally present letters of concern to both Habibie and the Ambassador.

Habibie is one of the most influential and powerful men in Indonesia. He is strongman Suharto's closest ally and likely successor to the Presidency. Widespread rumours of corruption surround his massive business interests in armaments, aeroplanes and other high-tech industries, which have benefited from his ministerial position of control over Indonesia's state-run strategic industries. Many of the recent crackdowns by the Indonesian government, such as the June '94 press bannings and more recent attacks on non-government organisations, have been to protect Habibie's corruption from public exposure.

The possible sale of a manufacturing licence for Habibie to produce Australian Steyr rifles, or indeed the direct sale of the rifles themselves, would send a clear message of Australian governmental support for the Indonesian army's outrageous atrocities in East Timor. Friends of East Timor believe that the overwhelming majority of Australians do not, or would not if they knew, support the sale of weapons to a regime that flaunts the resolutions of the United Nations and remains illegally and aggressively

in East Timor. This is no doubt why the Australian government is keen to minimise publicity surrounding Habibie's visit.

Attached to the media release was a copy of the letter to Habibie:

[On FOET letterhead]
21 May 1995

Dr. Baharuddin J. Habibie
Minister for Research and Technology
Republic of Indonesia
HAND DELIVERED

Dear Dr. Habibie,

As Australians concerned about the ongoing illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor, and as East Timorese exiles in Australia, we are writing to you on the occasion of your visit to Perth, Australia. We are protesting here today because we believe that Indonesia's policy on East Timor, as supported and carried out by your President, by the Government of which you are a significant member, and by the Indonesian Armed Forces, is one that violates basic principles of international law, particularly that relating to acts of armed aggression, and human rights.

We are aware that you are the closest political confidante of President Suharto, and that you are favoured by him as a preferred successor to the Presidency. We are also conscious that you therefore share responsibility of the highest order for your government's genocidal record in occupied East Timor, and have significant power to influence or change that policy if you so desired.

We want to inform you that irrespective of the ambiguous position currently taken by the Australian government, the overwhelming majority of Australian people oppose any arms deals between either the Australian government or private enterprise, and the current Indonesian regime, while Indonesian troops remain in East Timor. We understand that the main purpose of your visit is to investigate a possible weapons deal with Australian Defence Industries (ADI) over joint manufacture of Steyr combat rifles. Any such deal will not be acceptable to the Australian public, and will most likely inflame the growing public outrage at Indonesia's continued occupation of East Timor.

We were also shocked to learn in March that you have employed Mr. Sintong Panjaitan as Deputy for Military Affairs in the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology under your command. As you are no doubt aware, Panjaitan has been ordered by the US justice system to pay millions of dollars in compensation to Mrs. Helen Todd, for the murder of her son by troops under his command during the Dili Massacre in 1991. We believe that this appointment seriously undermines the credibility of your Agency, and urge you to

bility of your Agency, and urge you to dismiss Panjaitan without delay, and extradite him to the United States.

Australians are also deeply offended by recent articles carried in the Indonesian media, notably Jawa Pos and Suara Merdeka, in which it has been stated that Indonesian police will enter Australia to kidnap Dr. George Aditjondro, currently a guest of the Australian people, here in Perth. Such threats are a grave insult to Australian national sovereignty - you are no doubt aware that the Indonesian security forces have no right to do anything of this nature on Australian territory, nor is there any provision for extradition for the 'crime' of exercising free speech. We would remind you that Australia is not the 28th province of Indonesia, just as East Timor is not the 27th. We feel that such arrogant posturing is deeply hypocritical, given Indonesia's frequently stated position that even mild criticism of Indonesia's atrocious human rights record by foreign governments is an unacceptable infringement of 'national sovereignty.' We request that you use your considerable influence to put an end to such threats and intimidation by the security forces towards Dr. Aditjondro and his family.

These are the reasons that we are demonstrating against your presence in our city today. We are carrying out such peaceful protests in the belief that it is within the power of influential Indonesians such as yourself to face the truth about your government's shameful role in invading and occupying East Timor, about the deaths of over 200,000 East Timorese and enslavement of the remainder, and about the harsh repression against Indonesia's own people who speak out on these injustices. In twenty years of war, Indonesia has utterly failed in any genuine incorporation of the East Timorese people into the Republic. We believe that it is time that your government enters into sincere negotiations with the East Timorese resistance, withdraws its troops as ordered by the UN, and allows a free, democratic act of self-determination.

We request that you convey all our concerns to your government, and particularly to the President. They are intended in the spirit of a heartfelt desire for good relations between the peoples of Indonesia, Australia and East Timor, but with the acknowledgment that this can never be truly realised while your government's armed forces remain in East Timor.

Yours faithfully,
[the letter is signed by Domingos de Oliveira, as Diplomatic Representative of East Timor in Australia (CCFD), by Francisco Soares as FRETILIN representative in West Aust, by a UDT representative, and

by Rob South for Friends of East Timor (WA).]

TOP INDONESIAN FLIES TO PERTH

The West Australian, Saturday 20 May 1995. by Norman Aisbett, Asia Desk

POWERFUL Indonesian Research and Technology Minister B.J. Habibie will jet into Perth tomorrow to begin a 10-day tour which the Federal Government hopes will change his low opinion of Australia's scientific potential.

Dr. Habibie enjoys great status in Indonesia, where he is a confidante of Indonesian President Suharto and has even been touted as a successor.

He will be met in Perth by Industry, Science and Technology Minister Peter Cook. [Non-Aussies might be interested to know that Cook is the other bearded \$%#@ standing next to Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans when they are toasting the signing of the Timor Gap Treaty on that plane in *Death of a Nation* - FOET]

High security surrounds Dr. Habibie's trip. Full details and timings of his itinerary for Perth, Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra - where he will meet Prime Minister Paul Keating - are not being released. In Perth, where Australian Defence Industries has a base in Bentley's Technology Park, he will meet Premier Richard Court and the Governor, Maj.-Gen Michael Jeffery.

Between 35 and 50 government and industry representatives will accompany him. They will split up and head in different directions - reassembling in Canberra at the end of their visit.

Trained as an engineer in Germany, Dr. Habibie has long looked to Europe for his country's research and technology.

"He's long had an attitude that Australia can't generate its own research and technology - that it all comes off the shelf from Europe," a government official said yesterday.

"This visit is a real opportunity to convince him of that capability and to talk turkey."

Dr. Habibie heads many of Indonesia's State-run industries, including those responsible for nuclear power, aircraft and small arms making.

Indonesia's best-known news magazine, Tempo, had its licence revoked last year - effectively closing it - because of unspecified editorial content.

Tempo had published a controversial report of a rift between Finance Minister Mar'ie Muhammad and Dr. Habibie over Dr. Habibie's allegedly overpriced purchase of 39 former East German navy ships.

that Dr. Habibie might want to build cooperation to help Indonesia's developing

nuclear capacity and ensure a supply of uranium yellowcake.

OVER 120 PICKET HABIBIE ON HIS ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA

From Friends of East Timor (Western Australia), May 21

With less than 48 hours warning, Friends of East Timor, in collaboration with the Perth East Timorese community, organised a picket of the luxurious Hyatt Hotel to greet Indonesia's Research & Technology Minister and Presidential hopeful, B.J. Habibie. More than 120 people, including a large contingent of East Timorese exiles, protested at the front and rear entrances of Perth's Hyatt Hotel.

Arriving at 4.45pm, we had to wait until 6.15pm for Habibie's grand arrival, but kept ourselves busy with boisterous chanting, along with negotiating with the media and hotel security staff, under the close supervision of State and Federal police and ASIO (Aust. political police). Enthusiasm increased despite the wait, as news broke that Suharto's golden boy was on his way from the airport. Figuring that they would try to smuggle Habibie in the back entrance, we posted a sizeable contingent there also.

Habibie and his numerous companions arrived in a massive motorcade with a ostentatiously large police escort, with the majority of vehicles entering through the front entrance. Either side of the ramp leading up to the hotel entrance, protestors chanted at deafening volume, and attempted to break through the lines of obviously panicked police only centimetres from the motorcade. The cars had to travel slowly up the ramp and their occupants could not have failed to be impressed by the anger before them. Being so close to such a senior member of the government which has killed so many of their friends and family was a distressing and emotional experience for our Timorese friends, some of whom were crying with anger, and had to be held back by family members from hurling themselves at the startled faces behind the tinted windows. The last few cars received slaps and were followed up the ramp until we were blocked by a quickly reassembled police-line. Meanwhile, a smaller number of cars had entered through the back entrance, meeting with a similar response. We then broke into a chant of "Ha-bi-bie, Ha-bi-bie, Don't Come Back 'til Timor's Free," which would have been heard throughout the hotel. Negotiations were then entered into with hotel security about our desire to send a joint Australian-East Timorese deputation to present letters to both Habibie and Ambassador Siagian, or failing that, to Australian Science and Technology Minister Peter

Cook to give to them on our behalf. Cook refused to come out, but eventually a one-man deputation of Gordon McIntosh (former Federal Senator, FOET member and long-time ET activist) was allowed to enter the hotel. The Indonesians refused to meet him, and eventually the letters had to be given to a senior official of the Prime Minister's department who guaranteed to hand-deliver them to their intended recipients immediately. Gordon returned to cheers and we dispersed a few minutes later, after announcing our intention to return ten-fold if Suharto ever dared set foot in Australia.

The demonstration was clearly a success, causing deep embarrassment to the apologist government representatives present and severe irritation (to say the least) to Habibie and his colleagues. Media coverage appears to have been extensive.

Hopefully it will be just a small taste of what Habibie can expect in other Australian states, although solidarity groups will be hampered by the secrecy surrounding his itinerary.

BUILDING A STRONGER MOVEMENT FOR EAST TIMOR

By Max Lane, Green Left #188, May 24, 1995

On May 13 more than 1500 people, mainly young people, rallied around Australia demanding independence for East Timor and an end to all Australian military ties with the Suharto dictatorship in Indonesia.

The National Day of Action was initiated by the socialist youth organisation Resistance. Fretilin helped to mobilise several hundreds of East Timorese in Sydney and Melbourne.

In almost all cities, the solidarity committees, such as the Australia East Timor Association in Sydney and Melbourne and Committee for an Independent East Timor in Adelaide, actively supported the event and helped get people out on the streets.

Trade unionists, Amnesty International representatives, Community Aid Abroad spokespersons, UDT representatives, Green Party parliamentarians all participated. Aksi - Indonesia Solidarity Action, a national organisation supporting both the Indonesian democratic and East Timorese struggles, also sponsored the protests.

Hundreds of people who had never joined an East Timor action participated. This augurs well for building a strong solidarity movement that can force a retreat by the ALP government from its support for the Suharto dictatorship and the illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

Evans on defensive

The prospects for a more powerful movement are good. We can see this from the retreats that Gareth Evans - Australia's minister for propping up dictatorships - has already had to make at the level of rhetoric. The Melbourne Age of May 15 has the headline "Indons Oppressive: Evans."

Evans now says that there are more troops than necessary in East Timor, and this affects the prospects for "the kind of reconciliation we would all like to see." "Reconciliation" is the code word for East Timorese acceptance of integration into Indonesia.

Despite the fine words, there has been a massive increase in Australian military assistance to the Suharto dictatorship. In 1990-91 five Indonesian officers trained in Australia. This had increased to 120 by 1993-4 and is projected to reach 275 by the end of 1995-6. At the same time, almost 150 officers are to be trained by Australians in Indonesia.

ALP government support for the dictatorship has not been restricted to the military sphere. The government has also been channelling aid and assistance to the anti-worker puppet trade union, the All Indonesia Workers Union (SPSI) and the Ministry of Manpower, both of which help maintain political order in Indonesia at the expense of the democratic rights of independent worker groups.

But Evans is on the defensive as a result of the constant protests in Dili and Jakarta and the gradually escalating campaign in Australia. The question now is how to push the government's retreat beyond rhetorical concessions and tricky footwork - how to force it into a real policy retreat.

There is widespread sympathy with the East Timorese struggle. This is evident in the big success of petition campaigns - thousands have signed the Resistance petitions calling on Australia to get out of the Timor Gap and for an end to military aid. It is also evident in the big turnout for the John Pilger and Noam Chomsky meetings in December and January. The very need for Evans to employ fancier footwork in his dealings with East Timor issue is also a recognition of this public sentiment.

Range of actions

There has been a marked increase in organised initiatives in support of East Timor in 1995, including:

- * the Resistance national day of action on May 13;
- * the anti-Evans demonstration at Melbourne University organised by Student Supporters of East Timor;
- * the anti-Evans demonstration at the Global Diversity conference in Sydney,

organised by a coalition of Bougainville, West Papua, East Timor and democratic Indonesia supporters;

- * an East Timor week in Darwin organised by Student Supporters of East Timor at Northern Territory University;

- * the six-month educational campaign and proposed East Timor conference in Melbourne in August being organised by the East Timor Relief Association;

- * the "Indonesian and Regional Conflict" conference being organised by Australians for a Free East Timor and others in Darwin;

- * the launching of an education kit by Christians in Solidarity for East Timor;

- * a conference at the Australian National University on July 10-12 on diplomatic solutions for East Timor;

- * a national speaking tour for an Indonesian and an East Timorese activist, probably in July, being organised by Aksi and Resistance;

- * the ongoing campaign to inform and galvanise people in support of East Timor being carried out by Green Left Weekly, which is now read regularly by close to 10,000 people every week.

The organised political groups among the East Timorese community, especially Fretilin, also have a range of commemorative events during the year which keep the issue alive in their communities. East Timor support committees have ongoing educational activities, such as the recent Information Day organised by Friends of East Timor in Perth.

Collaboration

It is extremely important that all these different organisations continue with their own initiatives, inviting support and participation by other groups. The more local church groups, trade unions, local Amnesty or Community Aid Abroad groups or other groups that take up campaigns demanding East Timorese independence and an end to Australian government support for Jakarta, the better. The broadest possible active participation in extending and deepening support for the East Timorese people and opposition to the Canberra-Jakarta alliance on the issue is what is needed to force Keating and Evans into a retreat.

At the same time, the movement still lacks a vehicle to bring together the increasing number of activist forces in united actions. None of the existing organisations can do this. Even the recently formed Australian Coalition for a Free East Timor (ACET) has not broadened its membership beyond local committees of East Timor solidarity activists.

In this respect, the model of the People for Nuclear Disarmament committees that mobilised tens of thousands of people dur-

ing the early 1980s is a good one. These were broad coalitions of all groups - political parties, solidarity groups, church groups, suburban peace groups and so on - sharing the same aim and participating on an equal basis.

Perhaps we have not quite reached the time to start setting up such bodies. Perhaps existing bodies will expand and transform themselves into such coalitions. In Sydney, the November 12 committee, which organised the very successful 1994 Dili commemoration rally and which involved East Timorese community groups, was moving in that direction. Perhaps such broad committees might be tried out in other cities for 1995.

These are the trends we all need to encourage - more initiatives by more groups, and more and more cooperation between these groups on concrete projects.

JAIL FOR TIMOR ACTION

Peace News, May 24, 1995

Two Australian Catholic Worker activists were sentenced on 16 May to three months' imprisonment for their part in a sit-in in the Australian Defence Force recruiting office. They were drawing attention to Australian Defence Force complicity in the war in East Timor by training Indonesian officers who later serve in East Timor. The magistrate drew on past offences - mostly accrued in the '70s and '80s under the corrupt Joh Bjelke-Petersen government, and mostly for "freedom of speech" offences. The sentence seemed extremely severe for such a simple action.

DARWIN CONFERENCE: INDONESIA AND REGIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The Indonesia and Regional Conflict Resolution Conference (IRCR) will be held from the evening of Tuesday - Friday 25 - 28th July 1995 in Darwin at the Entertainment Centre and Northern Territory University. Cultural and social activities will continue on the following weekend. The organising committee is community based and chaired by Rob Wesley-Smith, PhFx 61 89 832113.

Topics for the Conference

1. Regional: West Papua, Malaysia, Philippines, East Timor

2. Political and Human Rights: Indonesian pro-Democracy movement, Transmigration, Timor Gap Treaty, Women Rights, Labour Rights, Foreign Policy, Restricted access to East Timor

3. Ecological: Fishing exploitation & development, Deforestation, Nuclear Reactor Expansion

4. Militarism: Trends in militarism, Armaments, Conflict Resolution alternatives to militarism

Speakers include Dr. George Aditjondro, Pedro Pinto Leite, Professor Barbedo de Magalhaes, Liem Soei Long, José Gusmão, Keith Jiniyini, Joy Balazo, Max Lane, and local experts.

Other Conferences

Melbourne early July, "Resistance" conference includes East Timor

Canberra, ANU (Australian National University) 10-12 July, "Pace making Initiatives for East Timor" contact Sharon Merten, Ph (Fx) 61 6 249 4420 (5054)

Darwin 20-21 July, Plaza Hotel, "Development and Implementation of International Law in the Asia Pacific Region" contact Alice Wood Ph(Fx) 61 6 285 4233 (4235) or Greg Rose Ph 61 6 261 2705

Melbourne early August East Timorese meeting, contact Ph (Fx) 61 2 891 5861 (2876)

About Darwin

Darwin is the closest Australian city to Asia, Indonesia and East Timor, and is our most multicultural city. The weather is superb in July, it being our "Dry Season," with pleasant warm days and cool nights to 12C.

Darwin is situated on a superb harbour with excellent water sports opportunities. It is close to the famous Kakadu and Litchfield National Parks, and to the world class Wildlife Park and Crocodile farms.

This city of 80,000 is well served by airlines, hotels and restaurants, and is a very popular tourist destination at this time, so if hotel accommodation is required please notify us as soon as possible. Please book flights immediately.

We will accommodate all who wish in billets in homes or with dormitory or camping accommodation at no cost. Please bring a sleeping bag and towel if possible, especially for the "bush stay."

The Northern Territory Government in recent years has adopted a public stance of developing closer links with Indonesia and eastern Indonesia in particular. It sees Darwin as a bridge between SE Asia and Australia. Our conference is designed to enhance that role in a practical way.

TIMOR ACTIVISTS APPEAL HARSH SENTENCE

Green Left #189, May 31, 1995

BRISBANE - On May 16, Jim Dowling and Ciaran O'Reilly, from the Catholic

Worker organisation, were sentenced to three months' jail for a sit-in at the Defence Recruiting Centre here during Easter week, in protest at the training and arming of Indonesian troops by the Australian military.

A Josephite nun, Sr. Kay McFadden, was placed on a three-year good behaviour bond.

The excessive sentences followed a hearing of "trespass" charges in the Magistrates Court. The three had used a defence under the Criminal Code, arguing that a threat existed to the lives of Timorese people, thereby justifying their trespass.

Magistrate Webster cited Dowling and O'Reilly's extensive "criminal history" from the 1970s and 1980s as a basis for his sentencing.

O'Reilly told the magistrate that their previous convictions were "histories of heroic citizenship" under a government and police force that the Fitzgerald Inquiry had exposed as intrinsically corrupt and undemocratic. He said the police should be embarrassed to put forward these convictions from the Bjelke-Petersen-Lewis era.

Dowling and O'Reilly were immediately taken into custody, but were released the following day on Supreme Court bail, pending appeal.

NT STUDENT UNION 'ADOPTS' EAST TIMOR PRISONERS

By Bernie Brian, *Green Left* #189, May 31, 1995

DARWIN - The student union at the Northern Territory University has adopted two students of the University of East Timor (UET) as associate members. José Antonio Belo is a 23-year-old English student from Kelikai Bacau and José Gonco Pinto is a 22-year-old student from Dili.

These students were leaders of a peaceful demonstration held outside the UET on January 9 to remind delegates to the UN-sponsored talks between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal that the East Timorese themselves must have say in their future.

The demonstration was brutally attacked by the Indonesian security forces. A student from NTU, Tony Jefferies, was an eyewitness and believes that many of the 16 students arrested on the day were beaten and later tortured by Indonesian authorities. José Belo has since been jailed for 17 months.

The proposal to adopt these students as associate members came from the Resistance Club and the Student Supporters of East Timor. Belo and Pinto were singled out for support because the NTU and the UET

have recently signed a Memorandum of Cooperation which aims to facilitate greater understanding between the two bodies.

The university administration tried to persuade the student union not to adopt this proposal because it would threaten similar agreements with other universities in the region - especially in Indonesia.

However, East Timor community leader José Gusmão has questioned the worth of such cooperation in the light of attempts by university authorities in Dili to replace East Timorese teaching staff with Javanese.

Sally Mitchell from Resistance told Green Left that she would like to see other universities adopt East Timorese students. "It's a very simple proposal but may mean the difference between life and death for our fellow students in Suharto's jails."

MELBOURNE DEMO FOR EVANS AND INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR

Report from East Timor Centre for Human Rights Information Education and Training (ETCHRIET), June 3, 1995

On Friday 2 June about 150 members of the Australia-East Timor Association and Melbourne's East Timorese community protested at a book launch attended by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and the Indonesian ambassador, Sabam Siagian. The book, entitled 'Living with Dragons' was edited by Greg Sheridan, the Foreign Editor of The Australian newspaper. Sheridan is a notorious supporter of the Australian government's policies on East Timor and Indonesia. The book comments favourably on the government's handling of the question of human rights in East Timor. The guests could clearly hear the protestors chanting "Free East Timor" as Evans made his speech. The ambassador and the Foreign Minister were forced to slink in and out via the rear entrance to the building.

EAST TIMOR, ASIA-PACIFIC RALLY TO OPEN RESISTANCE CONFERENCE

Green Left, June 15

"It's looking good," Natasha Simons, resistance national coordinator told Green Left Weekly commenting on the 24th Resistance conference being held July 7-10. "We are expecting a very enthusiastic crowd, with big delegations from around the country. And things will start with a big event, the indoor rally at the YWCA auditorium with the theme "Free East Timor - Freedom in the Asia Pacific." The rally, will support the international campaign for independence

in East Timor, an end to military ties with Indonesia and for an independent and nuclear free Pacific. Speakers will come from around the region, including East Timor, Indonesia, the Philippines and Australia.

The Australian government has imprisoned 18 East Timorese who recently arrived in Darwin by boat fleeing oppression in their homeland. Another 700 East Timorese, many survivors of the November 1991 Dili massacre, have recently arrived in Australia seeking permanent residence. One of these survivors, Nunu Santos, an activist in the underground OJETIL organisation, will be a key speaker at the conference. He brings the rarely heard story of how the East Timorese youth during the 1980s and 1990s were awakened into political action.

The meeting will be the first time an East Timorese and an Indonesian activist - both from the same generation - will speak on the same platform in Melbourne. Shanti is a leading member of the East Timorese solidarity group, called SPRIM. "The youth in Indonesia, in particular, must defend the right of the East Timorese people to a referendum which will genuinely allow them to determine their future," Shanti told Green Left Weekly.

"Evans and Keating has betrayed both the East Timorese and the Indonesian peoples," according to Jo Brown, a member of the Resistance national council based in Melbourne. "That's why it is so important meeting to have representatives of the two struggles speaking together. That's why we must unite, in Australia and through the Asia Pacific region."

One person who has played an important role in bringing progressive forces in the region together is Renato Constantino Jr. or "RC" as he is known in the Philippines. He convened the first ever Asia Pacific wide conference in support of East Timor in June last year. He and the other convenors risked imprisonment to fight off attempts by the Filipino government to ban the conference. Under popular pressure the Philippines government backed down. The conference was a great success putting East Timor permanently on the Philippines political agenda. RC will be representing the Philippines point of view on East Timor and the wider issues of freedom in the Asia and Pacific. Michael Garay, a leader of the progressive KAMALAYAN student movement will also be present and will be speaking later in the conference on the youth movement in his country.

As part of the attempt to suppress the Manila conference, the Philippines government issued deportation orders against a number of the international delegates. Amongst the ten who were summonsed to the immigration court was Max Lane, a

writer for Green Left Weekly. Following in the spirit of the conference organisers, he and the nine others also defied the orders, refusing to acknowledge the summons and challenged the government to come to the conference venue at the University of the Philippines to detain them. Again the Filipino regime backed down.

"We need the biggest possible movement in Australia to fight the money grubbing foreign policy of Evans and Keating," Lane told Green Left Weekly. "Profits and dollars is what motivates them., not freedom and independence of the peoples of our region. That has to be the slogan we raise now in Australia: a foreign policy for people not for profits. East Timor has been sold out, Bougainville, Cambodia, the people of Indonesia and the list goes on."

Lane sees the Keating-Evans response to the nuclear tests in the same light. "The only reason the right wing Chirac government can explode bombs in the Pacific is because they have refused to give independence to their colonies in the region. Where has Evans and Keating stood on this issue over the last ten years. Quietly in the shadows, that's where, frightened of losing trade with France. Now they expect their prancing to be taken seriously. What a joke. What we have to discuss now, and we can make a good start on July 7 is how to build the strongest movement for change here in Australia and now, starting with the alliance between Australia, Indonesia, East Timor and the Philippines, an expanding movement across the region."

The Free East Timor, Freedom in the Asia Pacific public meeting/rally will take place at 7.00pm, Friday July 7, YWCA, Elizabeth St., Melbourne. The remaining sessions (July 8-10) of the Resistance conference will be held at the Resistance Conference Auditorium, Resistance Centre, 14 Anthony Street, Melbourne. Telephone contact: 03-3291277.

NEW INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR TO OZ - EVANS STATEMENTS

Translated from the Portuguese

Canberra, June 26 (LUSA) - The Oz Minister of Foreign Affairs said today that his government could not reject the new Indonesian ambassador, a general who some time ago considered that the actions by the military at the Santa Cruz massacre had been absolutely correct.

However, Gareth Evans admitted that Australia had been put in a difficult position with the nomination of general Herman Mantiri to replace the former Indonesian ambassador, journalist Sabam Siagam.

A country has the right to refuse the nomination of an ambassador, however this is rarely done, unless the nominee is considered either personally or professionally unqualified.

"The declarations of General Mantiri [about Timor] were extremely unfortunate and this is the least that one can say in diplomacy," said Evans. *[not exact quotes; translated from the Portuguese translation.]*

"This obviously puts us in a difficult position, but there is no reason to think that his words, however unacceptable, represent a more substantial position that he might have adopted, let alone acted upon."

"In any case, the [Australian] government considered there is no other position for it to take, even though it worries us that someone could have said such a thing," Evans added.

Evans said that the reasons for acceptance of Mantiri are that he did not personally participate in the massacre, he had the required qualifications for the position, and he had been personally chosen by President Suharto.

"If the nomination had been refused, that would carry serious implications for our bilateral relations," said Evans.

EVENTS IN AOTEAROA

MCKINNON TO LOOK INTO ACTION ON INDONESIA

The Dominion (Wellington, New Zealand), 14 May 1995. by Simon Birbeck. abridged

New Zealand human rights groups were given assurance by Deputy Prime Minister Don McKinnon that he will look into the problem of Indonesia's inaction on paying damages to New Zealander Helen Todd whose son died in the 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor.

A US court ordered former Indonesian general Sintong Panjaitan to pay US\$14 million last year, but he dismissed it as a joke.

Representatives of the Auckland Civil Liberties Council, the East Timorese Independence Group and Lawyers Against Torture and Oppression Anywhere were also told that Mr. McKinnon would meet Timorese foreign minister in exile José Ramos Horta, who is due to visit New Zealand at the end of this year. An invitation to have a meeting with Mr. Horta when he last visited New Zealand in 1985 was turned down by the Labour government.

Group spokesman Barry Wilson said despite the fact that public opinion opposes the governments position that East Timor's integration with Indonesia was "irreversible," military exercises with Indonesia continue. "I can't understand why a government that has had as its election stance 'law and order and the decent society' won't take a stronger stand against an illegal occupation."

ETIC SUPPORTS EFFORT TO COLLECT TODD AWARD

Push for an Indonesian massacre admission

The New Zealand Herald May 24, 1995, abridged

Auckland's East Timor Independence Committee says Government should insist that Indonesia respond to the \$21.5 million [US\$14 million] damages awarded by a Boston court to the mother of Dili massacre victim Kamal Bamadhaj. She intends to share the damages with other victims.

.....

ETIC (Auckland, New Zealand) Press Release 22 May 1995

The East Timor Independence Committee is pleased that the New Zealand Government is going to ask some questions about the Indonesian response to the award of damages to the mother of massacre victim, Kamal Bamadhaj in Boston Court last

year. However, the New Zealand Government should insist that Indonesia face up to its crime and ensure that General Panjaitan pays up.

"I'm glad Mr. McKinnon [NZ Minister for Foreign Affairs] is responding to one of the undertakings made when a multi-organisation delegation visited him ten days ago. But I hope that the questioning is a little more assertive than the news reports suggest," said Maire Leadbeater, speaking for the East Timor Independence Committee. "It isn't just a matter of asking the Indonesians what they are up to - it should be a matter of insisting that they face the music. General Panjaitan, who was in command of the army at the time of the massacre, has never had to face any censure - he went off to business school in Boston in the wake of the massacre and was recently hosted in Australia on a military liaison tour."

"The Boston Court examined the facts impartially and awarded Kamal's mother, Helen Todd the full amount of damages claimed - NZ\$21.5 million. Panjaitan has a debt of blood on his head - at least 241 people were killed on 12 December, 1991 and Helen Todd has vowed to ensure that the damages will be shared with other victims."

"The situation for the East Timorese people is as dire as ever: the most recent confirmation of the ongoing human rights abuses comes from an Australian male nurse, Simon de Faux, who last week told the Australian media of caring for patients who had been raped and tortured by electric currents and water immersion. There is a desperate need for ongoing United Nations human rights monitoring."

For further information: Maire Leadbeater, +64 9 379-4420 or 376-0955 or 828-5109.

EVENTS IN ASIA

INDONESIA-MALAYSIA AIRCRAFT SWAP

Jane's Defence Weekly 4 March 1995,

Indonesia has agreed to exchange with Malaysia six CN-235 transport aircraft for 1500 Pronton cars plus 20 light training aircraft. The deal is worth 260 ringgit (\$ 102 million). The CN-235s will replace Malaysia's fleet of De Havilland Caribous."

The CN-235 is developed by IPTN from Indonesia and CASA from Spain and can transport 50 troops. The plane is exported to several countries in Southeast Asia

EAST TIMOR RAISED AT DINNER IN BEIJING

Diario de Noticias, 12 April 1995. By J. Frago Mendez. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Beijing - The President of the Republic, Mario Soares, was appeared satisfied as he left the meeting with his Chinese counterpart, Jiang Zemin, commenting that it had gone "very well, very satisfactorily." ...
Timor: Zemin's Interest

On the question of East Timor, something appears to have changed. The issue was raised, by Jiang Zemin himself, at the dinner held in the Portuguese President's honour. Soares explained Portugal's position in detail, and referred to the important role which China could play to help resolve the problem. The interest expressed by Zemin contrasts with Peking's official position, which considers the case of Timor a matter between Portugal and Indonesia, which is being mediated by the UN. Even last year, when Cavaco Silva was here on an official visit, Chinese officials always sheltered behind this position. Macao and the negotiations could well have had something to do with the apparently greater interest taken in the Timorese case.

EVENTS IN AFRICA

CHANGING TIMES - MAPUTO'S RENEWED INTEREST IN EAST TIMOR

Publico, 13 March 1995. By José Pinto de Sé. Translated from Portuguese

Maputo - For the first time in two months of new government, Mozambique's Council of Ministers has discussed the question of East Timor, and asked Ambassador Goncalves Sengo not only to prepare a report on the subject, but also to establish "closer and more regular contact with Timorese parties."

The GSPTL (Solidarity with the People of East Timor), which has just released a statement condemning "the Mozambique Government's increasing complicity with Indonesia," expressed its surprise and welcomed the news. GSPTL Co-ordinator Carlos Vilares said that it was still too early to reach conclusions and that the reasons underlying the Maputo Government's shift in attitude were still unclear.

Maputo's sudden interest in East Timor comes after two years of increasingly closer ties with Jakarta. Vilares hopes that it heralds a desire to return to the times of "active solidarity" with Timor or, at least, to "honest pragmatism."

During the time of Samora Machel, Mozambique firmly supported the Timorese resistance - albeit personified by Fretilin - and always refused to establish diplomatic relations with Indonesia. In 1976, Joaquim Chissano, the then Foreign Minister, signed the agreement establishing diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Mozambique gave asylum and support to a group of Timorese activists led by Fretilin's foreign relations secretary, Mari Alkatiri.

Timor slips into the background

But "active solidarity" with the Timorese did not outlive Samora Machel for long. From the beginning the Joaquim Chissano's government was in favour of reconciling its support for the Timorese cause with a pragmatic relationship with Indonesia. As time went by, Timor gradually slipped into the background while the Indonesians came closer to the fore.

In August 1991, Maputo established diplomatic relations with Jakarta, without any reference to reservations about Timor. The resistance was never officially informed of this move, and neither was it ever publicly announced. The news was reported in Mozambique by the BBC, and only later, after

being pressured by journalists, did the Government give any explanation. In March the following year, Mozambique backed Suharto's bid for Chairmanship of the Non-Aligned.

Although Mozambique's diplomacy condemned the imprisonment of Xanana Gusmão, it quickly interpreted the guerrilla leader's capture as heralding the death of the resistance movement in Timor. The Foreign Minister at that time (now Prime Minister) Pascoal Mocumbi, even proposed, during a meeting of Frelimo's central committee, that support for the Timorese should be terminated. The majority of members voted against the proposal, Chissano abstained, and Mocumbi's proposal was dropped.

5 January 1993 was the last occasion on which President Chissano publicly stated support for the Timorese resistance. On 20 May the following year, the Government failed to send a representative to Frelim's 20th anniversary celebrations in Maputo.

Two months later, the Indonesian Ambassador to Harare was instated in Maputo, and Frelim representatives only learned about the appointment from TV news. Finally, days before taking over as Prime Minister, Pascoal Mocumbi instructed that the names of Timorese be removed from the list of guests invited to the official ceremonies.

With the new Government in session, the situation seemed bound to worsen with Mocumbi's nomination as Prime Minister. His substitute in the Foreign Office, Leonardo Simao, has still not replied to the request for an audience made by Frelim representatives straight after his appointment. According to the GSPTL, Chissano and Mocumbi have plans for official visits to Indonesia this year, while Indonesia has been given permission to refurbish the provincial hospital in Inhambane and to open a branch of an important bank in Maputo.

Political observers have, therefore, been taken by surprise by the sudden signs of renewed interest in the Timorese question. Many of them attribute the changes to attempts to imitate US policy.

Meanwhile, there are signs that public opinion, and particularly Catholic sectors, still openly support the Timorese cause. Recently, Mnsgr. Alexandre dos Santos, Cardinal of Maputo, met Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili, in Manila, where they talked about self-determination for East Timor.

MANDELA'S STRANGE LINKS TO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSER

Mail and Guardian, Johannesburg, South Africa, 26 May - 1 June 1995. By Stefaans Brummer.

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela this week revealed the ANC had received large donations from Indonesia, the South-East Asia island state internationally condemned for its brutal occupation of East Timor and a menu of repressive measures including extrajudicial execution, detention without trial and torture.

Mandela, who has been criticised for two ANC visits to Indonesia in 1991 and last year, publicly let the cat out of the bag when he received the credentials of Indonesia's new ambassador to South Africa, Rachadi Iskandar, in Cape Town on Tuesday. Mandela praised Indonesia's President Suharto for "generous financial assistance" to his party.

Neither the size nor the timing of that assistance is known. Mandela's representative, Parks Mankahlana, said it was "an ANC matter and has nothing to do with the Office of the President" and that "nothing will be served" by publication of the figures.

ANC head office was unable to provide figures at the time of going to press.

Mandela's statement came less than a week after a question to Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo about the matter went unanswered during the Foreign Affairs parliamentary budget debate.

National Party MP Joy Chait said during the debate she was "deeply worried" by South Africa's relationship with Indonesia, charging it had "the most appalling human rights record in the world."

Chait asked Nzo "whether it is true that the Indonesian government has given vast amounts of money either to the ANC or for foreign aid to this country, as well as whether there are arms trade links between our country and (Indonesian capital) Jakarta." Nzo did not respond.

It may well be asked whether the Indonesian regime's courting of the ANC is not an attempt to cultivate South Africa as a strong ally in the Non-Aligned Movement of states. Indonesia, indeed, played a prominent pro-sanctions role in the movement during the international isolation of apartheid South Africa, and may want to bank on that to chip away at its own pariah status.

But Mankahlana and ANC figures this week insisted there was "nothing mercenary" about the ANC accepting donations from Indonesia or for South Africa to maintain a relationship.

Raymond Suttner, ANC MP and leader of the National Assembly portfolio commit-

tee on foreign affairs, said: "It appears the president did raise his concerns (about human rights abuses) with President Suharto during his last visit. My concern is that this may not have been adequately communicated to the public."

Suttner said the "delicate diplomacy" of raising a sensitive issue effectively may have required that it not be raised publicly, and argued that "a person with the stature of President Mandela" could possibly achieve more by engagement than by disengagement.

Mankahlana said: "The President prefers to have good relations with all countries. A typical situation is Nigeria. Complex as it is, he prefers quiet diplomacy if he is to have any influence. It is nothing unusual."

The Mail & Guardian revealed earlier this month that Mandela had interceded with Suharto in 1993 after Dr. Allan Boesak's controversial Foundation for Peace and Justice, other non-government organisations and their London partners had lost millions of rands in a collapsed \$40-million loan agreement with an Indonesian company.

The NGOs and the London company lost the money in expenses and "tax" advances to the Indonesian company, which turned out not to have the resources to honour an agreement to make the loan for two real estate developments in South Africa.

The South Africans blamed Indonesian bank Putera Sukapura - closely connected to Suharto - for giving false credit guarantees.

After initial reluctance, Mandela agreed to ask Suharto to hear Boesak in the matter. A meeting resulted later that year, but to date the money has not been recouped.

Three decades of brutality

PRESIDENT SUHARTO came to power in 1965 in a military coup. Amnesty International said in a recent report that "hundreds of thousands of civilians (were) killed by, or with the acquiescence of, military forces in the immediate aftermath of the 1965 coup."

Suharto is most widely condemned for his brutal invasion of East Timor - one of 13 000 islands of Indonesia - in 1976, the year after the tiny nation gained independence from Portugal. Indonesia still refuses to relinquish the conquest and roughly 300 000 people, a third of the East Timor population, are alleged to have been killed by Suharto's security forces.

Amnesty says in its report that "the identity and fate of many thousands of people extrajudicially executed or 'disappeared' by Indonesian forces over the past three decades in both East Timor and Indonesia remain a mystery"; that detention without charge continues; and that "the problem of torture remains."

EDITORIAL: GOING CHEAP: A FOREIGN POLICY

Last week, the Taiwanese ambassador to Pretoria was the only representative of the non-corporate world in a Mail & Guardian picture of the exclusive club of donors of R750 000 to President Nelson Mandela's Children's Fund.

It is not unreasonable to assume that the ambassador's generosity has something to do with the fact that his government is making a concerted bid, in capitals all over the world, to exert influence over anyone thinking of favouring Beijing, Taiwan's rival for Chinese power.

His presence in the picture was a dramatic symbol of the ability of foreign governments to buy influence in Pretoria.

The other clear example of this is Indonesia (see report).

The international campaign against the human rights abuses of President Suharto is the anti-apartheid campaign of the 1990s. It has galvanised human rights organisations around the world.

Why then did Mandela this week recognise and praise the representative of this abhorrent government? Because of its financial generosity. Not, one must add, to South Africa, but to the African National Congress.

One might ask why there is any reason to get excited about opportunism in international relations. That's the name of the game, after all.

South Africa is squandering the position of moral leadership and international influence it gained from the relatively peaceful negotiated transition to majority rule.

That achievement, under Mandela's leadership, put South Africa in an extraordinary position to exert moral authority internationally. The president is the one world statesman with the capacity to make a major input into peace processes in the Middle East, Cuba, Angola and elsewhere.

Wisely, he has chosen to limit his international role - - and South African foreign policy has been dictated by a desire to avoid premature embroilment in these conflicts. But no coherent policy has replaced this - except for the kind of opportunism represented by our bankrupt attitudes to such governments as those in power in Indonesia, Nigeria, Kenya and Libya.

If, for example, Mandela has the capacity to make a major impact on the situation in Nigeria by speaking out against the abuses of its military government, is he right to limit himself to a few tepid remarks, avoiding the subject as much as possible?

Is Mandela not doing what he and the ANC condemned much of the West for doing during decades of apartheid?

We have no coherent foreign policy; we have no firm attitude to human rights abuses in other countries; instead we have an ad hoc series of responses to world events based on Mandela's prestige, his reluctance to become too involved in international affairs, and his party's need for cash.

SOUTH AFRICA - EAST TIMOR SOLIDARITY GROUP

From East Timor Alliance South Africa (ETASA), 23 June 1995

Dear Friends

I am writing on behalf of the East Timor Alliance South Africa which is due to be launched in South Africa in the near future. ETASA will be established in order to develop and promote activities in support of East Timor here in South Africa.

We will soon be developing a programme of action for the year however at this stage it can be said that an important aspect of our work will be the provision of accurate and analytical information on East Timor so as to be able to lobby our government and individual Provincial and National Members of Parliament to take a more enlightened approach in its relationship with Indonesia.

We see 1995 as presenting important challenges for us:

1. Facilitating and encouraging links between East Timor and South Africa.
2. Developing a resource package and newsletter on East Timor for use by educational institutions, the press and our members etc.
3. Encouraging multi-sector and People-to-People links.
4. Mobilising and broadening a consensus against the continued occupation of East Timor by Indonesia.
5. Developing ties with other solidarity groups, internationally.

As such we would like to make contact with and establish an exchange relationship with other East Timor Associations and Coalitions/Networks and individuals internationally.

This relationship from our point of view would:

1. help us receive and publicise up-to-date information on what is happening in East Timor;
2. help us receive and publicise up-to-date information on what is happening in East Timor;
3. become part of the family of groups in solidarity with East Timor;
4. publicise in South Africa the work of other groups in solidarity with East Timor;

5. participate in international events around the issue;
6. publicise internationally the work of ETASA in solidarity with East Timor.

We are therefore interested in receiving newsletters and notices of events as well as in-depth analytical information on East Timor, or at least important sources of information (for example, journals, electronic/computer bulletin boards etc.) from Organisations and individuals either via "snail-mail" or e-mail. One immediate need is for an example of a "East Timor Information Pack" that we can use to develop a package for the South African audience.

We are also very keen to learn of events being planned internationally.

Please let me know if this possible as well as the cost (if any) of these requests. We are also keen to establish and to examine other networking possibilities.

We at ETASA look forward to hearing from you.

Our Address is:

East Timor Alliance South Africa
(ETASA)
c/o Centre for South-South Relations
2nd Floor Melofin Centre
Old Klipfontein Road
Athlone, Cape Town, South Africa 7965
Telephone: (21) 6968347/50, Fax: (21) 6968349
e-mail: CSSR@WN.APC.ORG
Your Sincerely
Noel Stott

EVENTS IN BRITAIN

TIMORESE STUDENT HONoured

From TAPOL, March 29

We have just learned that Fernando de Araujo, former secretary of Renetil, currently serving a nine-year prison sentence for his role in organising the November 19, 1991, demonstration in Jakarta has been unanimously elected as Honorary Vice-Chairman of the National Union of Students in Britain, as a result of a campaign by TAPOL, the British Coalition for East Timor, the Campaign Against Arms Trade and activists within the NUS itself.

Domingos Sarmento, who led the occupation of the US Embassy last November, was attending the NUS conference to speak on behalf of Fernando and to raise student awareness of East Timor.

DIRECT ACTION TO STOP HAWK FIGHTER AIRCRAFT LEAVING FOR INDONESIA

From Stop the Hawks campaign, March 21

On SATURDAY 8th APRIL there will be a planning/training day in Manchester (UK) for [local] people who wish to take direct action to help the people of East Timor.

It is hoped that people will form affinity groups and plan actions to coincide with BAe's AGM on 4th May.

BACKGROUND: British Aerospace (BAe) signed a deal with Indonesia in June 1993 for the supply of 24 Hawk aircraft. These planes will start leaving Britain towards the end of 1995.

Indonesia illegally invaded East Timor in 1975. Since then a third of the original population (i.e. 200,000 people) have died as a direct result of the invasion and continued occupation by the Indonesian military. Hawk aircraft (from previous deals with BAe) have been seen on bombing raids in East Timor. It is widely believed that planes from this latest deal will also be used to attack civilians in East Timor.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: Ring Stop the Hawk Deal on (UK) 0161 834 0295 / (UK) 01457 871 609; Email banem@essex.ac.uk

NB: There will be similar events occurring in the South (of Britain). Contact CAAT on caat@gn.apc.org or ring 0171 281 0297 for more details.

ACTION TO SUPPORT CHRIS COLE

From Stop the Hawk Deal, April 6

On FRIDAY 7th APRIL, peace campaigner Chris Cole will be appearing in front of the High Court accused of breaking an injunction brought by BAe to stop Chris (i) trespassing on BAe property and (ii) encouraging others to do likewise.

Chris has been campaigning against BAe's trade in weapons for many years. More recently, he has been working against the sale of Hawk fighter aircraft to Indonesia. In 1993, Chris did a "Swords into Ploughshares" action by disarming nose cones of Hawk fighter aircraft. He was also one of the "Warton Four" who entered BAe's Warton (nr Preston, UK) factory in Feb. 1994.

Since the injunction was granted last year, Chris has not given up the fight to save East Timorese lives. He has continued going on demonstrations and writing articles about both the situation in East Timor and how BAe are involved in the genocide occurring there.

ON FRIDAY, PEOPLE ARE ASKED TO SEND MESSAGES TO BRITISH AEROSPACE TO LET THEM KNOW THAT THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO JAIL ONE RESISTOR BUT THEY WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO JAIL THE RESISTANCE.

Below is a *sample* letter you can modify and send. (Please try to vary your letter as much as possible so that it carries much more weight.)

The (UK) fax numbers for British Aerospace are:

HQ: 01252 383 000

Mr. Bauman (BAe Chair): 01252 385 232

BAe Warton (where Hawks assembled): 01772 634 724

Mr. J. Scutt (Head of Hawk Development at Warton): 01772 854 449.

FOR MORE INFORMATION contact

Stop the Hawk Deal 0161 834 0295

Chris' support/Stephen 01865 793820

Michael Bane 01457 871 609/ email: banem@essex.ac.uk

SAMPLE LETTER **please modify**

Today, British Aerospace (BAe) are attempting to gag peace campaigner Chris Cole. BAe might well succeed in their aim of getting Chris behind bars.

The peace movement is much more than just one person. Specifically, the number of people prepared to take action against British Aerospace is mounting. These people are answering the call of the East Timorese people for all people of Britain to help however they can.

Two hundred thousand East Timorese have died as a direct result of the illegal and ongoing brutal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia. Many of these people have died as a result of BAe Hawks being used in East Timor.

British Aerospace might succeed in getting Chris sent to prison. But while BAe continues to supply weapons to Indonesia for use in East Timor, Chris and many, many others will NOT be gagged and will continue to take steps to prevent BAe's continuing involvement in the genocide of the East Timorese.

"To resist is to win"

Report Friday 7th April

Chris Cole was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment for breaking his injunction not to trespass, or to incite others to trespass, on BAe property.

Michael Bane

PLOUGHSHARES ACTIVIST SENTENCED TO SIX MONTHS

Peace News, April 1995

On 7 April, British ploughshares activist Chris Cole was declared guilty of contempt of court and sentenced to six months imprisonment, after breaking an injunction banning him from protesting against British Aerospace (BAe) arms sales to Indonesia.

BAe's barrister cited three breaches of the injunction: two cases of trespass on BAe property, and the writing of a "Call to Action" for the Stevenage trespass, and – somewhat confusingly – went on to say that "Mr. Cole seeks imprisonment as a means of furthering the aims of his cause. And he must be stopped."

Chris happily admitted his actions, quoting Bonhoeffer's statement that the task of Christians is "not only to bind up the victims beneath the wheel, but also to put a spoke in that wheel." Chris went on to say: "I honestly cannot see how I can put a spoke in the wheel that is BAe ... by staying outside their fence." The judge said he accepted Chris's sincerity, but found him guilty of contempt.

In 1993 BAe signed a deal to supply 24 Hawk fighter aircraft to Indonesia. Hawks have recently been used for bombing raids as part of Indonesia's genocidal occupation of East Timor. The Stop the Hawks/No Arms to Indonesia campaign is organising a protest outside the BAe AGM in London on 4 May and a national day of action on 10 June.

Ploughshares Support Network, Box X, 111 Magdalen Rd, Oxford OX4 (tel +44 1865 793 820)

Stop the Hawks, c/o 88 Islington High Street, London N1 8EG (tel +44 171 561 1236)

Messages of support to: Chris Cole
PB0538, HMP Pentonville, Caledonian Road, London N7 8TT

UK PACIFIST JAILED FOR ANNOYING BRITISH AEROSPACE

[Peace Media Service, May 1] Chris Cole, whose protest against military projects at British Aerospace resulted in a court order banning him from BAe property, was sentenced by the High Court April 7 to six months in prison for breaking the injunction. Roger Morbey of the Fellowship of Reconciliation staff in London reports:

We met Chris outside the court before the trial was due to start. Chris admitted to feeling nervous and we prayed together. Banners were unfurled and leaflets distributed. It was a beautiful morning.

The hearing started an hour later than expected. Supporters overflowed into the press boxes. First the legal counsel for BAe went through the charges. In January 1993 Chris had entered a BAe base in Stevenage and hammered on the nose cone of a fighter aircraft. He was found guilty and spent several months in prison. BAe had then obtained an injunction to keep him off their bases. On three separate occasions Chris then entered BAe property; not to cause damage but to draw attention to the work of BAe.

Chris did not deny the charges nor that he had written an article calling on people to join him. He quoted Bonhoeffer's statement that the task of Christians is "not only to bind up the victims beneath the wheel, but also to put a spoke in that wheel."

Chris added, "I honestly cannot see how I can put a spoke in the wheel that is BAe ... by staying outside their fence." BAe staff bore witness to the fact that he was completely nonviolent and non-threatening, not causing any damage in these three cases. The judge, while noting Chris' sincerity, sentenced him to six months.

In 1993 British Aerospace signed a deal to supply 24 Hawk fighter aircraft to Indonesia. Hawks have recently been used for bombing raids as part of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

[Fellowship of Reconciliation, 40-46 Harleyford Road, Vauxhall, London SE11 5AY, England; +44-171: 582-9054; fax 582.9180; Chris Cole, PB 0538, Pentonville Prison, Caledonian Road, London N7 8TT, England]

PROTESTS AT BRITISH AEROSPACE AGM PRESS REPORTS

The Times (London), May 5. By Oliver August

A brawl involving dozens of shareholders and security guards broke out at the British Aerospace annual general meeting yesterday.

Glen Rangwala asked Bob Bauman, the chairman, to remove a man who had repeatedly made racially offensive remarks. After Mr. Rangwala had complained a second time the chairman told security guards to "get him out."

Five security guards then seized Mr. Rangwala who resisted them. Other shareholders came to their aid and the scrum collapsed among the rows of seats.

To restore peace [sic!], a further dozen security guards entered the hall. At the sight of this, shareholders sympathising with Mr. Rangwala stormed to the front and became involved in a mass brawl lasting several minutes.

Mr. Rangwala was removed, along with another shareholder, and security guards shielded directors from shareholders for the rest of the meeting.

Shareholders and board members had been confronted by several hundred demonstrators from the Campaign Against Arms Trade when they entered the meeting's venue, the Marriott Hotel in central London.

Demonstrators lay in front of the entrance and covered themselves in red paint, looking like blood. Stereo systems were playing the sounds of attack aircraft. One group of demonstrators had gained access to the roof of the building and unfurled a banner.

When the AGM started, proceedings were held up for over an hour by angry shareholders. They demanded an end to the sale of aircraft to Indonesia, which, they alleged, are being used to commit human rights violations.

A majority of shareholders, however, did not agree. Frank Atkins said, "If someone wants to put down an insurrection in their country, they are entitled to do so. It's good business to us."

Dick Evans, chief executive, said the company had record order books and had won new customers in spite of the end of the Cold War.

Asked about the incident the company said it was satisfied with the way the meeting was conducted.

The Guardian, London, May 5. By Simon Beavis, Industrial Editor. slightly abridged

Three demonstrators were forcibly ejected from the British Aerospace annual general meeting as directors struggled to conduct the meeting amid a barrage of angry protests about arms sales to Indonesia and Saudi Arabia.

BAe chairman Bob Bauman spend nearly two hours trying to move the meeting to a vote on three resolutions.

But anti-arms trade protestors, who were also shareholders, fired question after question about the company's involvement in exports of military equipment to Indonesia and allegations concerning the supply of electric shock batons to Saudi Arabia.

About 80 demonstrators also protested outside the meeting of 600 shareholders, during which directors responded to countless appeals for the board to review its policy of exporting arms to Indonesia.

Scuffles broke out after security guards tried to remove a shareholder who had complained that another had made racist remarks.

Mr. Bauman advised the protester to move to another seat. When he refused he was manhandled out of the room in the Marriott Hotel in central London. As other protestors rushed forward two others were also removed.

Mr. Bauman had appealed to shareholders to vote on the resolutions and had promised a debate about arms sales and other issues later in the meeting. But shareholders repeatedly questioned him about the sale of Hawk jets to Indonesia and recent allegations in a Channel 4 Dispatches film about the sale of the batons to Saudi Arabia.

Prepared for the protests, which are becoming a feature of BAe AGMs, Mr. Bauman said the company was always guided by the Government in the export of military equipment and insisted the company had no evidence of the Hawks being used by the Indonesian military in East Timor.

To one shareholder, who attempted to present an "injunction" against the company for "aiding and abetting genocide in East Timor," Mr. Bauman said, "You might take that to the British Government. It might help them in their deliberations."

Directors said they had taken the report of attempts to supply electric shock batons from Royal Ordnance very seriously and the matter had been investigated by the chief executive, Dick Evans. He confirmed that the employees involved in the allegations had been disciplined, but refused to say what action had been taken.

John Weston, chairman of BAe's defence company, also fervently denied that the company manufactured anti-personnel mines.

One shareholder appealed for directors to instruct all shareholders to behave better at the next AGM. "I'm not saying there shouldn't have been protests but what's happened here is just bad manners," he said.

Other headlines, reported by TAPOL

[The extremely well-organised lobby of share-holders at the British Aerospace shareholders' meeting got several other banner headlines in the British press today. All items ran across two or three columns and all carried large-sized photographs of the demonstrators outside, including colour photos of a 'die-in' with 'blood'-stained shirts.]

The Daily Express had a big piece headlined: 'Anti-arms clashes break out at BAe.'

The Daily Telegraph had: 'Scuffles as BAe meeting falls victim to arms trade protest.'

The Financial Times had: 'BAe Board faces arms sales onslaught.'

This is probably the best-reported shareholders' meeting disrupted by protesters since this type of action first started in the UK some years ago.

MORE BLOOD FOR BAE

by Stephen Hancock, *Peace News*, May 24, 1995

On Thursday 4 May, more than 100 people gathered opposite London's Marriot Hotel as British Aerospace (BAe) shareholders entered for the company's annual general meeting. Banners and placards explained our opposition to BAe's Hawk aircraft deal with Indonesia, to BAe's weapons trading in general, and also proclaimed our solidarity with the people of East Timor.

At 2pm, 20 people dressed in white came round the corner of the hotel and symbolically died across its entrance, while others poured litres of fake blood over the scattered bodies. Three portable stereos blasted out the sound of Hawk warplanes. Police moved quickly, dragging people onto the pavement, and then hotel workers came out with a hosepipe to wash the blood away. The 20 activists remained immobile on the pavement for half an hour. Shareholders passed by bemused and shocked.

During the die-in, two harnessed activists appeared on top of the hotel and unfurled a huge banner reading "BAe Murder by Proxy." Dressed in working overalls the two activists had gained access to the roof saying they had come to repair the lightning conductor. Despite a dangerous attempt to cut the banner down, it – and its two overseers

– remained above the hotel entrance for two hours for all to see.

Concerned shareholders inside had a more frustrating time than those standing or lying outside. Questions from the floor – about the Hawk deal, about East Timor, about electro-shock batons and anti-personnel mines, and about ethics – were consistently dodged, although one of the board assured the gathered shareholders that BAe "deplored deaths around the world."

The arrival of someone dressed as General Augusto Pinochet caused a stir, as did someone serving an injunction on BAe on behalf of the people of East Timor. When one "dissenting" shareholder was racially abused by an "ordinary" shareholder, officials responded by asking the dissenter to move to another seat; he was then dragged out by three private security guards. Several others were dragged out while trying to lock themselves to the stage.

The day's protest and resistance finished with the departing dissident shareholders unfurling banners outside the hotel and leading a round of applause for the roof-top protesters. Police – briefed by the hotel and BAe not to cause a fuss – made no arrests during the day.

It was a lively, eventful, emotionally tiring day for all involved. Surprisingly, given that it was also local election day in England and Wales, the event received a great deal of national press coverage.

As shareholders side-stepped the bloodied bodies during the die-in, and police dragged them onto the pavement, I was reminded how in East Timor a simple protest like ours, with hand-painted banners and placards, could turn into the sort of carnage which here was merely being acted out. These messy scenes are precisely what lies beneath the glossy surface of companies like British Aerospace.

An alternative BAe company report, titled "Flying the Flag, Arming the World," is available from Stop the Hawk Deal, One World Centre, 6 Mount Street, Manchester M2 5NS

Stop the Hawks – No Arms for Indonesia, c/o 88 Islington High Street, London N1

Chris Cole, HMP Pentonville, Caledonian Road, London N1

DIE-IN LINKS LONDON WITH EAST TIMOR

Peace Media Service, June 1, 1995

More than 100 people gathered opposite London's Marriot Hotel May 4 as British Aerospace (BAe) shareholders arrived for the company's annual general meeting.

Banners and placards explained our opposition to BAe's Hawk aircraft deal with

Indonesia, to BAe's weapons trading in general, and proclaimed solidarity with the people of East Timor.

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Police moved quickly, dragging people onto the pavement, and then hotel workers came out with a hose to wash the red stains away. The 20 activists remained immobile on the pavement for half an hour.

During the die-in, two harnessed activists appeared on top of the hotel and unfurled a huge banner reading "BAe Murder by Proxy."

Dressed in working overalls the two activists had gained access to the roof saying they had come to repair the lightning conductor. The banner remained above the hotel entrance for two hours.

Concerned shareholders inside had a more frustrating time than those standing or lying outside. Questions from the floor about the Hawk deal, about East Timor, about electro-shock batons and anti-personnel mines, and about ethics were dodged by management, although one of the board declared that BAe "deplored deaths around the world."

The arrival of person dressed as General Augusto Pinochet caused a stir, as did someone serving an injunction on BAe on behalf of the people of East Timor.

When one "dissenting" shareholder was racially abused by an "ordinary" shareholder, officials responded by asking the dissenter to move to another seat; he was then dragged out by three private security guards. Several others were dragged out while trying to lock themselves to the stage.

Copies of an alternative BAe company report entitled "Flying the Flag, Arming the World" published by Stop the Hawk Deal [One World Center, 6 Mount Street, Manchester M2 5NS] was given to interested shareholders.

The day's protest and resistance finished with the departing dissident shareholders unfurling banners outside the hotel and leading a round of applause for the roof-top protesters.

Said one protester: "As shareholders side-stepped the bloodied bodies during the die-in, and police dragged them onto the pavement, I was reminded how in East Timor a simple protest like ours, with hand-painted banners and placards, could turn into the sort of carnage which here was merely being acted out. These messy scenes are precisely what lies beneath the glossy surface of companies like British Aerospace."

Report by Stephen Hancock for Peace News;
Stop the Hawks, c/o 88 Islington High
Street, London N1

PILGER SAYS AUSTRALIAN LEADERS APOLOGISTS FOR BIG POWERS

by Karen Noack, Australian Associated
Press [Abridged]

London, June 19 AAP – Australian political leaders were still apologists for greater powers and their response to French plans to resume nuclear testing in the Pacific simply highlighted just how frightened they were, journalist John Pilger said here to-night.

At the same time as Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and the South Pacific Forum delegation were taking their protest over the resumption of testing to the French Foreign Ministry in Paris, Pilger was attacking Senator Evans for everything from his support of fascist regimes in Asia to his pretensions of power.

Prime Minister Paul Keating, the Australian press and the academic elite also came in for a serve in the second biennial lecture of the British Australian Studies Association in London, in which Pilger claimed insecurity was still driving much of Australia's foreign policy.

"The Foreign Minister is an old fashioned apologist for great power and his fine description of Australia as a 'good citizen acting to help secure universal adherence to universal human rights' is hot air."

In the lecture on Australia in Asia: The Adventures of a Good Citizen, Pilger claimed Australia was anything but.

An obsession with growth economics and making money for corporations rather than the Australian people resulted in the government regarding nations of people just as GNP statistics.

"Thus the dictatorship in Jakarta is to be supported, while the East Timorese, who helped us in our darkest hour, are to be abandoned to their fate; and the French are to be appeased, while the protests of the ordinary people of Australia and the South Pacific are to be treated with contempt," Pilger said.

Pilger said Australia could prove its independence in its own part of the world "by siding with the basic human rights of the people of Asia," and not with the authoritarian regimes who abused those rights.

As for East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975, Pilger said Senator Evans had become the world's leading apologist for the Indonesian regime described by Amnesty International as "casual about mass murder."

Citing the Foreign Minister's review of the world's trouble spots in the book Cooperating for Peace, Pilger notes that Senator Evans never mentions the genocide in East Timor.

"In a book of such pretensions this is the moral equivalent of denying the Jewish holocaust," he said.

And Prime Minister Paul Keating's enthusiasm for the Jakarta regime, highlighted in a speech last year when he talked of a new partnership which would be a model of cooperation between developed and developing nations, was instead a "model for the suppression of historical truth in pursuit of the dollar, regardless of human cost."

Pilger said other governments were also guilty of complicity and silence when it came to Indonesia's history and record in East Timor.

"But only one government, that of Australia, has tied the credibility of virtually its entire foreign policy to this complicity and only one Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, has defended incessantly the fascists in Jakarta," Pilger said.

"And fascists they are by any understanding of that term."

The expatriate author and film maker does not know the Foreign Minister personally but said he did not have a high regard for the man he described as a "pretty run of the mill power politician."

EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

SPANISH LABELS ON INDONESIAN PINEAPPLE

*Diario de Noticias, 26 February 1995.
Translated from Portuguese*

Lisbon – The owner of a supermarket in Faro has refused to put tinned pineapple from Indonesia on the shelves in his store. The tins, which are labelled in Spanish, were bought directly from a Spanish company, Jesus Mejias Begines, in Seville.

According to the store owner Leonel Horta, the tins are part of an order of 1,000 tins of pineapple rings, each tin weighing 820 grammes. The label bears the name "Cielo Azul" in large lettering, but the small print, as well as giving the Spanish importer's name, states that the product's origin is Indonesia.

The Algarve businessman, who is sending the delivery back to Spain, only realised that the pineapple came from Indonesia when one of his regular customers pointed out the fact.

INDONESIAN COMPUTER COMPONENTS REJECTED BY PARLIAMENT

Diario de Noticias, 4 March 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Made in Indonesia? "No thanks" was the answer from MPs after Socialist José Magalhaes discovered that the computers supplied to the (Portuguese) Assembly of the Republic (AR) contained parts made in Indonesia.

The Chairman of the AR has already said that all the material should be returned, and he instructed the Assembly's Secretary General to produce a "detailed report" on the affair.

It was José Magalhaes who discovered the "made in Indonesia" label in the computer drives. He immediately asked the AR Chairman to investigate the extent to which Indonesian computer materials are used not only in Parliament itself but also in the services of the state.

"The use by the AR of materials produced in Indonesia is just not acceptable," stated Jaime Gama, who asked Barbosa de Melo to follow the matter through with the Parliamentary Administration Council so that the equipment is returned to the company that supplied them.

The PSD wants to see this "unpleasant matter" discussed at the next meeting of parliamentary leaders. In the view of Guilherme Silva, what was discovered was just "a hidden element" made in Indonesia.

The PCP (Portuguese Communist Party) asked the Assembly's Secretary General for the material to be collected in and for this "serious incident" to be put right.

Manuel Queiro (CDS/PP) asked for the drives to be replaced, and for "more care" to be taken in future. "We will not keep this material, and neither are we about to close our eyes to the matter," he said.

SUHARTO'S DAUGHTER PAYS FOR "LUSO- INDONESIA" EVENING

Publico, 10 March 1995. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Francisco Lopes da Cruz, the Indonesian Government's itinerant ambassador, has written to Fernando Nogueira congratulating him on his victory at the recent Social Democrat congress (at which Nogueira was voted in as Cavaco Silva's successor as PSD leader), and expressing the hope that Nogueira would eventually "become Portugal's Prime Minister." The letter, sent from Jakarta, also announced the start of Portuguese courses in the Indonesian

capital, which are to be celebrated by the holding of a "Luso-Indonesia evening," financed by the Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association, whose President is Tutut, the daughter of Head of State Suharto.

The celebrations to mark the inauguration of the courses, scheduled to begin in April (which just happens to be the month in which the UN sponsored inter-Timorese talks are to be held) are to include Portuguese fado singers. About 2,000 people, including Suharto himself (who will be represented by a member of his government) have been invited to the party, which is being organised by the Association.

The Timorese diplomat in Suharto's service also took the opportunity to assure Fernando Nogueira that "based on the Indonesian national principle of Unity in Diversity, Portuguese influence still stands in the place of honour in the Timorese soul."

Lopes da Cruz pointed out that he served in the Portuguese army, fought in Mozambique, and that even though he is in favour of East Timor being integrated in the Republic of Indonesia, the last red and green flag to have flown in East Timor is "religiously" kept in his home in Jakarta.

Suharto's ambassador went on to inform Fernando Nogueira that he watched the PSD's congress on RTP International, which he watches every day, and that he was pleased to hear the reference to Timor in the new PSD leader's speech. He said he also enjoyed listening to Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, whom he respects both for "his ideas and the work carried out by the PSD over the past few years."

THE MEMORY OF TIMOR

Publico, 13 March 1995. By Elisa Bacelar. Translated from Portuguese. Letter to the Editor

Still about Timor. We know so little, and the indignation we feel never leads us to study in any depth what has happened over the years in that territory. When Salazar sent troops to the colonies, Timor did not escape "occupation." We know nothing of what went on there. The Americans have made loads of TV series and daring films about the Vietnam war. Here, two or three about the colonial wars, and the rest is enveloped in silence. It seems as if it is a forbidden subject.

Thanks to the persistence of Dr. João Soares, a book was re-edited which, in spite of its age, is still surprisingly relevant. It is called "Funo, War in Timor," written by Carlos Cal Brandao. The author died a few years ago, and was a lawyer here in Oporto, and one of the courageous resisters during Salazar's dictatorship.

He was arrested and deported to Timor. During the Second World War, the atrocities committed by Japanese troops spread terror throughout the territory. The people fled, and attempted to reach Australia. It is easy to imagine the horrors experienced by the women with their children, the old and weak, and the young who wanted to fight and liberate the territory, as tried to make their escape through the forests, getting lost or dying on the way.

Carlos Cal Brandao organised a column that put a little order into their flight, and he fought side by side with the Timorese and some other Portuguese. On reaching Australia, it was incorporated into the Australian army, in which it fought until the end of the war. At that time, Manuel de Jesus Pires, a Portuguese Infantry Lieutenant living in Timor, who had fought in the 1914-18 and who had been in Flanders, was imprisoned by the Japanese, tortured and, eventually, barbarically murdered. Relatives of this man, at least a daughter, still live in Oporto. The silence that surrounds these men is very strange indeed.

Carlos Cal Brandao, with his bravery and his prestige, was a nuisance to the Lisbon Government, which took the unusual step of exiling him - to Portugal! Just as he was due to arrive in Oporto, he was forced to get off at Gaia station so that he would not reach the Sao Bento Station, where thousands of people awaited him. The courage, honesty and outspokenness of Carlos Cal Brandao made him an exemplary figure, who cannot and should not be forgotten.

What do the new generations know about the Portuguese of that time? It is all becoming faint in the memory of a people separated from the recent history of its own country, which is something to be deeply regretted.

INDONESIA ROCKS THE CRADLE

Portuguese children play with dolls made in Indonesia

Diario de Noticias, 16 March 1995. By Fernando Tenerife. Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon - In the Mothercare shop in the Cascais Shopping Centre, the countries of origin of the children's dummies, shoes and clothes which are on sale there are varied: China, Thailand, Korea, England, ... But products from Indonesia can also be found there - just as if nothing were wrong with that.

It is just as if there were no cut in trading relations with Suharto's country. Its effectiveness is almost nil. Even the children themselves must be surprised when they are

so blatantly offered such articles, after having heard so much about the trade boycott. And this is all apparently perfectly legal.

In the case of Mothercare, an international company, the products which supply their shops in Portugal are bought in the UK and then sent to Portugal. This perhaps somewhat camouflages the products' origins, but not sufficiently to escape a careful check. The origin is printed on the wrappers.

Sometimes, customers are curious and check the labels. When they realise, they simply refuse to buy the product, but they are nonetheless amazed by the Made in Indonesia label.

There was a serious controversy over the recent case of the computer drives bought for the Assembly of the Republic. But, apparently, that was just a drop in the ocean for the huge amount of Indonesian goods that are sold in Portugal.

As well as the toys sold in some of the shops at the Cascais Shopping Centre (and we were easily able to find them), we have been assured that children's clothes and shoes, made in Indonesia and duly identified as such, are commonly sold in Portugal. This situation does not seem to violate trade regulations.

Indifference

Toys-R-Us is another good example. Toys can be bought there which have been made in Indonesia, where labour is cheap and therefore attractive to large companies.

So what happened to the much talked about "trade relations cut." What effects has it had?

The lack of adequate regulations, or the impossibility to introduce legislation form the basis of the doorway through which anything can enter, even though the goods do not come directly from Indonesia, but via other European countries which trade freely with Jakarta.

That is the explanation given by businessman Manuel Fino. "I do not buy so much as a screw from the Indonesians, because I greatly admire the efforts being made by the Timorese to rid themselves of their Indonesian occupiers," he said. However, he admits that he cannot "stop other countries from freely trading with Indonesia," and he imports goods from those countries to supply his outlets. "The big problem is that there is no legislation here which prohibits such goods from entering Portugal," he adds. The French and the English could change the labels, but they do not. And we do not hide the origin of the products. In the EU, people and goods may circulate freely."

Consumers' refusal to buy Indonesian goods would seem to be the only way to prevent an avalanche of Made in Indonesia products. Perhaps that is not always easy.

Neither were the obstacles put in the way of our photographer inside the Shopping Centre easily overcome. He did not have "prior special permission" to take photographs. First the security guards demanded the film, and then threatened him with the police. Only after some discussion did they "allow" him, and his photos, to leave.

EAST TIMOR AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Speech delivered by the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Durão Barroso, to the 2nd Course on Indonesia and East Timor and the 6th Symposium on East Timor of Oporto University

Lisbon, 23rd March 1995, (an unofficial translation)

I was asked by Professor Barbedo de Magalhaes, Coordinator of the Course and Symposium, to talk about East Timor and the international community. Given the presence of so many foreign guests in this Symposium, I will use this opportunity to try and state Portugal's stand on the East Timor issue and its diplomatic implications. And I will try to do so as clearly as possible.

First, let me say that the East Timor issue is essentially an issue that concerns the whole international community. It is a problem put before the conscience of all peoples and governments that adhere to the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

East Timor is still a non self-governing territory. One of the few remaining territories in this situation, 40 years after the Bandung Conference, 35 years after the adoption of Resolutions 1514 and 1541 by the UN General Assembly and more than 20 years after Portugal, as administering power, initiated its decolonisation process.

The people of East Timor has been not only prevented from freely exercising the right to self-determination but also subject to a regime of violent oppression and brutal violation of the most elementary human rights, over the last 20 years of illegal occupation.

The disregard for the human rights of the Timorese is directly linked to the denial of their right to self-determination. If the human rights' situation in any sovereign country is a legitimate concern of the international community, all the more reason to pay a special attention to the situation of peoples in non self-governing territories who have not yet had the opportunity to

freely express themselves on their political status, such as the people of East Timor.

The continuing of the Indonesian military occupation of East Timor is intolerable. It represents a challenge to all the international community. It violates international law. It goes against international morality. It ignores the specific resolutions adopted by the relevant United Nations bodies. It disregards the whole set of deliberations adopted by the UN and their practical implications and it clearly questions the authority of the Security Council. In one word, it goes against and it defies international rule of law based on the principles and mechanisms enshrined in the UN Charter. Therefore, I insist, the East Timor issue is an issue between Indonesia and the international community. It is first and foremost a matter of international law.

The issue of East Timor also concerns another main player who has up to now been clearly set aside: the East Timorese people itself. The issue of East Timor has been on the international agenda and on the political agenda of Indonesia, Portugal and other countries thanks to the persistent struggle of the East Timorese people against the occupation forces. If the Timorese people had given up fighting, no one would be talking about East Timor today.

In addressing the issue of East Timor, and bearing in mind Article 73 of the UN Charter, we must not forget that the interests of the East Timorese must prevail over any others. Portugal as the administering power acts essentially as East Timor's "advocate" on the international scene to ensure the enforcement of the rule of law. We have no particular Portuguese interests to defend. Portugal is committed to uphold the rights of the East Timorese people, because we, as a nation, have a special responsibility vis-à-vis the East Timorese people.

Over the last years the East Timorese resistance has grown in strength. It has become more visible thanks to the increasing civilian protests in urban centres and it has established links with democratic opposition movements which are stirring the Indonesian society.

I consider this to be a major feature in the way this issue has evolved. The courage shown by those who took part in the 12 November 1991 demonstration and the courage of those who entered the US Embassy in Jakarta during the APEC Summit has done more for the cause of freedom of the East Timor people than any other initiatives organised abroad with the same goal. It is the Timorese themselves who will not be silent faced with a "fait accompli." It is due to their revolt that all these years have not consolidated the illegal occupation but rather highlighted the injustice and violence of the

"status quo" which is being imposed upon East Timor. In fact, after 20 years, the people in the territory - especially the youth - are demonstrating in a way they had never done before. And this is something which refutes the predictions of some who said that with time it would all slowly die out.

Therefore, the issue of East Timor cannot be reduced to a bilateral issue between Portugal and Indonesia. For this reason it will never be solved by a mere bilateral agreement between Portugal and Indonesia.

A solution for East Timor entails an essential element, the participation and the support of the East Timorese people. And it also requires the clear acceptance of its validity by the international community.

Portugal does not have the means to settle the East Timor issue on its own. Portugal needs the support of the international community both to solve the question of the right to self-determination and to achieve an improvement of the human rights' situation.

This has shaped Portugal's strategy to achieve a global solution by peaceful means:

- on the one hand, we have pursued the dialogue with Indonesia under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General with the aim to obtain a negotiated agreement in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and in full respect for the legitimate rights of the Timorese people;

- on the other hand, we have made an effort amongst other countries to make them aware of the need to act in order to create the appropriate conditions to ensure East Timorese human rights and to enable a peaceful and inter-nationally acceptable solution for the issue of self-determination.

Past experience tells us that this is the best combination to bring about progresses on this issue. We believe - always bearing in mind the decisive role played by the East Timorese - that it has been important in making East Timor better known by the international public opinion, in the growing attention which has been paid by media and Governments of several countries and in the number of initiatives and decisions taken by various international fora such as the European Union, the UN Commission on Human Rights, the European Parliament, the Joint Assembly ACP/European Union or the Ibero-Latin America Summits, and so on, as well as in national fora, like the US Congress. Even may Australian counterpart has been forced to recognise that East Timor, Indonesia's "pebble in the shoe" had become a "big stone" blocking Indonesia's path...

Within this context, I would like to emphasize the very special meaning of the steadfast support given by the Portuguese speaking African countries to East Timor. Some years back, when limited attention

was given to the East Timorese issue, their solidarity was paramount to ensure that the issue was kept on the international agenda and to add diplomatic credibility to the East Timorese cause.

On the other hand, and in the scope of the dialogue taking place under the auspices of the UN, I would like to highlight that the first intra-Timorese meeting facilitated by the UN Secretary-General will soon be held in Salzburg. We will achieve a goal which Portugal had pursued for a long time and which we deemed crucial in attaining a solution, i.e., to allow the East Timorese people to be heard, through the different shades of opinion within it.

All will have an opportunity to express themselves: partisans and opponents of the integration, of independence or any other solution which the East Timorese people may freely choose as their political future. Our aim is to enable them to choose and abide by their decision whatever it may be. This is the major difference that stands between us and Indonesia.

But we have no illusions whatsoever that there's a long path ahead. The truth is that Portugal and Indonesia stand clearly apart on many issues within the framework of the Portuguese-Indonesian talks held under the regis of the UN Secretary-General, namely the political status of East Timor and hence the possibility of its people to exercise their right to self-determination. Indeed, these are practically opposite stands.

I believe that progress in this field will greatly depend on the internal evolution of Indonesia. This huge country cannot remain unchanged in face of the changing international situation and the extraordinary economic and social progress taking place in that region. Its own economic and social development generates and encourages the legitimate yearnings of the major economic and political agents and of the Indonesian people for political openness, for democracy, for good governance.

Proof thereof is the fact that East Timor has become in recent years a central issue in the debate held inside Indonesia and also that Xanana Gusmão has gained a status of hero for Indonesian democratic forces. We, Portuguese, cannot but notice the interesting similarity with our recent history. A little more than twenty years ago, people's opposition to the colonial war became the major tool of the fight against the anti-democratic regime and contributed in a decisive manner towards its downfall in 1974. I recall the demonstrations which took place here, not in this Faculty, which did not exist at the time, but next door, in the Faculty of Law, where I studied. And at the time, our struggle to bring down the authoritarian regime was strongly linked to the struggle

waged by the African peoples for independence in the Portuguese colonies. And I believe that East Timor is contributing to this movement that will lead to a democratisation of the Indonesian society. In today's Indonesia, East Timor is unquestionably acting as an accelerator of the internal democratisation process.

Would there be an Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights, if it were not for the polemics raised at international level and inside the Republic of Indonesia itself as a result of the Santa Cruz massacre? In spite of justified reservations raised when it was created, the truth is that it has been pushed into taking ever more assertive stands, as demonstrated by the recent report on the Liquica murders in January last. Would the release of such a report be possible just a year ago?

Thus, just as the Timorese resistance is establishing links with Indonesian democratic forces, it is of the utmost importance that the internal evolution of Indonesia is closely followed from abroad. Yesterday some of you who are well-informed on the Indonesian situation stressed the important role played by the Indonesian media in this process of informing on the East Timorese struggle, despite censorship, government manipulation and harassment of journalists.

I have repeatedly stated that Portugal as a nation has no ill-feelings against the Indonesian nation or people. They deserve all our respect and indeed we share many historical and cultural links.

The insistence of the Indonesian government on illegally occupying the small territory of East Timor through violence and repression is a mistake that will lead to political, diplomatic and image erosion, which is against the own interests of that huge country. A policy of conquest and domination is unacceptable and anachronistic. Recent history shows that nothing can be firmly established if based on the oppression of peoples and the sacrifice of their fundamental rights and freedom.

I am quite sure that, once the East Timorese issue is solved through the free choice of the East Timorese people, we will surely find an open and democratic regime in Jakarta and we will undoubtedly see a renewal of the centuries-old links between Portugal and Indonesia.

Finally, I would like to say a few words to greet you all, attending this Symposium and to greet in a special way its main inspirer and organiser - Professor Barbedo de Magalhaes. Solidarity movements worldwide have played a crucial role in the progress of this issue. And, I am sure, it will be more so in informing and mobilising individual awareness, in making national and international public opinion further aware, in

influencing governments, in enabling the East Timorese to be seen and heard and in supporting the Indonesian democratic movements. In a case such as the East Timorese, where, for well-known reasons, principles often collide with interests, public opinion is of paramount importance to make sure the former do not end up being sacrificed.

Public opinion in democratic countries is by nature more sensitive than their respective governments to this kind of causes. The changes in government policies towards a more favorable stand on the rights of the people lie in creating awareness of the East Timor tragedy in public opinion.

I can share my personal experience with you. However, for diplomatic reasons, I cannot refer to names. I can tell you that some countries which four or five years ago had reservations on the East Timor issue are now countries with a more favourable stand, because public opinion in those countries is putting pressure on their governments and because Foreign Ministers are being asked in Parliaments about East Timor. Some years ago, when I spoke to them about East Timor, they would just look at me and feel slightly uncomfortable with my approach, because the cause of East Timor was not one that would immediately attract support among them. The situation has changed and often my counterparts in those countries address me and ask about the situation in East Timor.

I told some of you yesterday that I am certain that self-determination is not an unrealistic aim or goal. A few years ago many would say that the independence of Namibia, of Eritrea, the developments in the situation of the Palestinian people, the independence of the Baltic States were all unrealistic goals. Look at today's situation. These peoples have attained a clear political status, despite the views of the same "realists" who also claim that East Timor is an unrealistic issue. It is those new situations which renew our confidence and commitment in pursuing our action for the cause of the East Timorese people.

I would like to say on behalf of the Portuguese Government that we strongly believe in this issue and that we continue to fight for the East Timorese and I know that I can count on your support.

EAST TIMOR COULD BE CATALYST FOR INDONESIAN CHANGE – MINISTER

Irish Times, 25 March 1995. Reporter; David Shanks

Lisbon – Drawing a direct parallel between Portugal's own overthrow of 'an authoritarian regime' in 1974 and Indone-

sia's current internal pressures for change, the Portuguese foreign minister, Mr. Durão Barroso, has surprised East Timor resistance leaders with a statement that seemed tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of another country.

The East Timor issue was an element that was likely to lead to the democratisation of Indonesia itself, he told an international conference in Lisbon this week.

Colonial war in Africa had been an accelerator of Portugal's 'Carnation Revolution' 21 years ago, and, he suggested, the East Timor issue was doing the same for a similar democracy movement in Indonesia. Mr. Barroso said he did not entertain any illusions of an easy path for the resolution of the East Timor problem. But he said it would depend to a large extent on the internal evolution within Indonesia. 'This great country cannot stay immutable in the face of the international current and the extraordinary economic development of the region,' he said.

Referring to the need for 'democracy and good government,' the Minister said that East Timor had become a central theme in Indonesia and the fact that Mr. Xanana Gusmão, the imprisoned resistance leader, had acquired the status of a hero for the democratic forces active in Indonesian society, demonstrated this. 'We Portuguese cannot but notice the interesting parallels with our recent history. Twenty-something years ago, popular people's opposition to colonial war in Africa became the main tool in the fight against the anti-democratic regime and made a decisive contribution to its downfall in 1974. In today's Indonesia, East Timor is unquestionably functioning as an accelerator in the process of democratisation,' Mr. Barroso told an audience that included academics and political activists at the conference organised by the University of Oporto. Mr. José Ramos Horta, who was East Timor's foreign minister for a short period prior to Indonesia's 1975 invasion, told *The Irish Times* that President Suharto had the chance to be a Gorbachev or a De Klerk by making changes for the benefit of his country. 'Indonesia made a mistake in 1975. Suharto can correct it.'

ANDERSON: MEMORIES, PREDICTIONS AND THE MAGIC NAME

Publico, 25 March 1995. By J. Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Professor Ben Anderson outlined out the differences which are setting Suharto against Indonesian officials today. President Mario Soares referred to the link

between the colonial war in Africa and the end of the dictatorship in Portugal. Both brought optimistic messages to the Days for Timor, and there was widespread enthusiasm when the magic name was mentioned.

A burst of loud applause suddenly interrupted the serious tone of the session - the magic name of Xanana Gusmão had been mentioned for the first time. A wave of enthusiasm, which swept through the young Timorese present yesterday at one of the public sessions of the VI Days on the situation in the territory, spread to the rest of the audience, and second speaker Mario Soares was obliged to wait for a few seconds before going on with his speech, in which he praised the "exceptional tactical malleability" of the imprisoned leader, and recalled that Nelson Mandela "left his prison cell to become President of his country." More applause.

With the temperature rising following the references to Xanana, there was further lively applause at Lisbon University's auditorium when the President spoke of Ximenes Belo, the second of the "great leaders" to have emerged from the fight for Timor.

The speech was nearing its end. It finished as it had begun: with references to the parallel between, on one hand, the current situation in Indonesia and its link to the problem of East Timor and, on the other, the end of the dictatorship in Portugal and how that was related to the anti-colonial war.

"No nation can be free as long as it oppresses another nation" - Soares cited the anti-colonial slogan of the Portuguese democratic opposition during the 1960s to emphasise the link between the liberation of East Timor and democratisation in Indonesia itself.

The realisation that there is such a link, and the political exploitation of that association (which, according to the President, are becoming increasingly widespread) were given as grounds to justify the hope that there will be a settlement to the problem of East Timor in the not too distant future. "It is just a question of time," said Mario Soares.

Soares confessed, however, that it was only ten years ago that his doubts about the feelings of the Timorese towards Indonesian presence were dispelled. It had been the continued resistance of the Timorese themselves that had convinced him of the fairness of the cause which he is now determined to carry with him throughout the world and raise during all his international contacts.

The optimistic tone of the Portuguese President's intervention had been anticipated by the previous speaker. Specialist in modern Indonesia for over thirty years, Professor Benedict Anderson of Cornell

University, USA, outlined a framework of internal opposition to the Suharto regime, and highlighted the impact this is having on the question of East Timor.

"The trend is going in East Timor's favour," concluded Anderson, after explaining that the territory's liberation struggle could benefit from the current tension between Suharto and a group of military leaders who are 20 years younger than the septuagenarian Indonesian President.

Anderson believes that Jakarta's problems could exacerbate this year. This August, the celebration of Indonesian independence and remembrance of the war against Dutch domination might increase sympathy for the struggle of the Timorese or, at least, make it more difficult to justify the oppression in East Timor.

Meanwhile, in Dili, 13 pro-integrationists who were invited to the inter-Timorese talks to be held in April in Salzburg, addressed a group of demonstrators gathered to express support for Indonesia's sovereignty over the territory and to protest against the role of the UN in the preparation of the Salzburg meeting.

About five thousand people (Reuters' estimate) listened to the pro-integration leaders' attack on the UN Secretary General for having drawn up the list of participants for the Salzburg meeting without first consulting them, and hailed the repeated declarations of fidelity to Jakarta.

According to Reuters' sources, the Indonesian army supplied army trucks to take peasants from the island's interior to the centre of Dili.

José Ramos Horta, special representative of the CNRM, said he considered the demonstration "a public insult" to the UN. He added that it was "scandalous that a state (Indonesia, which orchestrated the events in Dili in the view of the resistance leader) member of the UN, Security Council, and Human Rights Commission, should organise a demonstration against the Secretary General."

Last Thursday, Indonesia's diplomatic corps also referred to the matter which was the pretext for yesterday's protest in Dili. While Alatas responded to a parliamentary interpolation, accentuating criticism of the way Boutros Ghali had proceeded, accusing him of over-stepping his role of "facilitator" of the inter-Timorese talks, the spokesman of Alatas himself was making it known that Jakarta did not intend to boycott the Salzburg meeting.

In spite of the care taken by the Indonesian Foreign Ministry's spokesman, the inter-Timorese meeting has created tension between Jakarta and the UN. The atmosphere was not the most propitious for the news of Indonesia's intention to win itself a

permanent seat on the UN Security Council, which was announced yesterday for the first time by the same spokesman ... in Parliament.

According to the version made public yesterday, Jakarta's diplomatic chief has expressed the hope that Indonesia "is not left out" of any considerations to increase the number of permanent members on the Security Council, a restricted "club" of which the US, France, UK, Russian Federation and China are today members.

If Indonesia's candidature is formalised, among the countries competing with it for a place will be Brazil, a potential representative at the "club" of large developing countries. Brazil's candidature has the express support of Portugal.

TIMOR ON THE MAP (JOURNAD AS ENDS)

Publico, 27 March 1995. By J. T. de Nogueiros. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

VI Days for Timor come to an end

Lisbon – The public outrage caused by the Santa Cruz massacre must not be allowed to die. The aim of Timor solidarity groups, scattered throughout the world, is to keep the Timorese nightmare visible on the map of the world, and alive in the memory of governments, and in the minds of ordinary citizens. From Mozambique, Japan, Australia, Norway ... many of them met in Lisbon, where they shared their hopes and fears. Many plans and intentions came out of the meetings, at which Xanana and Ximenes were hailed as representing the Timorese cause today, and it became increasingly plain that the fight for self-determination in East Timor and democracy in Indonesia are two sides of the same coin.

In the midst of the torrent of information unleashed by the occupation of the US Embassy in Jakarta last November, one of the demands made by the young Timorese who staged the invasion passed almost unnoticed. In addition to the predictable demand for the release of Xanana and other Timorese political prisoners, there was also a request for the release of Indonesians imprisoned for political reasons. At the VI Days for Timor at the University of Oporto, which ended yesterday in Lisbon, considerable attention was given to the link between the fight for self-determination in East Timor and the struggle for democracy in Indonesia. This connection is seen as an element that could increase international focus both on the situation in Timor and oppression in Indonesia.

Throughout the Days for Timor, the connection kept cropping up - not just in

the talks given by the Indonesian participants, but also in the addresses given by others, such as President Mario Soares. ...

José Luis Guterres, leader of Fretilin's External Delegation, who spoke as representative of the entire Timorese resistance, and Barbedo de Magalhaes, main instigator behind the Days for Timor, who Chaired the session in the unexplained absence of Jorge Sampaio, both made references to their Indonesian "brothers," and their struggle for democracy was referred to in the same breath as the Timorese struggle. Xanana Gusmão himself, in the message he sent for the Days, also said that the now very relevant "study of Indonesia" should be included on the agenda.

Xanana - Ximenes

Another feature of the Days for Timor, which ended yesterday, was the enthusiastic response at each mention of the two names which are seen increasingly as synonymous with the Timorese cause - Xanana Gusmão, invariably the first to be mentioned, and Ximenes Belo. The most vigorous applause during the various sessions erupted at the mention of both names, Xanana and Ximenes, and, to the delight of the mainly young Timorese participants yesterday, this happened again yesterday. In a brief historic outline of "that unequal fight" against the Indonesian invader, José Luis Guterres was applauded enthusiastically when he promised that the resistance would "do everything possible to ensure that unity becomes reality." ...

Overview of Solidarity

Before José Luis Guterres and Barbedo de Magalhaes took the stand, five invited foreign speakers presented an overview of what is done today all over the world in solidarity with Timor. It was time to hear about initiatives in Norway, the concern about "complicity" between the governments of Mozambique and Indonesia, to hear about plans for a new organisation based in Belfast, and to learn about the difficulties facing people today in the US involved with the issue of East Timor.

The talk about the situation in the US, given by Prof. David Targan of Brown University and the leading New York activist Charles Scheiner, was an illustration of what is happening generally throughout the solidarity movement, in which optimism, generated by a few undeniable victories, goes hand in hand with clear awareness of how much still has to be done.

Targan and Scheiner spoke about the hopes generated by the Clinton Administration, and the signs of back-tracking evident since the new President came into office. While it is true that the US changed its traditional position on the Human Rights Com-

mission and voted in favour of a strong resolution against Indonesia in 1993, it is equally true that there is an increasingly visible inclination towards doing away with the cuts, introduced by Congress following the Santa Cruz massacre, in US aid for training Indonesian military personnel.

An important aim of the Timor solidarity groups scattered throughout the world is to keep alive that outrage felt by the public in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991. This aim is also to be the basis for future Days of Timor ... The idea is to get the Days for Timor initiative (which began as Oporto University's Days for Timor - still their official title, although they have now been "adopted" by other Portuguese universities) taken up by a network of higher education establishments throughout the world. Judging by the nationalities of the participants this year, the network could stretch over the US (Cornell, Berkeley, Brown), Canada (Carlton), Australia (National University of Australia), Philippines (National University of Philippines), Japan (Osaka), Mozambique (Universidade Eduardo Mondlane), Germany (Heidelberg) and the UK (Oxford and the University of Ulster).

YENI DAMAYANTI: XANANA HERO TO INDONESIA'S YOUTH

Publico, 27 March 1995. By A. Gomes. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon – According to Yeni Rosa Damayanti, a Biology student, recently released from prison, who took part this weekend in the closure of the Introduction to Indonesia and East Timor in Lisbon, and in the VI Days for Timor, the question of East Timor is not even a priority issue for the Indonesian opposition, but Xanana Gusmão has become a hero among young Indonesian activists fighting against the Suharto regime.

As a result of a directive from Xanana Gusmão in the early 1990s, which urged young Timorese studying at Jakarta and Bali universities to approach and befriend their Indonesian fellow students, Indonesian students have become familiar with the drama of the former Portuguese colony, and with the personality of the historic Resistance leader himself. "We see in him the courage to fight, the ability to set up a movement in such difficult conditions, and the strength to resist in the face of difficulties," said Yeni, who the Indonesian authorities kept in prison for one year just for taking part in a demonstration held inside the parliament in Jakarta. They accused her of offences to the President of the Republic.

Xanana's rise to popularity coincides with a period of euphoria for the Pro-Democracy Movement, support for which is spreading in universities, trade unions and non-governmental organisations. "At present, the alternative press, in which many professional journalists, some of whom are former student activists, is playing a vital role in the fight against the regime," explained Yeni. The young women revealed that among the various editors and publishers who have been imprisoned or persecuted over recent weeks is the Secretary General of the Independent Journalists' Alliance, Santoso, author of the first interview with Xanana Gusmão to appear in an Indonesian newspaper.

Suharto might announce special status "The situation in Indonesia today is reminiscent of Portugal before the 25 April 1974 revolution," observed Liem Soei Liong, a political activist exiled in Holland and member of Tapol (Indonesian human rights organisation based in London). Liem, who also took part in the Lisbon meetings, referred to the failure of the military solution in East Timor. After years of being a chance for Indonesian soldiers to get promoted in rank, East Timor became a nightmare for the military, explained the Indonesian activist, citing as an example the threat hanging over the five officials allegedly guilty of murdering six civilians earlier this year in Liquiça.

"In Suharto's view the army failed. Now, since the situation gets worse each day, he is looking for another solution," said Liem, who believes that the Indonesian President might use the occasion of his visit to Dili for the 20th anniversary of "integration" to declare "special status" for the territory. "It would have merely ceremonial significance. It was declared in the 1950s for Aceh (territory in which a struggle against Javanese dominion is underway) without any results." The advantage for Suharto would be that he would gain room for manoeuvre, to avoid the referendum demanded by the resistance and the local Church, and recommended by the international community.

Last summer, Liem Soei Liong returned secretly to Indonesia but was discovered when leaving. He was detained for "just" three days because he had become a Dutch citizen. 26-year-old Yeni Damayanti, arrested in 1993 and imprisoned in the Pohdok Bambu prison for women ("worse than Cipinang, where Xanana is being held"), will return to her country after the Days of solidarity with East Timor.

Although she did not inform the Indonesian authorities that her destination was to be Portugal, the young Indonesian woman is confident she will not be arrested again. "I have already been in prison for a year and they are far too busy at the moment arrest-

ing journalists. Anyway, we have no alternative but to fight them" she said, ready to face whatever was in store for her.

PORTUGUESE NATIONAL BANK FINANCED MANUEL MACEDO

Publico, 30 March 1995. By Alfredo Leite. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon – Mundipor, a company belonging to Manuel Macedo, famed for his business dealings with Indonesia, was conceded various bank loans by the BNU, a Portuguese national bank. Nearly 70 million Escudos were given in bank loans to the head of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association. Macedo, the guarantor for the loans, has still not paid off the debts. The case has gone to court and Macedo's personal properties are in danger of being seized.

The BNU is prepared to confiscate goods belonging to businessman head of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, if he is unable to repay the nearly 70 million Escudos the bank loaned his company Mundipor.

The amount owed to the BNU, a nationalised bank and one of the Caixa Geral de Depósitos group, was conceded in various loans to Macedo's company Mundipor (Sociedade de Importações e Representações, Lda.), known for doing business with Indonesia.

The first of four loans to Mundipor from the BNU dates from 23 April 1991. It was for 12.6 million Escudos, due on 3 October last year. The bank went on to give the company two further loans in 1992. On 10 January that year, the BNU paid Mundipor 36 million Escudos, also payable on 3 October 1994. Still in 1992, another loan of 5 million Escudos was paid on 25 December, and was payable on 25 March 1993. Finally, on 22 January 1993, the BNU agreed to yet another loan, this time for 6 million Escudos, payable two months later.

The BNU's attempts to settle the matter without recourse to legal action have been unsuccessful, as were the attempts made by the police, on the orders a local district court judge, to discover Macedo's whereabouts. An advertisement was placed in the daily press announcing the BNU's action against Macedo.

"I find it very strange that they have not managed to find me because a lot of people know where I live, including the BNU," Manuel Macedo informed *Publico*. He also commented that the BNU "is in permanent contact" with his lawyer, and expressed surprise at the way the bank is proceeding.

Macedo acknowledged that the BNU initiated legal proceedings against Mundipor,

following formal accusations against the BNU, made by Macedo, of alleged irregularities (in connection with interest rates for loans) committed by the BNU's Previdem section. Throughout 1993, there was much correspondence between Mundipor and the BNU about the case brought by Macedo.

Mundipor is one of the companies through which Manuel Macedo conducts his business with Indonesia. Earlier this year Mundipor exported a shipment of Portuguese wine, tinned foods and olive oil to Jakarta. Part of the shipment, whose estimated value was in the region of 100 million Escudos, was 220,000 litres of wine from the Mealhada Region, on its way for introduction onto the Indonesian and East Timorese markets.

In February last year, Macedo, through a company called Carmundi (which shares Mundipor's premises), imported a shipment of pure cotton from Indonesia. In total, he bought about 29 tons of raw material from Jakarta. As normally happens in the case of business conducted with Indonesia, the cotton imported by Carmundi arrived to Portugal after first passing through the Port of Rotterdam in Holland - Indonesia's former coloniser, used regularly as a stopover for Indonesia's trade exchanges with Europe.

Meanwhile, Manuel Macedo denies that the BNU loans have been used in his deals with Indonesia. "The money was for the company. It was not for any business with Jakarta," argued Macedo, adding that the loans had "preceded the appearance of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association."

It is not just to the BNU that Manuel Macedo's Mundipor owes money. Legal action has also been taken against Macedo by at least one other bank - the Banco Pinto & Sotto Mayor is taking Macedo to court. However, there is a different dimension to the debts he has incurred with the BNU (in which, through its shareholder the Caixa Geral de Depósitos, there is state capital), because of known regular business dealings with the Suharto regime. They are as well-known as the sporadic appeals issued by the Portuguese Government to the Portuguese business community to abstain from trading with Jakarta.

PORTUGUESE SCHOOL IN JAKARTA AND OTHER PIFA FOLKLORE

March 30, April 1, 2 combined (LUSA) - abridged - Lopes da Cruz, Indonesian's roving ambassador, announced Thursday that a Portuguese language school will open at the headquarters of the Portuguese-Indonesia Friendship Association (PIFA), which is presided by Suharto's daughter Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana. According to Lopes da Cruz, the possibility is being considered of hiring teachers from Portugal, and the objective is to later extend the Portuguese language course to East Timor. Cruz added there are already 100 people enrolled, including Suharto's daughter, and emphasized that for the first time in twenty years the flags of Indonesia and Portugal will be hailed side by side in Jakarta.

In response to this announcement, the Timorese resistance denounced today (April 2) the contradiction between the opening of a Portuguese language school in Jakarta versus the situation in East Timor, where the use of Portuguese is forbidden.

Roque Rodrigues, recently appointed as the representative of the Timorese resistance in Portugal, stated in a communiqué that the opening of the school is "a new manoeuvre" of the Indonesian army to "divide Portuguese public opinion through pretense attempts at 'coming together' which are void of any true substance."

"If Indonesia is truly interested in promoting the Portuguese language and culture, why not do it in East Timor," where the mere use of the language "brings pressure of all kinds, discrimination and even the risk of incurring severe repercussions?" asks Roque Rodrigues. Rodrigues reminded that reports by human rights organizations frequently refer to deliberate policies of cultural genocide in East Timor by the Indonesian occupying forces.

[Tomorrow, April 3, there will also be a "Luso-Indonesian cultural evening" at a hotel in Jakarta, with "fado" performances by invited Portuguese artists and "cronchon" - a similar musical type supposedly a legacy of the Portuguese in Jakarta whose descendants have recently been "rediscovered" - performances by Indonesian artists. Two thousand people are expected [Jeez! The fado was never so popular!!], and of course Galvao de Melo and Manuel Macedo will be there. They're also planning to take Portuguese high school kids on "education tours" to Indonesia later on.]

TIMORESE WANT TO JOIN THE UCCLA

Diario de Noticias, 2 April 1995. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon -The General Assembly of the UCCLA (The Union of Portuguese-speaking Capital Cities) will be discussing the Timorese Refugee Community's request for membership when it gathers for its meeting from Monday to Wednesday, in Rio de Janeiro.

The proposals for members are put forward exclusively by organisations or companies interested in belonging to the UCCLA, and they are only accepted by its decision-making body once various requirements, including suitability, have been met.

The Timorese Refugee Community's representation was questioned on Friday by members of the Timorese resistance. The Community is based in Lisbon.

Dili is honorary member

The city of Dili, capital of East Timor, has been an honorary member of the UCCLA since 1992.

... The UCCLA was founded 10 years ago in Lisbon, where it has its headquarters. The organisation's basic aims include the promotion better understanding and cooperation among Portuguese-speaking peoples, through closer inter-city relations. Among its main activities is the encouragement of exchanges for vocational training purposes, and setting up business links between the cities in which member companies are based.

BASE STRATEGIES

*Publico 4 April 1995 By J. T. de Negreiros
Translated from Portuguese Abridged*

The Timorese Resistance reacts to the Portuguese-Indonesia Week.

Lisbon -The Resistance has already reacted to the Portuguese-Indonesia Week, which opened yesterday in Jakarta, describing the event, promoted by the Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association and by its Portuguese counterpart as "a further attempt by the Indonesian Government to mislead Portuguese public opinion."

In a press release from its recently appointed representative in Lisbon, Roque Rodrigues, the Resistance focuses on the announced start of Portuguese courses in Jakarta, the main feature of the week organised by the association whose Chairperson is Suharto's daughter, and asks "If Indonesia is really interested in promoting Portuguese language and culture, why does it not do so in East Timor, where that language has been spoken for four centuries, where its use is currently prohibited, and where those

speaking it are subjected to all kinds of pressure, discrimination, and even run the risk being severely penalised?"

The "cultural genocide practised by the occupying authorities" in East Timor is also referred to in the communiqué, and introduces another question: "Why is it that, in addition to the forcible closure of all the schools in the territory which taught Portuguese, and the ban on Portuguese being used in the Catholic mass, teachers are not allowed to enter the occupied territory?"

In reply to its own questions, yesterday's communiqué from Lisbon described the "pretence of interest in Portuguese culture and language" made by Jakarta as a "base strategy" that reveals "a new plan of action which will not fool anyone."

The festive inauguration of the Week was scheduled for late yesterday. Among the celebrity guests at the dinner and show held in a hotel of the Indonesian capital, to which about two thousand people were had been invited, were thirteen Portuguese traditional singers. Representatives of the Jakarta Government, the diplomatic corps, and officials of the Indonesian administration in East Timor were also invited to the show.

Manuel Macedo and Galvao de Melo, leaders of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, travelled to Indonesia in the company of the Portuguese artists, and were present at last night's dinner.

The Week will last until next Saturday, but the two Associations are already planning future promotions. They are already organising a visit to Suharto's country and to East Timor by a group of 52 Portuguese students, to take place next August, when the 50 years of Indonesia's independence will be commemorated.

Baker admits to mistake in 1975

Former Secretary of State James Baker recently admitted that the US Administration's conduct over the invasion of East Timor may have been a "mistake."

Baker made the statements last week at the University of Texas in Austin. Bush's diplomatic chief was speaking about the importance of the "high moral principle" behind the intervention in the Gulf when a student asked where that high moral principle was when the US was supporting the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia.

Although he admitted that the two situations are comparable, James Baker said that "US public opinion would not have backed the sending of troops to East Timor." The student returned the fire: sending troops would not have been necessary; just suspending aid to Jakarta would have been enough to prevent the massacres that took place in Timor. It was here that Baker gave in: "We made mistakes in our foreign policy,

we made them in the past, we are making them now..."

EXPO 98 - INDONESIA NOT INVITED

Publico, 5 April 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon –The Commissioner-General of the Expo-98, Cardoso e Cunha, confirmed yesterday that Indonesia is not among the 180 countries invited to take part in the international fair to be held in Lisbon. Speaking at a press conference, Cardoso e Cunha recalled that Portugal severed diplomatic relations with Indonesia in 1975. An Expo spokesperson told France-Press that the Portuguese position might alter in the future, depending on possible changes in the situation in East Timor.

NO MUSIC IN INDONESIA

Diario de Noticias, 13 April 1995. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Portugal may reconsider its support for the EU Youth Orchestra, because of a tour that might include Indonesia.

By way of a letter from the Under-Secretary of State for Culture, Manuel Frexes, addressed to the Vice Chairman of the EU Youth Orchestra, the Portuguese Government has stated that our future support for the orchestra may depend on the digression the orchestra plans to make to Indonesia.

In the letter, which followed a previous letter from the Vice Chairman of the Orchestra (in which Portuguese musicians play) requesting backing, Manuel Frexes starts by praising the work of the orchestra, describing it as one of the "symbols of the close cooperation existing within the EU, which should be considered an example of the unity and understanding that ought to preside over the construction of the future Europe."

He goes on to say: "However, I cannot but express my deepest displeasure and surprise at the scheduled digression of the orchestra to Indonesia, a country which, as you know, is known to be responsible for systematic human rights violations, not only in East Timor," but also in Aceh (Sumatra), and Papua New Guinea. The letter continues, referring to the fact that the Portuguese Government, the UN General Assembly and Human Rights Commission have been drawing attention to the gravity of the human rights situation in East Timor which, although still under Portuguese administration, was illegally occupied by Indonesia, which led to the diplomatic relations being severed.

After pointing out the "vehement" criticism of Indonesia by the European Parliament, Manuel Frexes adds that he himself explained our Government's position at the last meeting of the EU's Council of Ministers, and was seconded by other member states.

The Under-Secretary of State went on to say that there was a need to rethink the "planned digression to that country," adding that Portugal's continued support for and participation in the project would, necessarily, depend on the response to this appeal.

The Youth Orchestra was formed in 1976, and is financed by the EU, subsidies from governments and contributions from private organisations. It consists of 140 musicians from member states, whose ages vary between 14 and 23 years. ...

SUHARTO REAPS PROFITS

Independente, 13 April 1995. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Portugal's trade with Indonesia is flourishing. In 1994 we bought Indonesian goods to the value of 7,000,000,000 Escudos. It is all in the statistics produced by the INE - National Institute of Statistics. Compared to the previous year, this import figure had increased by nearly 2,500,000,000.

Our exports to Indonesia, meanwhile, reached over 73,000,000, while in 1993 the figure was only around 8,500,000.

Although the Portuguese Government officially "advises against" business dealings with Indonesia, according to some traders ... business with Suharto's country is likely to increase ever further in 1995. Conclusion: politics is one thing, economic reality is quite another kettle of fish.

LISBON DOUBTS JAKARTA WILL CHANGE POLICIES

by Farhan Haq (excerpts)

UNITED NATIONS, Apr. 20 (IPS) – Indonesia is unlikely to significantly change its policy toward East Timor, the former Portuguese colony it seized 20 years ago, anytime soon, according to Lisbon's foreign minister.

José Manuel Durão Barroso, who has held four rounds of discussions with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, says the current military regime of President Suharto will not be the one to end East Timor's occupation.

"Fundamental change will be impossible under the current regime," says Barroso, who is taking part in the negotiations here for an extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The best that can be achieved are "cosmetic" changes.

That sober assessment comes as the latest rounds of talks over East Timor have been delayed after Jakarta objected to a delegation of Timorese leaders who were slated to meet pro-Indonesian Timorese this month.

Those talks will now be held in Geneva in June, says U.N. spokesman Joe Sills. Another meeting between Barroso and Alatas, brokered by U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, will follow a month later, he adds.

Barroso asserts that Alatas and the Indonesian diplomats appear sincere in their efforts to resolve the Timorese crisis....

... Barroso is convinced that Soeharto's military command controls the policy and is unwilling to consider any major change.

Real change, he argues, will come only after Suharto – Indonesia's president since 1968 – leaves office....

Despite his pessimistic conclusion, Barroso remains upbeat that even some of the "cosmetic" changes have helped ease Jakarta's two-decade-long occupation of East Timor.

The state is now more open to the international press, as well as to some trips by U.N. human rights monitors, he notes....

UN spokesman Sills says the composition of the delegations is now being settled, and the two sides will meet in Geneva in June.

"Obviously, we're never happy with delays," he says. But, he adds, it may have been impossible to hold constructive talks as the delegations were previously composed....

Barroso also calls for greater U.S. involvement in the crisis, from which Washington – a staunch ally of Jakarta – has tried to remain aloof....

WHEN TO LEARN IS TO RESIST

Publico, 28 April 1995. By J. T. de Negreiros, Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Publico attended the last class of the first Portuguese language course for Timorese refugees.

In the crypt of a Lisbon church, under the watchful gaze of Xanana Gusmão, whose portrait has been hanging on the wall there for the past three months along with pictures of saints, thirty-four Timorese refugees came to the end of their first Portuguese language course.

"We arrived in Portugal on 23 November 1994" - the Timorese student at the blackboard turned, smiling, to his colleagues and waited for them to help him finish the text. Hesitatingly, he went on: "When we arrived

there were many Timorese groups waiting there for us ..."

The acoustics in the crypt did not help much, but there was great enthusiasm, and the revision class - the last of the Introduction to Portuguese Language course which, for three months, has occupied the refugees for five hours a day - continued, as always, in a good humoured atmosphere.

The experience which CIDAC had acquired over the years in teaching Portuguese to foreign cooperation workers, who stop over in Lisbon on their way to Portuguese-speaking African countries, was a determining factor in CIDAC being chosen to organise this language course, which was considered essential if the refugees are to integrate into Portuguese society. The direct costs of the course, which started in February, were met by the Ministry of Education, while the Foreign Ministry instructed the Institute for Portuguese Cooperation to cover the students' minimum expenses (lunch and travel vouchers). ...

Twenty-nine of the students present were those who took part in the occupation of the US Embassy compound in Jakarta and arrived last November, while the other five came from Macao two weeks later. Given the refugees' varying degrees of fluency in Portuguese (six were already fairly fluent), they were divided into two classes.

....

29-year-old Vitor was in the more advanced class. He was in his third year at the Portuguese colonial school at the time of the Indonesian invasion so, naturally, he was more familiar with the language than the other younger ones, who were schooled in Indonesian Bahasa.

He was studying his last year of Economics at university in Bali when he embarked on the Embassy occupation. Going right back to square one in Portugal did not appeal to him ... and so he was going through the complicated business of trying to get the courses he had already completed recognised here - someone on their way to occupy an embassy isn't likely to remember their diplomas, which are now necessary. ...

"Here, we are free to do what we want." This was what first came to his mind when asked to compare life in Portugal with life in Indonesia. "Over there with the enemy, it was very restricted." "The development of the economy there is also very weak," commented 23-year-old Zito, adding that Portugal was "a developed country." In contrast to his older companion, Zito only came into regular contact with Portuguese language at the seminary. ...

Zito would like to continue studying Law, or perhaps try Psychology. But both Timorese pointed out that their plans for the future depend on the CNRM (Maubere

Resistance National Council). The resistance comes first, and if the CNRM had other plans in store for them, then they were "ready!."

Part of the daily routine of the class was reading the Portuguese press. News items about East Timor and Indonesia were, naturally, of most interest and other subjects, especially football, helped the students familiarise themselves with the language and culture of their adoptive country.

Visits to museums, markets and historical monuments were also organised. Special classes were arranged to help prepare the refugees for new hazards facing them (the Abraco organisation organised a session on Aids) and to keep alive ties with the world they left behind (Ramos Horta was invited along as a very special guest).

THE NEXT STEPS - AMBITIONS PLANS

Publico, 28 April 1995. By J. T. de Ne-greiros. Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon - A new series of Portuguese language classes will be starting in mid-May, if all goes according to the plans underway by CIDAC, the non-governmental organisation that set up the first Portuguese course (which ended yesterday) for Timorese refugees.

The new classes will not just be a continuation of the first course. This is a more ambitious scheme: as well as perfecting the language skills of the Timorese, the classes aim to provide a transition period to prepare them for entry into an education system which, in many respects, is totally foreign to them. It will be an Intercalary Training Course - as the organisers describe it.

The idea is to broaden the curriculum to include English and an Introduction to Portuguese Society, in addition to Portuguese Language, which would all be obligatory. History or Mathematics and Physics-Chemistry classes will be available as alternatives to satisfy the different interests of the Timorese.

All this naturally costs money - nearly 6,200,000 Escudos in direct costs alone (plus the essential social assistance for the youngsters, who are living on a benefits of just 16,500 Escudos, must also be taken into account), according to the estimates prepared by the solidarity activists.

1,800,000 Escudos have already been promised by the Secretariat of State for Youth, while replies to requests for funding are still awaited from the Gulbenkian Foundation and the Lisbon Misericordia. The problem of premises has been resolved by the Casa Pia, which has offered the use of two classrooms for the course.

CIDAC's Luisa Teotonio Pereira is sure that this Intercalary Training Course will be "a test on Portugal's ability to receive and properly provide for Timorese refugees" - a test now all the more important in the light of the restrictions on Timorese immigration recently announced by the Canberra Government, which could result in hundreds of new refugees being channelled over to Lisbon. According to Luisa Teotonio Pereira, if this really happens, the mechanisms for taking in and training the Timorese would have to be reconsidered, and experience gained in this area could be invaluable.

Now that preparations for the second course are well underway, the solidarity activists are already turning their attentions to the next stage - integrating the Timorese refugees within the Portuguese education system.

All the students on the first Introduction to Portuguese Language course had been university students, either in Indonesia or Timor. Those who had reached an advanced stage in their studies before arriving in Portugal, are hoping to get official recognition here of the courses already completed abroad. This is turning out to be a bureaucratic nightmare, given the differences between the programmes, the communication difficulties, and the understandable lack of the relevant academic documents - most of the young people concerned arrived in Lisbon directly from the US Embassy in Jakarta, occupied on 12 November last year.

PORTUGUESE DOORS OPEN TO INDONESIANS

COME ON IN!

Independente, 5 May 1995. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon - Portugal had to give way and agree to allow Indonesians to enter Schengen. It only managed to stop, in theory, Indonesians from entering Portuguese territory.

Last Friday, Vitor Martins set off for Brussels to attend the Schengen Executive Committee meeting. Among the various agenda items discussed and still pending, (such as entry of new member states into the border-free area), there was one matter which was finally settled - the contentious issue of granting entry visas to Indonesian citizens to travel around the territories of The Seven, which Portugal has systematically opposed ever since the agreement came into force on 26 March this year.

"A more efficient practical procedure was found. Visas for Portugal will not be routinely issued to Indonesians if they have not so requested," said Vitor Martins as he

left the meeting, adding that "we are not at war with the Indonesian people, and they are not branded as being non grata in Portugal. In exceptional cases, on request to the authorities, they may be granted a visa."

Vitor Martins outlined what had transpired at the meeting. It was agreed that the mechanism which had allowed for prior consultation with Portugal on the issue of visas to Indonesians whenever they requested entry into the Schengen area would be abolished. There was also abolition of territorial visas, the mechanism which allowed the Portuguese question to be bypassed, as the States to which the Indonesians requested entry in the Schengen area would grant the visas, which would then give Indonesians the right to legally circulate within that territory. In other words, from now on, Indonesians are entitled to a visa which gives them access to the "Europe of the Seven," with one formal restriction - entry to Portugal. In practice, this restriction will have little effect. If, up until the present, it has been easy to rent a vehicle in one of the Benelux countries and drive down to Portugal, now that a visa will allow them to get as far as Spain, it is going to be even easier to cross over and reach Lisbon.

With the new agreement, Portugal only managed to get formal and legal prohibition on the entry of Indonesians into our territory, but had to forego the prior consultation on issue of visas, and also had to confirm before the other Members that it is not victimising the Indonesian people and is willing to agree that, exceptionally, they can enter our territory.

According to sources close to Schengen, this agreement was required of Portugal, because "Portugal's position was causing serious difficulties in Jakarta." Although they all understood Portugal's reasons - the question of Timor - the other six members would not put up with the administrative difficulties it was causing. In particular, the Dutch authorities in Jakarta were having to wait several days for a reply from the Portuguese before they could issue a visa.

According to information received by O Independente, this final resolution was the subject of a heated legal battle to come up with the Article which would provide a legal framework for "this arrangement" with our country. Finally, a consensual solution was found in the Executive Committee meeting, but it was not put in writing. This just goes to show the lack of legal basis and arbitrariness of an agreement in which the decisions arrived at in Committee become law.

...

Once again, the Netherlands' authorities in Jakarta are able to issue visas to Indonesians in 24 hours, and normalise travel between the two countries. In reality, Schen-

gen is more a result of a series of oral agreements, which are made and can be reversed, than a written, complete, and solidly composed text.

PORTUGUESE DOCTORS MAY BOYCOTT WMA MEETING IN INDONESIA

Publico, 11 May 1995. By Cristina Ferreira. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon - Portuguese doctors are facing the dilemma of whether or not to attend an international meeting in Indonesia. Their participation now seems unlikely, in spite of the indifference shown by the rest of the world's medical community.

The Ordem dos Medicos (OM) - Portuguese medical association - is unlikely to attend the forthcoming World Medical Association (WMA) meeting, scheduled to take place in Bali, Indonesia, next September. In the view of the OM, the meeting, which will be discussing human rights related issues, should not be held in a country where human rights are being abused. The OM will be informing international medical organisations of their decision.

The OM is said to have approached the (Portuguese) authorities for guidelines on the position to be taken in such situations before taking its decision. The Foreign Office recommended that they should not mix politics with scientific and professional matters.

The Foreign Office also informed Publico that Government policy is to leave decisions on such matters to the organisations concerned. "We should not intervene in these situations." The OM may approach the Ministry again to find out whether there are any new directives because, according to Vaz Velho, "the Government has changed its view on this matter several times."

However, in spite of the Government position, it looks as if the OM will choose not to send a delegation to Bali on grounds that to do so would be to undermine medical ethical principles. This decision was debated on Tuesday, and the OM management will now take it to the next National Executive Council meeting, scheduled for 20 May in Lisbon, for ratification.

If it is approved there, the various international medical organisations (such as the Permanent Committee of European Doctors) will be informed ...

PORTUGAL'S PROTEST

Vaz Velho, Portugal's representative at the WMA, considers Bali to have been an absurd choice for the meeting: "Over half the agenda items discussed in the WMA working sessions relate to human rights.

Torture, ethics, violation of the medical code during interrogations, and problems affecting oppressed minorities are the subjects most frequently debated."

The cardio-thoracic surgeon went on to explain that the ethical element is to important "at these meetings that the South African Medical Association was only allowed to become part of the world medical community after the abolition of apartheid." It had been the South African association itself which had requested the WMA not to accept its representatives.

At last September's World Medical Assembly, held in Stockholm, Vaz Velho learned that Indonesia had been chosen as venue for the next WMA meeting, and immediately lodged a motion of protest. "I said it was a country in which the rights of its citizens were not respected, and this was not in keeping with the spirit of the WMA," he explained. Apart from the Indonesian delegate's reply, this protest produced no official reaction from the participants in the Assembly. The motion was accepted but not put to a vote.

The Portuguese surgeon reported that "the Indonesian representative took the floor and said he was not aware of any torture and killings in Timor. He even said that his country's medical association had never received complaints to that effect," adding that "It was incredible that Portugal should now concern itself with Timor, since it had never done so before. He also referred to the fact that Portugal had not contributed anything to the territory's development."

Vaz Velho admitted that "those present were clearly totally indifferent to what was going on" and simply went along with Indonesia's viewpoint. This, he thought, was very odd, considering what the aims of these assemblies are, and the fact that the crimes committed on Timorese soil by the Suharto regime were widely reported by the UN. The most obvious course for the WMA to have taken would, therefore, have been to reject Bali as the venue for the meeting.

The choice of the Indonesian island for the next Assembly has taken by surprise the two Portuguese representatives: Vaz Velho ... and Machado Macedo ... adviser on the WMA's General Council.

INDONESIA'S PERSISTENCE

According to Machado Macedo, the meeting was discussed in Budapest in the summer of 1993. In April 1994, at the WMA Council meeting in Sydney, it was approved. "I was did not attend the Sydney meeting, because I have to finance all my travel expenses myself," explained Machado Macedo adding that, year after year, the Indonesian representative proposed Bali as the venue for the Assembly.

"While I could (as OM representative) I managed to stop the proposal from being approved on grounds that, since Indonesia would not issue visas to the Portuguese (relations between Portugal and Indonesia having, officially, been severed), it meant that we (Portuguese representatives) would be unable to attend the meeting." According to Machado Macedo, that was the only reason that Indonesia was not chosen before now.

This impasse was overcome when the Indonesian representative told the Assembly in Budapest that his Government had agreed to issue the Portuguese delegates with visas just for the duration of the meeting. The decision was confirmed at the Stockholm meeting in September 1994.

At the last meeting of the Permanent Committee of European Doctors, held in Lisbon late last year, members of the board of the OM gave each member of the Committee (EU countries plus Switzerland and Poland) a dossier (supplied by the Portuguese Foreign Office) on human rights violations in East Timor. The aim was to increase awareness within international organisations of what is happening in the territory. However, OM representative Machado Candido admitted that "few were interested in the subject."

He referred to other initiatives which had met with more response. In October (under Portuguese chairmanship of the Committee), the European medical organisations, meeting in Paris, approved the expulsion from the international medical community of physicians in Bosnia who were holding political office while practising their medical profession at the same time. The reason was because many were believed to have been responsible for massacres during the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict.

The OM leader also mentioned a motion passed earlier this year condemning the Iraqi Government's law which requires punitive mutilations (specifically hands, feet and ears) to be carried out by doctors in operating theatres.

"European doctors expressed their solidarity with their nine imprisoned colleagues who refused to do so, and who were consequently the target of brutal condemnation," added Machado Candido. "All this goes against our ethics. We doctors cannot be torturers."

In spite of the fact that the situation was condemned by the European Parliament, the motion, presented by France at the request of Iraqi medical organisations and Amnesty International, was still contentious. Before he would vote for the motion, the British representative insisted that all reference to Iraq by name be omitted from the text. After

a debate lasting over an hour, the document was passed - Britain abstained.

"It is clear that doctors are finding excuses to follow orders, and this simply must not happen. It is becoming acceptable for them to turn into executioners," said Machado Candido. Vaz Velho, adding that this already happened in Nazi Germany and is going on today in Bosnia, concluded: "Some doctors are professional criminals."

In the view of the Portuguese OM, their position must be unequivocal: "In such cases, the least that should be done is to exclude doctors who collaborate in such crimes from the international medical community."

PORTUGUESE MEP JOÃO SOARES INDIGNANT

Diario de Noticias, 12 May 1995. Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon – Socialist Euro-MP, João Soares, sent two letters yesterday, one to the President of the European Commission, Jacques Santer, and the other to the Indonesian Ambassador. He expressed to the Ambassador his "deep discontent" about Indonesia celebrating its 50 years of independence while at the same time ignoring the legitimate aspirations to freedom of the persecuted people of East Timor. To Jacques Santer, the Euro-MP expressed his "most vehement repudiation" of the collaboration on the part of the Commission's Foreign Relations General Management with the Indonesian Embassy in the organisation of a seminar, in Brussels, to mark the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's independence. "It is inadmissible that, while we are issuing more and more statements in support of peace and freedom for peoples, the Commission's General Management, over which Your Excellency presides, hypocritically lends support to an event which can only be interpreted as a propaganda manoeuvre by the Indonesian regime."

NUNO ROCHA CRITICAL OF JAKARTA

Publico, 19 May 1995. By J. Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese

Portuguese journalist Nuno Rocha, whose views on East Timor closely coincide with Jakarta's, has written to Ali Alatas to protest about the murder of Timorese student Filomeno dos Santos, beaten to death in prison last weekend (see Publico 17 May).

In his letter, addressed to the Indonesian Foreign Office, Rocha says that "A solution to the problem of Timor is only possible if Indonesia does not kill Timorese and respects human rights." It also refers to Ja-

karta's efforts to reduce abuses in the territory.

WORLD PARLIAMENTARIANS MEET IN LISBON

TAPOL Report, 5 June 1995

Seventy-seven parliamentarians from 32 countries in all the five continents met in Lisbon from 31 May till 2 June to discuss activities by parliamentarians in support of East Timor. The meeting was hosted by the Portuguese National Assembly's Special Committee to Monitor East Timor.

The meeting adopted a Lisbon Declaration which includes a 25-point Plan of Action and a decision to create a permanent structure for Parliamentarians for East Timor, PET, which was founded in June 1988. The participants also signed a statement of support for Indonesian parliamentarian Sri Bintang Pamungkas who had been invited to attend the Lisbon meeting but was unable to do so as he is now under police investigation and may soon face trial.

The Lisbon Declaration is based on a number of recommendations which evolved during discussions following presentation of a paper by Mr. Justice Kirby, president of the New South Wales Court of Appeal and chair of the executive committee of the International Commission of Jurists, and a document presented by Lord Avebury, chair of the UK's Parliamentary Human Rights Group and co-founder of Parliamentarians for East Timor.

The final session of the conference was marked by an energetic and at times heated debate during which MPs from a number of countries, notably Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and the UK insisted that the final declaration should incorporate both the Plan of Action and document on PET Structures. The Portuguese hosts had prepared in advance a Declaration of very general points expressing support for East Timor but it was on the insistence of MPs from around the world that the declaration became a much more comprehensive document which promises to mobilise parliamentarians around the world for a series of actions on behalf of East Timor.

The Lisbon Declaration was adopted unanimously. The full text will be posted on reg.easttimor in the next few days.

Following the conclusion of the conference, a Steering Committee met in Lisbon to work out further steps to strengthen the work of Parliamentarians for East Timor, including the composition of an International Board which consisting of fourteen parliamentarians from all the regions of the world. It is hoped that the next Inter-Parliamentary Conference will take place in

1997, probably in New York in September of that year. The secretariat is based in Ottawa, Canada.

PARLIAMENTARIANS WANT GUSMÃO FREED

The Irish Times, 6 June 1995. By David Shanks.

An Interparliamentary Union conference has called for the unconditional release on Mr. Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese guerrilla leader who has been imprisoned in Indonesia since 1992, and for his participation in the UN sponsored talks process.

An "International Eminent Persons Group to participate in the just resolution of the demand of the people of East Timor for self-determination" should visit Mr. Gusmão, the conference in Lisbon said. It was attended by ten Irish politicians.

A strong declaration of censure against Indonesia for its 1975 invasion and subsequent "genocide policy which has caused the deaths of more than 200,000, in East Timor, was made. It proposed parliamentary missions and committees to report human rights abuses, data gathering and raising the issue with major investors in Indonesia, including the World Bank, and to press for a "selective arms embargo" against this south East Asian giant.

The meeting at which 110 parliamentarians from 37 countries (including Japan) represented all continents, exhorted Indonesia to abide by the numerous United Nations resolutions, which have declared its presence in East Timor illegal, and asked the UN Secretary General "to comply with the recommendations of the (UN) Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions which have so far been ignored." The ten Irish Parliamentarians were from all parties.

PARLIAMENTARIANS ON SRI BINTANG PAMUNGKAS

Lisbon Interparliamentary Conference on East Timor, June 1

We, the undersigned Members of Parliament from 32 countries, meeting in Lisbon, Portugal,

Deeply concerned

that Sri Bintang Pamungkas, a member of the Indonesian Parliament, the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, until last month, is threatened with prosecution in a Indonesian court for statements he made during lectures given on a visit to Germany in February this year: and that the government is furthermore seeking to charge him with alleged involvement in a peaceful demonstration in Hanover during a state visit of the Indonesian Head of State.

Deeply concerned, moreover,

that Mr. Pamungkas has been under police investigation since returning to Indonesia in April: and that the Indonesian Attorney-General has issued a ban preventing him from leaving the country for one year.

Deeply dismayed

that Mr. Pamungkas may soon be charged under the Indonesian Criminal Code for "expressing feelings of hostility or hatred towards the Indonesian Government," which is punishable by up to seven years in prison.

Noting that

Mr. Pamungkas, who was invited to attend this Conference, was unable to come because the Indonesian authorities are trying to construct a case against him.

Hereby affirm

that it is the right and duty of members of Parliament to voice criticisms of their governments; and affirm moreover that it is abhorrent for any government to take legal action against a parliamentarian for doing what would be expected of him in any democracy.

We call on the Indonesian Government to halt its investigation of Mr. Pamungkas and cease all efforts to bring charges against him.

Finally, we extend our good wishes to Mr. Pamungkas in his efforts to resist this attack on his legitimate rights and assure him of our full support in his efforts to fight all attempts to restrict the activities of members of Parliament in the legitimate performance of their duties.

Lisbon, 1 June 1995

INTERNATIONAL INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE "LISBON DECLARATION"

SELECT COMMITTEE FOR THE MONITORING OF THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

The Lisbon International Inter-Parliamentary Conference was primarily aimed at helping the people of East Timor to win their fight for freedom.

On December 1975, the Republic of Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor in violation of the United Nations Charter.

The People of East Timor were prevented by force from exercising their right to self-determination.

The U.N. General Assembly and Security Council immediately condemned the aggression perpetrated by the Republic of Indonesia.

The Republic of Indonesia annexed the East Timor territory and subjected its People to a genocide policy which has caused more than 200,000 deaths.

The Republic of Indonesia is unwilling to abide by the Resolutions adopted by the

United Nations and attend to the appeals made by the International Community, while refusing to recognise Portugal's Status as Administering Power of the East Timor territory in charge of promoting the self-determination process of its People.

In view of the existing situation, the participants in the Lisbon International Parliamentary Conference

1. Exhort the Republic of Indonesia to abide by the U.N. Resolutions on East Timor;
2. Call on the United Nations to ensure the respect for human rights in East Timor;
3. Urge the U.N. and all Governments and Parliaments of the Countries which have been selling arms to Indonesia to take measures aimed at enforcing an embargo to such trade, condemned by European Parliament and by the International Community;
4. Demand the immediate release of Xanana Gusmão and all Timorese political prisoners held in custody in Indonesia and East Timor;
5. Urge the UN Member States, namely the powers with an influence in the area, to cooperate in the search for an internationally acceptable solution that enables the East Timorese People to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination;
6. Request the United Nations to proclaim the 7th of December as the International Day of East Timor;
7. Pay tribute to heroic and tragic sage of the people of East Timor, in their struggle for freedom and the preservation of their centuries-old identity.

SUGGESTIONS FOR AN ACTION PLAN ON EAST TIMOR

Action Within National and Sub-national Parliaments

1. Propose Parliamentary resolutions calling for the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of East Timor and related action;
2. Propose Parliamentary missions to visit Indonesia and East Timor in order to inspect and report upon the position of human rights, the rule of laws and the demand for self determination by the people of East Timor;
3. Establish Parliamentary Committees to receive reports and focus attention upon the position of East Timor in international law and in respect for human rights;
4. Raise the issue of East Timor in Parliamentary committees of Amnesty International supporters; circulate amongst Parliamentarians the reports (or Summaries

of the reports) of Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists; the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor and other human rights NGOs Concerned with East Timor:

5. Raise the issue of the rights of the people of East Timor in correspondence, and at meetings with, the representatives of the western and other countries which are the major investors in Indonesia;
6. Make contact with the Parliamentary groups concerned with the rights of the people of Tibet, the Kurds, Western Sahara and other peoples denied their right to self-determination. Make common cause with such groups and find and express the common principles of International law and justice raised by cases with issues similar to those raised by the case of East Timor;

Action Within the United Nations

7. Inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the initiatives of Parliamentarians, Parliaments and Parliamentary Committees;
8. Request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to call on the Government of Indonesia to comply with the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions which have so far been ignored;
9. Request the Commission on Human Rights to call on the Government of Indonesia to report to the Commission on Indonesia's compliance with the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur;
10. Request the High Commissioner for Human Rights of the United Nations to visit East Timor and to report to the Secretary General, the Commission on Human Rights and the International Community upon the compliance by Indonesia with:
 - The report of the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions, etc.;
 - The reported abuses of fundamental human rights; and
 - The conformity of Indonesia with the duty to accord to the people of East Timor the right to self-determination accorded to them by International Law.

Other Action

11. Introduce motions or legislation on a selective arms embargo, or to forbid the sale of arms to countries which offend international law on human rights and on the right to self-determination of peoples, including Indonesia in respect of East Timor.

12. Establish an information exchange to distribute Parliamentary resolutions in Parliaments concerned;
13. Establish a media exchange to provide local media with material collected internationally, to support the struggle of the people of East Timor and to help explain that struggle, and the right of the people of East Timor, to the people of the democracies which will help alter government and private sector inaction over East Timor.
14. Establish a central point for gathering sound, confirmed data on the current situation in East Timor as a basis of practical action in the Parliaments of democracies.
15. Make representations to the International Committee of the Red Cross and UNICEF to increase their presence in, and activities for, East Timor and its people;
16. Consider actions which will persuade democratic Governments to recognise the freedom movements in East Timor as the true representation of the people of East Timor.
17. Urge Parliamentarians to join the organisation "Parliamentarians for East Timor" (PET) and encourage its institutional support to the rights of the people of East Timor and for future meetings of Parliamentarians who support the rights of the people of East Timor;
18. Establish attention to the role of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) in the Indonesian economy and in its role in East Timor;
19. Encourage the European Parliaments in particular, to raise issues of East Timor in the organs of the European Union and in the European Parliament and especially to persuade the Government and the Parliament of the Netherlands to embrace the cause of the rights of the people of East Timor to self-determination and to the respect for their individual human rights.
20. Consider use of the Convention on Genocide in respect of alleged cases of genocide by Indonesia and its military forces and officials in East Timor. Encourage and organise the collection of depositions, including from refugees from East Timor, on instances of genocide and on cases of violations of fundamental human rights. Press for the establishment of an International Penal Tribunal or a Special Penal Tribunal for East Timor and encourage steps to gather the evidence for use by such tribunals once established;

21. Distribute the addresses and fax contacts of participants in this Conference to retain a network of the Parliamentarians and other persons dedicated to law and justice in East Timor which will endure after the meeting has concluded;
22. Call on the Indonesian Government and Parliament in Indonesia and elsewhere to respect the rights of Members of the Indonesian Parliament to speak freely in the cause of human rights in Indonesia and in favour of the rights of the people of East Timor to self-determination and to respect for their individual human rights;
23. Call on the Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU) to add the issues of East Timor to the active concerns of the IPU;
24. Propose resolutions calling on the President and Government of Indonesia to release Xanana Gusmão from prison immediately and without preconditions; and
25. Encourage the establishment of an International Eminent Persons Group to participate in the just resolution of the demand of the people of East Timor to self-determination and, to that end, to visit and consult with Xanana Gusmão.

ON PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR EAST TIMOR

This Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor,

congratulating the Select Committee on East Timor of the Portuguese Parliament on convening this meeting and enabling Parliamentarians to develop new initiatives and widen the scope of joint action on East Timor,

noting that it was in Lisbon that Parliamentarians for East Timor was founded in June 1988, but that PET's activities are still almost entirely based on the initiatives of national groups within their own countries; recognising the need for strengthening the existing links between Parliamentarians for the purpose of furthering the cause of self-determination of East Timor,

1. calls for an International Board of Parliamentarians for East Timor, with representatives of each of the main regions of the world, with a view to developing communications between national groups and promoting initiatives decided by the Board;
2. appreciates the work already being done by the Secretariat of PET in Ottawa, Canada, and proposes that the Secretariat be asked to circulate the decisions of the International Board, as well as general information on East Timor, to all the national groups, and to develop electronic

communications between the Secretariat and the national groups;

3. establishes a steering committee of Parliamentarians from Portugal, Japan, Australia and the UK to convene the International Board and to develop strategies for resourcing these initiatives.

EVENTS IN IRELAND

PILGER GETS AWARD FROM DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY

ETISC report, March 13

John Pilger was in Dublin this weekend to receive an Honorary Doctorate of Philosophy from Dublin City University. He received extensive coverage in the Irish media (too much to put on Email). On the main news programmes (TV) the film footage used to describe his work was of Death of a Nation. His main focus of address was on the Indonesian genocidal occupation of East Timor and the collaboration of the Western powers and media

PROTEST AT AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY IN DUBLIN

ETISC Press Release 30th March 1995

The East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign will hold a protest at the Australian embassy, Wilton Terrace, on Saturday 8th April to express its revulsion over the Australian's government plans to sell 100 Million dollars worth of rifles to the Indonesian armed forces.

The Australian government has drawn sharp criticism from the Australian section of Amnesty International and other human rights groups when they announced the proposed sale recently. In the last few years, there has been an upgrading of military contacts between Australia and Indonesia. Indonesian special forces, responsible for some of the worst atrocities in East Timor, have been engaged in joint manoeuvres with their Australian counterparts.

Announcing the decision to picket the Australian embassy, spokesperson for ETISC, Tom Hyland, said:

"I am shocked that despite the concerns and feelings of the people of Australia, the Australian government is hell bent on arming a regime that has shown such wanton disregard for human life not only in occupied East Timor but in Indonesia itself."

IRISH HIT AUSTRALIA ON TIMOR RIGHTS

[From: Hugh Ekeberg, Australians for a Free East Timor, Darwin:

Affet congratulates ETISC on a job well done. The coverage was excellent! News of the Irish Protest against the Australian Embassy in Baile Atha Cliath (Dublin) was covered on the national SBS television network in its six PM bulletin on Sunday evening the 9th of April.]

Northern Territory News, Australia, April 10.

London: More than 150 protesters picketed the Australian Embassy in Dublin at the weekend over the governments lack of conscience on the human rights violations in East Timor.

Australia, the United States and the UK have been targeted by the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign (ETISC) for arms trade to Indonesia which invaded East Timor 20 years ago.

ETISC spokesperson, Tom Hyland said the sale of weaponry to Indonesia should be banned because the regime had shown such "wanton disregard for human life."

He said Australia and Indonesia had been upgrading military contact in recent years.

He said even the move to sell a small number of Australian rifles for "evaluation" was irresponsible.

Mr. Hyland said Prime Minister Paul Keating continued to milk his Irish ancestry, and the rights of his ancestors to flee poor treatment by British landlords, in his push for a republic.

Yet he failed to recognise the rights of other suffering people in East Timor.

Mr. Hyland said, "Nobody is against trade between Australia and Indonesia, but is everything up for grabs?"

"The fact is, where Paul Keating and foreign minister Gareth Evans are concerned, the East Timorese are expendable."

The demonstrators, including a scythe-carrying Grim Reaper, gathered outside the Wilton Terrace embassy carrying banners and calling on MPs to "help stop the horror."

They had earlier sent a protest letter the embassy.

IRISH DEMOCRATIC LEFT MOTION

From ETISC, April 1

The following motion was passed unanimously passed at the Democratic Left party conference:

This conference calls on the government to object strongly at the continuing supply

of arms by some European states to Indonesia for the oppression of the people of East Timor.

(The Democratic Left is one of three political parties that make up the ruling coalition government here in Ireland.)

IRISH TO PROTEST HABIBI

Voice of Timor Press Release, 19 May 1995

The East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign will place a picket on the Department of Trade and Tourism during a meeting between the Department and ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) ambassadors on Tuesday 23rd May beginning at 10.a.m. to protest at the presence of the Indonesian ambassador, Mr. J. E. Habibie.

ASEAN has given diplomatic support to the Indonesian government since it's invasion of East Timor. This invasion has led to the deaths of an estimated 200,000 East Timorese, one third of the population.

ETISC co-ordinator Tom Hyland said: "This is a welcome opportunity to draw public attention to the continuing illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia. In my opinion, no Irish government should engage in trade with a regime that has sunk to the levels of barbarism as the Indonesian military has done in East Timor. In response to the brave stand by the Dunnes Stores strikers, Ireland implemented a total ban on the importation of all fruit and vegetables from apartheid South Africa. Likewise Ireland should lead the way in imposing selective trade sanctions against the 'New Pariah,' the Indonesian regime."

ETISC have requested a meeting with the Indonesian ambassador while he is in Ireland. A positive reply is expected. The enclosed agenda was faxed to the Indonesian embassy in London today.

For more information call 00 353 1 6233148 day and evening.

Agenda sent to Indonesian embassy.

1. The location of the bodies of the victims of the Santa Cruz massacre.
2. The recent atrocity at Liquica.
3. The recent sentencing of pro-independence activists.
4. The United Nations talks.
5. Recent human rights abuses.
6. Any assistance the campaign can give to Indonesia in speedily extricating itself from East Timor.

INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR IN IRELAND

Ireland Radio News, 22 May 1995. News-reader:- Nick Adams

Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and the continuing human rights

abuses taking place there should be on the Deputy's Prime Minister's agenda when he meets Indonesia's ambassador tomorrow morning, that's the view of the East Timor Solidarity Campaign. Ireland is widely regarded as one of the strongest advocates for the East Timorese in the international community. Tom Hyland of the campaign is urging the Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime minister, Dick Spring to raise the matter when he meets the ambassador at Iveagh House in the morning.

Tom Hyland "From reports we are receiving from East Timor there is a serious deterioration in the human rights situation there. An Australian nurse recently left East Timor and has spoken of rape, torture and other abuses. I do hope that the Deputy Prime Minister will take the opportunity tomorrow during discussions with Mr. Habibie to address him on this matter."

ENVOY AVOIDS TIMOR PROTEST

The Irish Times, 24th May 1995

Members of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign yesterday held a vigil outside the Department of Trade and Tourism to coincide with a meeting between the Minister, Mr. Kenny, and ambassadors, including Mr. J.E. Habibie of Indonesia, writes David Shanks.

The protest forced the diplomats to leave by a rear door as the protesters waited at the front of the building in Kildare Street.

At an earlier meeting the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Spring, "took the opportunity to raise Ireland's concern about East Timor," a Department said. Mr. Tom Hyland of the solidarity expressed gratitude to the Deputy Prime minister for this.

The group holding banners calling for an end to Indonesia's 20 year occupation, also protested about Jakarta's poor human rights record in the territory and recent reports of torture from a nurse there. Indonesia's rule of East Timor has been declared illegal in several UN resolutions.

The Indonesian ambassador was one of six London-based Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Dublin for informal working meetings to discuss trade and economic issues and developments linking the EU and the ASEAN region. These are held routinely one or twice a year but have special purpose given Ireland's EU presidency from June 1996.

The other envoys were from the Philippines, Singapore, Brunei, Thailand and Malaysia.

HABIBIE IN IRELAND

R.T.E. National Radio, Today at Five, May 24.

Anchor Woman:- Noelle O'Reilly.

INTRO:- Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor since 1975 and the continuing human rights abuses taking place there are ongoing concern to the Voice of Timor group in Ireland. Today they held a peaceful vigil outside the Department of Tourism and Trade where the Indonesian ambassador was having talks with the Minister. He is here with a delegation representing the South East Asian Nations. He had a breakfast meeting earlier with the Deputy Prime minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs Dick Spring. The Voice of Timor's Tom Hyland was interviewed by Freda McGough.

"Dick Spring has given assurances over the last year that strong action is called for over Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and the continuing human rights abuse there."

Freda McGough: Tell me about the human rights abuses that you know of in recent times, A nurse, a male nurse came out of East Timor and has alerted you to human rights abuses going on there ?

"Yes this health worker came out of East Timor and has spoken of rape, torture and other human rights abuses there and he himself was threatened with being shot by an Indonesian officer until a nun intervened and pleaded for his life. He got to the northern sector hiding under truck of pig carcass. shortly he left East Timor.

Freda McGough: Are children being abused ?

Tom Hyland: "The health worker that I have just spoken of tried to stop Indonesian soldier from beating a young Timorese boy. this young child may have lost an eye because of the beating."

"There is a birth control programme in East Timor, carried out without the consent of the women."

"The one major problem is the fact that the Indonesian military do not want independent observers or journalists there. The Irish times were recently refused permission to send a journalist there."

Freda McGough "And what message did Tom Hyland want the Minister for trade and Tourism to convey to the ambassador" ?

Tom Hyland: "I would expect him to say that Ireland would not involve itself economically with Indonesia so long as they are defying ten UN resolution over East Timor. The onus is on all of us, particularly as we

commemorate the Nazis Holocaust that we don't deal with a criminal regime."

Freda McGough: "The East Timor group sought a meeting with the ambassador but were turned down did he have any hope of a meeting with the ambassador when he leave the meeting?"

Tom Hyland "Well I think he has just sneaked out the back exit. The Ministerial cars have moved into the side alley, he does not wish to see the banners and people we have here today."

Noelle O'Reilly:- We requested a statement from the Department of Foreign Affairs on the Deputy's Prime Minister's meeting with the Indonesian ambassador. We were told the Deputy Prime Minister would normally meet with ASEAN once or twice a year and that such a meeting is particularly relevant now with our upcoming presidency of the EU. we asked if the Deputy Prime Minister discussed the question of East Timor with the ambassador and were told "Yes, he took up the question of East Timor."

That was a report from Freda McGough on East Timor.

N.B. Reports were also carried on radio Na Life, Anna Livia, Cork local radio, Network Radio News and Ireland Radio News.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WRONGS IN EAST TIMOR

The Big Issues, Dublin, 10 June 1995. By Todd Westbrook. Abridged.

NB. The following article was accompanied by two photographs. The first was of the Bullet poster, the second was of Habibie as he entered a government building.

The Irish protesters who confronted the Indonesian ambassador should count themselves lucky—after all, if they were East Timorese they might be dead now. Todd Westbrook reports.

When the Indonesian ambassador Junus Effendi Habibie was confronted by protesters during his recent visit to the Department of Trade and Tourism, his response, according to one source, was to forgive them. Protesting, he is said to have commented, is a natural right.

According to Tom Hyland, of the East Timor Ireland solidarity Campaign: "That will come as some surprise to the people of East Timor, were dissenters who exercise their "natural right" of protest are shot dead.

By conservative accounts, 200,000 people have been killed in East Timor since Indonesia invaded this small country in 1975, although Hyland believes the number to be much higher.

It was in protest at Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor-illegal according to ETISC, to the UN Security Council, to Amnesty International-that Hyland and other members of his organisation demonstrated during the recent Irish visit of the Indonesian ambassador.

It is not the first protest organised by ETISC, nor will it be the last. "We have to deny Indonesia international respectability," said Hyland. We never let them (diplomats and Politicians) come into the country without a protest." What the ETISC is trying to achieve, and what the UN security council have called for, is withdrawal of Indonesian troops and self-determination for the East Timorese.

Approaching the Irish presidency of the European Union in 1996, Hyland is hopeful that actions such as the recent ambush will spur movement on the East Timor issue on a continental scale.

"There are two groups within Europe right now: the arms traders such as Britain, France and Germany and the countries looking to enforce an arms embargo, such as Sweden, Belgium, Portugal and Ireland.

"To date the arms traders have had it all their own way, but hopefully that will change."

The man that Hyland believes can help is Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dick Spring. At a recent meeting held in Dublin, it is thought that the minister put forward objections to the treatment of East Timorese and the occupation of the country by Indonesia.

Hyland said of the meeting: "I welcome the ministers decision to meet with the Indonesian ambassador." He added that he hoped Mr. Spring had the opportunity to "express our deep concern for the people of East Timor" and that the Deputy Prime Minister again showed "his deep and abiding concern for the oppressed and violated of East Timor by telling the ambassador in the strongest possible terms that Ireland will do all in its power to support the cause for peace and justice in East Timor."

The Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed that Mr. Spring "took the opportunity to raise Ireland's concerns about East Timor."

In an effort to put economic pressure on the Indonesian government, ETISC will begin a campaign this month aimed at highlighting products originating from that country.

According to Hyland, the idea of the campaign will be to let people decide for themselves if they feel comfortable buying Indonesian products.

"The campaign is called 'LOOK AT THE LABEL.' It gives information about companies who trade with Indonesia-about

conditions there and the methods by which things are produced. Then we are going to leave it up to the consumer to make up their own mind."

The article goes on to describe the experience of Simon De Faux, the Australian nurse who left East Timor recently.

IRISH MEP LINKS EU GRANT TO RIGHTS IN INDONESIA

The Irish Times, June 9th 1995

Brussels – A major European environmental programme to assist preservation of Indonesian forests has been attacked by the Dublin MEP, Mr. Niall Andrews, write Patrick Smith from Brussels. Mr. Andrews yesterday said that the European Commission decision to provide 6 million in assistance to Indonesia "flies in the face" of repeated concerns by both the European parliament and presidency at "the monstrous violations of human rights at the hands of the same government in East Timor."

"It is incomprehensible," Mr. Andrews said, "that the European Commission should sanction such large amounts of European aid to the Indonesians without even linking it to the issue of Indonesian withdrawal or at a minimum demanding concrete evidence that the human rights of the East Timorese are being respected."

The Indonesian forests cover 75 per cent of the country's land representing an area the size of France and Spain combined. It is one of the three great tropical forests of the world with an abundance of unique animals and plants. Forestry is estimated to produce an income of around \$5 billion a year and to employ some four million families but depletion is leading to the loss of up to one million hectares a year.

IRISH SENATE TO DEBATE LISBON DECLARATION

From ETISC, June 12

The following motion has been put down for debate this coming Wednesday in the Irish Senate:

That Seanad Eireann endorses the decision made in Lisbon at the Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor; and calls on the Irish Government to take all necessary steps to ensure the implementation of the declaration in order to secure freedom and the right to self-determination for the people of East Timor. Senators John Dardis (opposition) David Norris (IND) Donal Lydon (opposition) Mary Henry (ind) Joe Sherlock (Govt) Jan O'Sullivan (Govt) Madeleine Taylor Quinn (Govt)

NORRIS CALLS FOR TRIBUNAL ON EAST TIMOR GENOCIDE

The Irish Times, June 15 1995

Independent Senator David Norris yesterday called on the Government to take up the offer of a distinguished American law firm to assist it in taking a case against what he described as "the Indonesian dictatorship" on a charge of genocide in East Timor.

Mr. Norris said at the recent Lisbon conference on East Timor, hosted by the Portuguese parliament, one of the distinguished American judges had offered his firm's services free of charge.

Mr. Norris said he was putting it directly to the Minister and the Department of Foreign Affairs that if they were serious about the crime of genocide, which they knew had been committed, and about bringing people to book, they must take up this offer, which was made seriously by a renowned international judge.

The Senate was discussing a motion in the names of an all-party delegation to the Lisbon conference. It called on the Government to take all necessary steps to ensure the implementation of the Lisbon Declaration to secure freedom and self-determination for the people of East Timor.

The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Ms Joan Burton, said the Government could support the Declaration, which was adopted unanimously by the conference. It urged the UN and all governments and parliaments of the countries which have been selling arms to Indonesia to put an embargo on such trade.

The Government was well aware of the role played by the Indonesian military forces in maintaining control over East Timor, and would fully support such sanctions. It was also prepared to raise the matter with its partners in the European Union.

She added that it was essential that the Timorese leader, Mr. Xanana Gusmão, and other political prisoners be released.

Mr. John Dardis (PD) said that it was important that national parliaments adopted and supported the Lisbon Declaration. Its authority, he said, would be greatly strengthened by the Senate giving it unanimous support.

Ms. Madeleine Taylor-Quinn (FG) supported a tribunal for East Timor to process human rights violations. She condemned EU aid To Indonesia for forestry development.

The motion was passed unanimously..

EVENTS IN GERMANY - AND RETALIATION

SUHARTO UNWELCOME IN WEIMAR

Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 March 1995

The City Council of Weimar has declared the Indonesian President Suharto unwelcome in the city. The reason for this unanimous decision of the Council, which has just been made public, is the grave human rights violations that have occurred during Suharto's period of office. This was stated in an announcement by the group of city councilors from the Alliance 90/the Greens, which governs Weimar along with the social democrats, the SPD.

Suharto is due to arrive in Germany in early April and will visit Weimar on 5 April.

[*Note: Lobbying for action against Suharto in this town in the former East Germany came from the peace activists from the days before re-unification who were instrumental in the campaign against the sale of naval vessels to Indonesia.*]

GERMAN CITY DECLARES SUHARTO UNWELCOME GUEST

WEIMAR, Germany, March 23

AFP – The historic German city of Weimar has declared Indonesia's President Suharto an unwelcome guest because of severe human rights violations by his regime, Green party members on the city council revealed in an open letter Thursday.

According to the letter, General Suharto is expected in Germany for a visit early April and plans to visit Weimar on April 5. The city council, ruled by a coalition of Greens and Social Democrats, had taken its decision unanimously, the letter said.

Suharto came to power in 1966 by sidelining President Sukarno who was considered sympathetic to communism, and he took full control in 1967.

The Indonesian government has been the object of particular international criticism and pressure since its 1975 invasion of the neighbouring former Portuguese territory of East Timor, which it annexed the following year.

As the city associated with the German poets Goethe and Schiller, Weimar in the east German state of Thuringia is a popular venue for visitors to Germany.

PROTESTS AT THE HANOVER INDUSTRIAL FAIR

LUSA, March 30, Translated from Portuguese

Berlin, March 30 - About twenty human-rights organization will promote debates, demonstrations, and exhibits against the presence of Indonesia and Suharto's visit to the Hannover's Industrial Fair. A communiqué from the protests organizers asserts that there are no signs that the most shady side of Indonesia, that of genocide and human-rights violations in Irian Jaya, East Timor and Aceh, will be mentioned at the Hanover Fair. The high point of the protests will be a demonstration and rally on Saturday, April 1, in Hanover, against Suharto's presence in this city. There will be public addresses by the German Confederation of Unions (DGB), Amnesty International, and by a survivor of the Santa Cruz massacre.

At debates scheduled for March 30 and 31 and April 3, both German and Indonesian politicians will denounce the export of arms from Western countries to Jakarta, and the human-rights violations in Indonesia and ET. Timorese witnesses to the Santa Cruz massacre, and one of the Timorese who occupied the US Embassy in Jakarta last November were invited to participate in the debates. Upon invitation by A.I., several specialists will talk about the current situation in ET, and the film *Cold Blood* will be shown. A.I. also promotes a debate on April 3 among theologians on the topic of freedom of religion in Indonesia. On Sunday, April 2, there will be a religious service for Indonesia, and an address by a member of the German Protestant Church.

Indonesia was chosen this year as the country-theme of the Hanover International Fair, one of the largest such fairs in the world, which will take place April 3-8. Suharto will speak April 2 at the opening of the fair. The fair will also be attended by German chancellor Helmut Kohl.

PASTORS WRITE TO KOHL

The following letter, signed by over 200 European pastors and priests, was sent to Chancellor Kohl on March 31.

Bundeskanzler H. Kohl Bonn

Dear Mr. Bundeskanzler:

As pastors and priests of various European Protestant and catholic churches we write to express our concern about human rights conditions in Indonesia and the Indonesian occupied East Timor. We call on your administration to express your and our concerns at the upcoming meeting with President Suharto.

We hope that you raise these human rights concerns with President Suharto during your meeting at the Hanover Fair (Hanover Messe). We would appreciate clear statements pressing the government of Indonesia to give the people of East Timor greater freedom and to ensure the protection of fundamental human rights in Indonesia. However, we are disheartened by the lack of progress on human rights and the daily reports of torture and other serious abuses being committed in Indonesia and in East Timor.

The US-State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1994 reports: "The [Indonesian] Government continued to commit serious human rights abuse and in some areas, notably freedom of expression, it became markedly more repressive, departing from a longer-term trend toward greater openness. The most serious abuse included the continuing inability of the people to change their government and harsh repression of the East Timorese dissidents." In November 1994, the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary and Arbitrary Executions reported that the atmosphere in East Timor continues to be oppressive and resembles the conditions that precipitated the mass killings by Indonesian forces in November 1991. The Rapporteur's report serves as a warning to the world and should solicit a response from the international community to take action to prevent a repetitions of severe human rights violations.

Indonesia has been elected to be the "Partnerland" at Hanover Messe. Your administration is still seeking closer economic and political ties to Indonesia, Indonesia got larger military aid by Germany within the recent years, aid to forces responsible for massacres. Federal owned "Deutsche Telekom" is now engaged in Indonesia, too. If you, Mr. Bundeskanzler, and your administration stand for human rights all over the world, these developments demand a strong response by Germany, the EC and the international community, now!

As a leading representative of the international community you should demonstrate your opposition to the continuing abuses at your meeting with the Indonesian president.

Berlin, Rome, Geneva
March 31, 1995

Signed by (till now) over 200 European
pastors / priests
(Ekkehard Jaenicke for Ecumenical Press
Service and apc-networks)

DRESDEN'S ROWDY WELCOME FOR SUHARTO

TAPOL Report, 6 April 1995

The following is based on a press release issued today by Watch Indonesia, press sources and original documents:

On his arrival in Dresden yesterday, 5 April, the last day of his visit to Germany, President Suharto was given a rowdy welcome by a crowd of some 150 people waving posters, beating drums and blowing whistles. The Indonesian dictator was escorted by a large number of German police and several dozen men in civilian clothing, wearing dark glasses, obviously from the Indonesian intelligence.

Demonstrators called for the withdrawal of the Indonesian military from East Timor and for the people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination.

Among the demonstrators were three East Timorese, Luciano Valentim da Conceicao, Vitor Tavares and José Manuel, who were among the 29 who entered the US embassy in Jakarta last November. They shouted slogans calling for the release of resistance leader Xanana Gusmão and a stop to German arms sales to Indonesia.

A planned for Suharto to attend a performance at the Dresden Opera House was abandoned, apparently because the orchestra refused to perform for the Indonesian president.

Large protesting crowds followed him when he visited the Zwinger portrait gallery in the city. He remained for only half an hour, and left, apparently irritated by the noisy demonstration that continued outside.

Leaders from four of the six parliamentary groups in the Dresden parliament including the Greens, the Social Democrats (SPD) and the PDS (former communists) signed a joint statement declaring Suharto unwelcome in Dresden. They cited among others the killing of at least half a million people when Suharto came to power in 1965 and the invasion of East Timor in 1975.

All state politicians who met Suharto, including the German president, Roman Herzog, and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, raised human rights issues with him; the only one to avoid the issue was Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Germany hopes to become Indonesia's first partner in Europe, its gateway to the European Union. Chancellor Kohl has described Rudy Habibie, one of Suharto's closest associates and a likely successor, as "Indonesia's greatest investment in Germany." Suharto is looking for more German investment. This week, Germany won three milliard marks worth of orders to build a

number of industries, including a coal energy supplier and ships.

SUHARTO'S TROUBLES IN DRESDEN

Radio Netherlands, 11 April 1995. Translated from Indonesian

Lt.Gen. Suyono, the armed forces chief of staff for general affairs, has warned opposition figures at home and abroad who he accuses of besmirching Indonesia's good name.

Among the opposition figures abroad he mentioned PPP MP Sri Bintang Pamungkas and Yeni Rosa Damayanti, a student activist recently released from prison. But Lt.Gen. also included Gunawan Muhammad, former editor-in-chief of TEMPO who had absolutely nothing to do with the demonstrations in Germany against the Suharto visit.

But what about those demonstrations, the most powerful to have occurred against a visiting head of state in Germany? Neither Sri Bintang nor Yeni was in Dresden; they only visited Hanover and Berlin and returned to Amsterdam on Tuesday. During the demonstration in Hanover, the two Indonesians were standing among the public on the street but neither gave speeches to the demonstrators.

Who was behind the demonstrations against Suharto? The one in Hanover was organised by Amnesty International's German Section while the demonstrations in Dresden were organised by the Evangelical Church and sympathisers of East Timor. This Church played a historic role in the movement against the communist regime in East Germany which finally led to the destruction of the Berlin Wall. The Church has taken up many issues regarding Indonesia, including East Timor, the workers and the journalists, as well as the problems of the Batak Church, the HKBP in Medan. This is why the Church decided to organise demonstrations against Suharto.

Suharto was forced to travel by bus to his evening dinner appointment. On the way, the bus was held up in the street for fifteen minutes by a large crowd of young Germans and East Timorese. As they drew closer to the bus, it was forced to turn round and take another route. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who was still smiling during the earlier demonstration at the Zwinger Museum, was clearly infuriated.

Sri Bintang, Yeni and Gunawan are being accused of the affair, but in fact, it is the Indonesian defence attaché in Bonn who should bear responsibility for the President's safety and he is looking for scapegoats. People fail to understand the present situation in Germany. The security guards escorting President Suharto were former

members of the East German army. Now that the Berlin Wall has been destroyed, they seem to think that whereas under the communist regime, nothing was allowed, today people can do what they like, including getting very close to a visiting dignitary to express their feelings. This is why the President was subjected to yells and pamphlets.

According to some commentators, the Dresden events occurred because the Indonesian visitors failed to understand the local circumstances where the German pro-democracy movement in eastern Germany, hit by the damaging effects of re-unification, have now turned their attention to human rights issues. Matters like East Timor, the murder of Marsinah, the Pakpahan case and Ahmad Taufik's arrest are widely known to the German public. The demonstrators even learnt Indonesian words like 'babi' (pig) and 'pembunuh' (murderer) from the East Timorese who joined them, and understand the alternative version of SDSB (name of the national lottery), renamed by PIJAR as 'Suharto, the cause of all the killings.'

SUHARTO'S VISIT TO DRESDEN

Report from Claus Röhl, Germany,

Even before the Indonesian President, Suharto, arrived in Dresden on 5 April, the visit was bogged down in difficulty. The President had been invited by Kurt Biedenkopf, Minister-President of Sachsen. He was to have been asked to sign the city's Distinguished Visitors Book but the City Parliament had not been asked for their approval. On hearing about the plan, the mayor of Dresden, Herbert Wagner, said he would not consent the plan for Suharto to sign the Book. Four political parties in the City Parliament, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Bürgerfraktion, SPD and PDS, which together comprise the majority, issued a joint statement declaring that Suharto was not welcome in the city because of human rights abuses in Indonesia.

The Indonesian President was to have attended a performance at the Semper Opera but the orchestra flatly refused to perform for the Dictator. As discussion of the visit continued, Minister-President Biedenkopf said that he was willing to welcome Suharto but expressed great sympathy for people who demonstrated against the Indonesian regime's human rights violations.

Big support for the demonstrations

No fewer than twenty-seven human rights groups, church groups, civil rights groups and political parties in Dresden called on the people to demonstrate against Suharto, among them Bündnis 90/Die

Grunen and Neues Forum. It was a demonstration organized by the people of Dresden. It is quite ludicrous to accuse Indonesians of being responsible for these activities.

Steffen Heitmann, Sachsens Minister of Justice was at Dresden airport to welcomed Suharto on his arrival. From there, the delegation went to the city's most famous building, the Zwinger. There were about one hundred demonstrators waiting in the inner court. As the President approached, they made a great deal of noise, banging saucepans and drums, blowing whistles, blowing trumpets and shouting through megaphones: "Suharto, murderer, murderer, murderer, murderer! Free East Timor! Go home, Suharto!"

Then hundreds of leaflets floated down from above the entrance gate, with information about human rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor. A number of banners were unfolded with slogans as: "Kapan pulang dari Timor Timur" (When will you quit East Timor?), "Indonesien raus aus Osttimor!" (Hands off East Timor!), "Stop genocide in East Timor," "Suharto Dalang Segala Bencana," (Suharto is the cause for all disasters!) "With murderers we should not cooperate," "Go out of East Timor," "Suharto: in Indonesia a suppresser - in Germany a welcome guest!," "39 NVA-Kriegsschiffe = deutsche Entwicklungshilfe fur Indonesien" (39 warships = German development aid for Indonesia!), and many more.

About seventy tourists in the vicinity joined in the activities and Suharto and his entourage had to make their way to the picture gallery past a very large crowd of people. Security forces were on hand to prevent the demonstrators from coming closer than 3 meters, which is routine practice for the German police in dealing with demonstrations. Outside the gallery, the demonstrators created a terrible din which made things difficult for the Indonesian president, so the visit to the gallery was cut to twenty minutes. When he entered the Zwinger, Suharto had a broad smile on his face but he left looking very grim.

From there he went to Hotel Kempinski. Although it is only seventy meters away, he went by car. There were more demonstrators in front of the hotel; they continued with their action for about two hours in the presence of a number of journalists and four TV-channels. Although the itinerary included a trip to the world-famous porcelain manufacturer in Meissen, Suharto preferred to remain in the hotel for the whole afternoon.

For me, the atmosphere was reminiscent of the reunification of East and West Germany in 1989, when the people in former East Germany went out onto the streets,

demanding reunification and civil rights. The inhabitants of former East Germany know from experience the power that people can exert if they join forces to pursue a common goal. They know what it means to live in a democracy and what it means to live under a dictatorship.

At 6pm, a crowd of about four hundred people gathered outside the Opera. Amnesty International had asked people to go there to listen to talks about the human rights situation in Indonesia. Students from East Timor also spoke about the resistance and the human rights situation in their country. The Timorese were in Germany at the invitation of Watch Indonesia! which arranged for them to make a tour round the country.

With evening approaching, Suharto was still holed up in Hotel Kempinski so some of the demonstrators decided to make their way to the hotel but were prevented from approaching the building by the police. The demonstrators then went in the direction of the Hilton Hotel where the Minister-President was waiting to receive the Indonesian President and his entourage for an official dinner.

The Indonesian delegation was driven to the dinner by bus but on the way, the convoy was halted by demonstrators. Suharto, Habibie and Alatas were all sitting in the front seats. Confronted by a chain of people, holding hands, the bus had to turn round and make a retreat. A banner with the words "Kapan pulang dari Timor Timur" was plastered onto the windscreen and remained there for several minutes before being removed. The action had clearly made the Indonesians extremely upset. We could see Mrs. Alatas make a gesture with her hands to her head and then pointing to the demonstrators.

Alatas was particularly arrogant. Several times he showed his fist and gesticulated with his middle finger pointing upwards. [There is a great photo of this cross-cultural gesture!]

After the bus reversed and made its way to the Hilton Hotel along a different route, the demonstrators made their own way to the Hilton and stood aside, making a hell of a noise for about one hour.

PROTESTS AROUSE JAKARTA ANGER

The Irish Times, Thursday 13 April 1995.
By David Shanks

Indonesia has threatened three opposition figures with prosecution for their alleged part in protests during a recent visit of president Suharto to Germany, where he

was declared "an unwelcome guest" by the town of Weimar.

Following Indonesian reports that the army was compiling evidence on the boisterous protests in Dresden and Hanover, Ms Carmel Budiardjo, of the British-based Indonesian newsletter Tapol, said Jakarta was "venting its anger on the Indonesians for events that were organised by the Germans." They were organised by the Evangelical Church, she said. Two of the visiting Indonesians being "victimised" were not in Dresden at the time.

One of them, Mr. Sri Bintang Pamungkas, a deputy, is due back in Jakarta today. Another, Ms Yeni Rosa Damayanti (25), a student activist who is becoming a symbol of internal opposition and who was released from jail last December after a year's sentence for anti-Suharto protesting, has decided to delay her return for several weeks.

The third is Mr. Gunawan Muhammad, former editor of Tempo magazine, one of three publications banned early last year. On Monday a senior army officer told journalists that Mr. Muhammad would soon be taken in for questioning. Mr. Muhammad told journalists he had returned to Jakarta before the protests occurred.

Indonesia's "big boss was obviously very, very angry" at his reception in Germany, said Ms Budiardjo. A Dresden opera performance was cancelled after the artists refused to perform for him and several of the city's politicians signed a petition.

SUHARTO DIRECTLY THREATENS DISSIDENTS

Voice of America, 4/13/95. By Yenni Djahidin, Jakarta

Intro: Indonesian President Suharto says firm action will be taken against Indonesian nationals found to have been involved in protests during his just-completed visit to Germany. Yenni Djahidin reports from Jakarta, Mr. Suharto's statement comes as authorities investigate a number of activists – including a prominent journalist – in connection with the protests:

Text: Mr. Suharto spoke to reporters as he arrived back in Jakarta from a 12-day overseas trip.

He says the government intends to take firm action against Indonesian nationals who authorities suspect were behind protests during his visit to Germany.

Mr. Suharto says authorities are investigating reports of individuals who might have provided activists in Germany with information on Indonesia's human-rights record. He says the government cannot take action against Indonesians living abroad who were involved in protests in the German cities Hanover and Dresden.

Mr. Suharto describes as irrational, protesters representing rebel groups from Indonesia's predominantly-Muslim province, Aceh, as well as demonstrators from Molucca and East Timor.

Indonesian police spokesman I-K Ratta says five Indonesians will be questioned in connection with the protests. Another official (M. B. Hutagalung) says legal action would be taken against any found to have been involved.

One of those identified is Gunawan Muhammad – former chief editor of *Tempo*: one of three news weekly magazines banned by the government in 1994. Others include outspoken legislator Sri Bintang Pamungkas and democracy activist Yeni Rosa Damayanti. Police refuse to name the other two suspects, saying only that they are East Timorese.

Yeni Rosa Damayanti is an activist with a non-government organization called the PIJAR foundation. She recently completed a 12-month jail term after being convicted on charges of de-faming president Suharto during a demonstration in Jakarta.

Indonesian authorities allege the five persons named were spotted among 100 protesters present when president Suharto arrived in Hanover to attend a trade fair. Demonstrators waved banners and shouted slogans accusing the Indonesian government of violating human rights.

Meanwhile, a delegation representing the Brussels-based international federation of journalists has been visiting Jakarta. The five-member delegation is on a fact-finding mission related to the latest government crackdown on members of an independent journalists union.

ASAHI ON SUHARTO'S CRACKDOWN

Asahi Shimbun, April 14, 1995 Origin: Jakarta (April 13) Fukuda (Correspondent) Translated from Japanese

Titles: Indonesia: Containment of Anti-Government Criticism; Suharto Regime Tightens Screws on Media

Comment. Other dailies have also reported the German demonstrations and the crackdown. Jean Inglis

The Suharto regime in Indonesia is heightening pressure on the mass media. The president ordered an investigation of magazine editors, on suspicion of involvement in anti government demonstrations on the 13th during his visit to Germany. Journalists of unlicensed publications, arrested on suspicion of criticising the government, also continue to be taken into detention. These measures are also seen as part of an internal

struggle with "anti Suharto forces" with a view to the 1997 general elections and the presidential election the following year.

Inquiry ordered on German demonstration

Critical journalists being detained

The president made a two week state visit from April 1 to Germany and three Central Asian countries. In Germany he ran into anti government demonstrations in Hanover and Bonn on human rights issues. On the 5th over one hundred people trying to get into an art museum jeered the president in Indonesian.

The president told reporters accompanying him on his flight back to Indonesia on the 13th: "There were Indonesians giving information to the demonstrators. They are not in their right mind and are selling out their country. They will be firmly dealt with."

The same day Indonesia's major dailies reported that five people including Gunawan Muhammad, editor of the weekly, *Tempo*, banned by the government last year, a parliamentarian from the opposition party, Development Unity Party (?), and East Timorese are suspected of involvement in the demonstrations and are soon to be investigated.

It was also reported that security officials obtained a video of the Hanover demonstration which shows the five.

The press reports are believed to reflect the views of security officials, and Gunawan told the *Asahi Shimbun* the same day that "I'll probably be arrested."

Gunawan was in Germany and Holland from early March into April. He said he was on a private visit with his wife, and although he gave lectures and appeared in the media, "There is no way I could have planned a demonstration."

Gunawan used *Tempo* as a base for developing frank criticism of the government. He is well known internationally as well. He is also one of the founders of the Alliance of Independent Journalists, three main members of which were arrested in March, and his arrest would deal a big blow to anti establishment forces.

Since the banning of *Tempo* the media have avoided topics that would irritate the establishment, such as the issue of the presidential succession. Some sources, to explain the heavy handedness of this crackdown, say that "The president is afraid of a joining of forces by those critical of the government. He wants to nip the romance in the bud."

At the end of last year, as political parties were gearing up for general elections in two years time, an official of the Democratic Party founded by Megawati, the eldest

daughter of former President Sukarno, was forced to resign after being accused by the military of having ties with the Communist Party. Some believe that the attacks on establishment critics may not be confined only to the media.

PROTESTERS 'INSANE,' SAYS SUHARTO

Reuter in New Straits Times, 14 April 1995

Indonesia's President Suharto today ordered firm action against Indonesians who took part in a demonstration against him in German, describing them as 'irrational and insane.'

About 100 people including several Indonesians staged a demonstration during Suharto's visit to Germany this month to protest Indonesian human rights violations. Blowing whistles and shouting slogans, they waved banners which read: "Stop human rights violations" and said Suharto was "a mass murderer."

"We must be firm against people (Indonesians) who give materials to them (foreigners)," Suharto told journalists travelling in the plane with him back to Jakarta. "According to a report, there are some people from inside the country who provided materials," he said.

Army chief General Hartono was quoted by Antara as saying today that outspoken legislator Sri Bintang Pamungkas and student activist Yenni Rosa Damayanti were among the protesters in Germany.

[Addition from AFP]

Suharto said that the demonstrations were mostly organised by the London-based human rights organisation, Amnesty International. Amnesty, said Suharto, had mobilised "frustrated people" from among the pro-independence movements in East Timor, in Irian Jaya, Moluccas and Aceh.

Additional note: A report in yesterday's Java Pos which we have not yet seen includes TAPOL among six organisations said to have organised the German demonstrations. I wish I could concur with that but it's a little outside our patch. We're waiting for Suharto to make a trip to these shores....

OPPOSITION THREATENED WITH JAIL IN INDONESIA

PRESS RELEASE from German Student Association (ASTA)

Hanover 14 April 1995

To the international Media especially in Indonesia

Hanover/Jakarta, 14 April - One week ago the situation of human rights in Indone-

sia played an important role in Germany. Now the political courage of two opposition members should be penalised.

Dr. Sri Bintang Pamungkas and Yeni Rosa Damayanti are threatened with imprisonment up to five years. This is the demand of President Suharto and members of military faction of the Indonesian parliament. Dr. Pamungkas, Yeni Rosa Damayanti and a third person called Goenawan Mohamad are accused of organising demonstrations and events in Hanover and Dresden, both are cities in Germany.

"This is by any means ridiculous," says Ingo Jaeger, speaker of the German NGO-Forum 095 for the industrial fair in Hanover and international co-ordinator at the Hanover student union.

"At the beginning of February 1995 we joined about 20 other German organisations to prepare for the opening of the Hanover Fair in April," explains Mr. Jaeger. "We were responsible for sleeping places and venues for lectures and discussions. In these matters we invited Yeni Rosa Damayanti and Dr. Sri Bintang Pamungkas as competent speakers on the topic of economic dependencies of Indonesia."

In connection with other NGOs, Jaeger emphasises that groups like Amnesty International organised the demonstration on the 1st of April. Trade unions and the Gesellschaft fuer bedrohte Voelker supported the appeal. Together with the Protestant church amnesty arranged a special divine service on the situation in East-Timor. The BUKO-Campaign "Stop the arms export" did a podium discussion together with Sri Bintang and Juergen Trittin, a former Minister of Lower-Saxony.

"Yeni and Sri Bintang didn't have to do anything with the demo, not talking about Mr. Goenawan Mohamad" states Jaeger, adding that Yeni and Bintang never visited Dresden.

"As former hosts of Dr. Pamungkas and Mrs. Damayanti we are anxious about what will happen to them being back in Indonesia, so NGO-speaker Jaeger. "The accusations reveal the hypocrisy of the Suharto regime when talking about democracy and freedom of speech in Indonesia and for Indonesian citizens."

Reading the statement of Army Chief of Staff General Hartono "The head of state represents the entire Indonesian nation and being treated like that, who would not be angry," adding "we will see later what action will be taken by the authorities." it shows to the student unionist what Indonesian officials think about democracy.

"It seems like Suharto is angry about his bad PR in Germany, but he will not improve by hanging Yeni, Bintang or anybody for something they never did" judges Jaeger and

hopes that the German minister for economy, Dr. Rexrodt, considers these facts at his talks in Jakarta today.

GOENAWAN, BINTANG DENY INVOLVEMENT IN GERMAN PROTEST

The Jakarta Post, April 15, 1995

JAKARTA (JP): Goenawan Mohamad and Sri Bintang Pamungkas denied military accusations that they took part in demonstrations against President Suharto in Germany early this month.

Goenawan, a former chief editor of the banned Tempo magazine, and Bintang, a legislator of the United Development Party (PPP), told The Jakarta Post in separate interviews that they have alibis that prove they were nowhere near the area when the protests occurred.

"I'm innocent," Goenawan said. "I know nothing about the demonstrations."

"I protest against all those accusations," Bintang said. "With such accusations, they could have me charged with subversion and I could land in prison for an indefinite length of time."

Bintang said he was in Germany for a series of speaking engagements at around the same time as Soeharto's visit to that country. He said he was in Hanover to give a lecture on Indonesian economics at the local university. He also gave lectures at several other universities and functions.

He acknowledged watching an anti-Indonesia demonstration, which took place near the hotel where he was staying in Hanover. He said he also visited the Hanover trade and industrial fair, but went there after Suharto had left.

Goenawan said he had left Germany before Suharto arrived. "My recent visit to that country had nothing to do with the protests."

Both men said their trip schedules are proof enough of their innocence. Bintang said he's already [sic] to be questioned.

About 100 people, including several Indonesians, staged a demonstration alleging Indonesia human rights violations when President Suharto opened Germany's Hanover Fair with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Another protest took place during Soeharto's visit in Dresden, and was reportedly joined in by a number of East Timorese.

Bintang said he never set foot in Dresden during his stay.

According to Goenawan's European visit schedule, he and his wife, Widarti, were in Germany between March 3 and March 18. The couple continued their trip to the Netherlands, Britain and France. "I was already

in Singapore on April 2, a day before the demonstrations were staged," he said.

Chief of the Armed Forces' General Affairs Lt. Gen. Soeyono said the government had proof that Goenawan, Bintang, and democracy activist Yeni Rosa Damayanti were involved in the protests.

Yenni, who completed a 12-month jail term in December for insulting President Suharto during a demonstration, is believed to still be overseas.

"We have witnesses, photographs and video recordings as evidence to prove that the three and several others joined in the demonstrations," Soeyono said on Thursday. Police have been asked to further investigate the allegations, he said.

"They can be charged with subversion," Soeyono said. In addition to "tarnishing Indonesia's image, they have put the President in danger," he said.

Bintang returned from Germany on Thursday and was immediately surrounded by dozens of reporters and activists from several non-governmental organizations at the Soekarno-Hatta airport.

There was also a strong presence of police officers and plain-clothes security personnel. The chaos forced the legislator to cut short his press conference.

"Those accusations against me are arbitrary," he said. "I believe the demonstration is the Indonesian government's own responsibility because the protesters see the country as having violated human rights."

On Thursday, President Suharto ordered firm action against [any] Indonesian who took part in the demonstration in Germany. "We must be firm (because) they are like insane people. They are irrational people," he said when asked to comment about the protest against him.

On Wednesday, just hours after the press reported the alleged involvement of Bintang, PPP leaders held a special meeting to discuss the matter and decided to apologize to President Suharto.

"The party's central executive board is ashamed of Bintang's conduct," said Hamzah Haz, chairman of the PPP faction at the House. "He's a House member but his actions do not reflect his position as a representative of the people."

"The party will write a letter of apology to President Suharto," he said.

Bintang expressed amazement over his party's decision. "I'm not yet found guilty, and they're already apologizing? They are the ones who should be ashamed of themselves," he lashed out.

Attorney General Singgih has called on the police to investigate Bintang's alleged role in the case of "crime against the state's security."

Attorney General's Office spokesman, Basrief Arief, said on Thursday that Singgih has submitted a request to President Suharto to conduct an investigation on the legislator.

BINTANG SUMMONED BY POLICE

Reuter, 16 April 1995

Jakarta – Indonesian police will question an outspoken member of Parliament on Tuesday for his alleged participation in an anti-Indonesian protest in Germany, the official Antara news agency said on Sunday. Indonesia's President Suharto earlier gave the go-ahead for Sri Bintang Pamungkas to be questioned formally following the protest during a state visit to Germany by the long-serving Indonesian leader.

"The written summons for Sri Bintang Pamungkas was delivered to him last night and we expect him to report to us on Tuesday," Major-General M. Hutagalung, a deputy national police chief, was quoted as saying.

Suharto told reports last week while returning from a 12-day visit to Germany and three central Asian states, that he had ordered action against Indonesians who took part in the protests.

INDONESIA POLICE TO QUESTION MP ON TUESDAY

JAKARTA, April 16 (Reuter) - Indonesian police will question an outspoken member of parliament on Tuesday for his alleged participation in an anti-Indonesian protest in Germany, the official Antara news agency said on Sunday.

Indonesia's President Suharto earlier gave the go-ahead for Sri Bintang Pamungkas to be questioned formally following the protest during a state visit to Germany by the long-serving Indonesian leader.

"The written summons for Sri Bintang Pamungkas was delivered to him last night and we expect him to report to us on Tuesday," Major General M. Huragalung, a deputy national police chief, was quoted by Antara as saying.

Suharto told reporters last week while returning from the 12-day visit to Germany and three central Asian states he had ordered action against Indonesians who took part in the protests.

"We must be firm (because) they are like insane people. People who are irrational," he said.

About 100 people, including several Indonesians, took part in a protest against alleged human rights violations.

They blew whistles, waved banners reading "Stop human rights violations," and labelled Suharto a "mass-murderer."

Antara quoted Suharto as saying the demonstrators backed anti-integration and separatist groups in areas of the archipelago, including East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

Bintang, a member of the opposition United Development Party in the mainly rubber-stamp parliament, has denied taking part in any protest. He said he was in Germany to give lectures at two universities.

Antara quoted Hutagalung as saying police would try to find out if any Indonesians gave false information about their country to people in Germany who staged the demonstration.

INDONESIAN MP FACES POSSIBLE DEFACTION CHARGE

JAKARTA, April 17 (Reuter) - Indonesia's police chief said on Monday an outspoken member of parliament is likely to be charged with defaming President Suharto for his alleged involvement in an anti-Indonesian protest in Germany.

"Police are preparing articles related to defaming the president... and causing a physical disturbance against the president," police chief General Banurusman told reporters.

The legislator, Sri Bintang Pamungkas, has denied any involvement in protests in Dresden and Hanover during Suharto's state visit to Germany earlier this month.

Bintang, who is due face questioning by police on Tuesday, has said he was in Germany to lecture at two universities. He returned to Indonesia last Thursday.

Lawyers from the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute will accompany Bintang during the questioning, a lawyer from the group told Reuters.

He said there were several articles related to defaming the president, with possible jail terms ranging between five to seven years.

Suharto, a retired army general in power since the late 1960s, gave the go-ahead for Bintang, a member of the opposition United Development Party in the mainly rubber-stamp parliament, to be formally questioned.

He told reporters last week while returning from a 12-day visit to Germany and three central Asian states he had ordered action against Indonesians who took part in the protests.

"We must be firm (because) they are like insane people. People who are irrational," he said.

Demonstrations were reported in Dresden and Hannover, where Suharto and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl opened a trade fair.

About 100 people, including several Indonesians, took part in one protest against alleged Indonesian human rights abuses. They blew whistles, waved banners reading

"Stop human rights violations," and called Suharto a "mass murderer."

Antara quoted Suharto as saying the demonstrators backed anti-integration and separatist groups in areas of the archipelago, including East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

BINTANG INVITATION CONFIRMED

ASTA Report, April 17

The University of Hanover officially confirms having invited Dr. Sri Bintang Pamungkas to present a lecture on the "Economic Dependencies of Indonesia."

Dr. Sri Bintang Pamungkas held his lecture on the 31. of March. The lecture was attended by a considerable number of students and was followed by an extended discussion on academic grounds.

This academic event was organised on the initiative of the student union of the University of Hanover.

Ulrich van Koeverden
Public relations officer of the Executive Council of AStA University of Hanover.

INTERVIEWS YENI & OLTMANS

From fwillems@antenna.nl, Apr. 19, 1995

The Hague, Netherlands - Radio Tonka aired this morning an interview with Yeni Rosa Damayanti who made a visit to Holland. She told about Indonesian democracy. About a demonstration in the lobby of the Indonesian House of Parliament. Where she got beaten unconscious by military personnel. After this she was brought into the police-station and got continually interrogated for five days. For the demonstration she was sentenced to one year in prison.

The interview was made because President Suharto got very shocked by demonstrators while he visited Germany. He wants revenge but he can not punish Europeans. So he blames Indonesians in Europe like Yeni, amongst others. Here she has to answer a lot of questions from Indonesian journalists. When she goes back to Indonesia she has to go to prison and answer a lot of questions from the military. (Of course it were Germans who were rude to him. Everybody knows how Germans can demonstrate... But it could have been worse: this year it is 25 years ago Suharto visited Holland, and that was an extremely shocking event for everybody. Suharto will never ever set foot on Dutch soil again.)

Tonka Radio also interviewed Dutch journalist Wim Oltmans. Oltmans said the Indonesian president has had his time and it is crazy for the Dutch Queen to visit Indonesia in august now the Indonesian people is

awakening from the '65 trauma. Wim Oltmans, an old friend of former president Sukarno, is going to publish a book in Indonesian.

Non-commercial & Free Radio Tonka 103.8 MHz in Stereo, P.O.Box 10233 2501 HE The Hague Netherlands

GOVERNMENT ATTACKS INDIVIDUALS FOR DEMONSTRATIONS IN GERMANY

From Amnesty International News Service, 27 April 1995

AI INDEX: ASA 21/23/95

Amnesty International urges the Indonesian Government to stop intimidating individuals and organisations involved in largely peaceful demonstrations in Germany against human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor.

"Should any of those currently questioned be arrested in connection with the demonstrations, we would consider them prisoners of conscience," Amnesty International said.

The demonstrations took place during President Suharto's visit to Germany from 1 to 6 April. On his return to Indonesia on 13 April, President Suharto stated that his government would take strong action against Indonesians believed to be providing information to, or cooperating with, individuals and groups outside Indonesia involved in organising "anti-Indonesian" demonstrations.

One such individual apparently targeted for intimidation is Indonesian parliamentarian Sri Bintang Pamungkas, member of the United Development Party (PPP), who is currently being questioned by the Indonesian police.

Sri Bintang Pamungkas has denied that he was involved in the demonstrations, and has stated that he merely observed the demonstration in Hanover, Germany. He is being questioned under Article 134 of Indonesia's Criminal Code which punishes "insulting the President" with a maximum sentence of six years' imprisonment.

Sri Bintang Pamungkas has already been questioned on three separate occasions. The questioning however, has been temporarily suspended while his lawyers seek clarification on whether the police have followed the correct procedures.

"If arrested and charged, we would consider Sri Bintang Pamungkas a prisoner of conscience," Amnesty International said.

Amnesty International and other non-governmental organisations, as well as Indonesian and East Timorese groups outside of

Indonesia, have also been attacked by Indonesian authorities for their participation in the demonstrations.

"Peaceful demonstration is a lawful exercise of the right to freedom of association and expression, rights which are protected both by international human rights standards and under Indonesia's own constitution," Amnesty International said.

PAMUNGKAS MP NAMED AS 'SUSPECT'

Reuter, 3 May 1995. Abridged

Jakarta – Indonesian police have stepped up their investigation of an ousted member of parliament who is alleged to have participated in a protest in Germany against President Suharto, the official Antara news agency said.

The agency quoted Attorney General Singgih as telling reporters police had classified Sri Bintang Pamungkas from the Moslem-based United Development Party, as a suspect in connection with activities made while abroad.

Until now he had been classified only as a witness.

"Bintang's suspect status is made following the request by the police," Singgih said without elaborating.

Brigadier-General I Ketut Ratta, spokesman for the National Police, refused to comment when asked if Bintang's new status was linked with the Germany protest.

But Indonesia's Police Chief General Barurusman said last month Bintang was likely to be charged with defaming Suharto.

Bintang has denied any involvement but the authorities have banned him from travelling abroad. Bintang, dismissed by his party for being too outspoken, said he was in Germany to lecture at two universities.

SRI BINTANG PAMUNGKAS MP: FEAR OF ARREST

TAPOL URGENT ACTION 6 May 1995

Sri Bintang Pamungkas, an outspoken Member of Parliament, has been under police investigation since 18 April 1995, shortly after he returned home from Europe. The investigations began following a vitriolic attack on several Indonesians by President Suharto, accusing them of participating in or 'masterminding' a series of demonstrations that occurred during the President's state visit to Germany from 1 - 6 April. The President, unable to conceal his anger, described the 'culprits' as "insane" and "irrational." He declared that 'stern measures' would be taken against them.

The demonstrations took place in Hanover on 1 April and five days later in Dres-

den. Sri Bintang denies any role in the Hanover demonstration, which he watched from the sidewalk. He did not visit Dresden during his trip to Germany.

For three days starting 18 April, Sri Bintang was under police investigation as a 'witness' with no explanation from the police of the case in which the MP might be called to testify. The interrogations then came to a halt because Sri Bintang insisted on knowing whether the President had given the necessary written authorisation for the police to investigate him, as required by law for any investigation of a Member of Parliament.

The two other Indonesians known to be facing possible investigation and charges in connection with the demonstrations in Germany are Goenawan Mohammad, former editor of the weekly magazine, TEMPO, and Yenni Rosa Damayanti, a student activist who has just spent a year in prison for defamation of the President. Goenawan left Germany two weeks before the President's visit began. Yeni, like Sri Bintang, was a spectator when the demonstration took place in Hanover and she did not visit Dresden.

Since his return home, the MP's residence and car have been attacked and stoned by unidentified gangs; the office of the Legal Aid Institute, the YLBHI, in Jakarta has also been the target of several demonstrations by groups claiming that it is defending 'a traitor.'

Press reporting of the case has been very biased; in some instances, it is clear that information is based on intelligence sources.

From 'witness' to 'suspect'

On 3 May, the Office of the Attorney-General, Singgih, announced that the police were stepping up their 'case' against the MP and would henceforth interrogate him as 'a suspect.'

It is understood, on the basis of reliable information from Jakarta, that the authorities have decided to construct a case against Sri Bintang, come what may. The police appear to have had difficulty pinning a charge of 'masterminding' the demonstration on him and now plan to charge him in connection with two lectures he delivered while in Germany at the University of Hanover and the Humboldt University in Berlin. The lectures contained many criticisms about the present state of the Indonesian economy. Sri Bintang lectures on economics at the Faculty of Technology of the University of Indonesia, Jakarta.

This might make him liable under Article 207 of the Criminal Code for 'insulting a state authority' or under Article 137 for 'insulting the President' in writing. The former allows a maximum sentence of two

years, the latter, a maximum sentence of one year.

Sri Bintang's lawyers in Jakarta have strong reason to believe that Sri Bintang will be arrested in the next few days, possibly after a team of police officers have completed their investigation of the events in Hanover and Dresden. The German Interior Ministry has stated that it will not allow Indonesian police to conduct investigations in Germany and German visas for the team have been refused. However, the police team plans to depart for Europe on 6 May and will reportedly try to enter Germany via a third country.

The Geneva-based Inter-Parliamentary Union is conducting an investigation into the case and has written to the Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament, seeking clarifications. Its Committee on the Human Rights of Parliamentarians will consider the case at its forthcoming meeting on 10 - 13 July 1995.

Sri Bintang Pamungkas' lawyers believe that only an international campaign of protest can save him from arrest and trial. Following the President's open call for 'stern measures,' the authorities are under strong pressure to find a scapegoat.

PLEASE TAKE THE FOLLOWING ACTION

Please write immediately to the following, calling for further investigation of Sri Bintang Pamungkas to be halted immediately and expressing concern at his possible arrest. Make the point that the assault on his rights is being used as a way to silence peaceful opposition and is a violation of the freedom of expression guaranteed under international human rights standards and under Indonesia's own Constitution.

Address your concerns to:

1. Attorney-General Singgih, Fax no: +62-21 720-8557 (not a dedicated fax line).
2. President Suharto, c/o Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Fax no: 62-21 385 7316
3. National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) +62-21 314-1625

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, London. Phone: 0181 771-2904 Fax: 0181 653-0322 Email: tapol@gn.apc.org

SUHARTO RETALIATES AGAINST CRITICS: OFFICIAL REACTIONS TO DEMONSTRATIONS IN GERMANY

From: Human Rights Watch <hrwatch-nyc@igc.apc.org>, May 10, 1996

Human Rights Watch/Asia today called on the Indonesian Government to cease the harassment of Sri Bintang Pamungkas, a pro-democracy parliamentarian declared a suspect as part of the ongoing retaliation by President Suharto for demonstrations that greeted him on a trip to Germany in early April. The organization said the harassment of Bintang and others only underscores the weakness of the rule of law in Indonesia and the dangers to Indonesian citizens who challenge the arbitrary exercise of power and lack of accountability of senior officials.

President Suharto has called the Indonesians who took part in the demonstrations in Hanover on April 2 and in Dresden on April 5 "traitors" and also termed them "insane" and "irrational." Sri Bintang Pamungkas, was formally declared a suspect on May 4 and is likely to be arrested on charges of defaming the head of state, under Indonesia's equivalent of a lèse majesté law. One of Indonesia's leading journalists, Goenawan Mohamad, and a well-known student activist named Yeni Rosa Damayanti were threatened with arrest, also in relation to the demonstrations. Indonesian students living in Germany were being summoned to Indonesian consulates and the embassy to inform on those who took part in the demonstrations. And the Indonesian government formally requested permission from the German foreign ministry to send a police team to Germany to collect "evidence" against Indonesian participants; on April 28, the German government rejected the request as "unreasonable." The hunt for alleged masterminds of the demonstrations has provided a pretext for increased surveillance and harassment of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). In Medan, North Sumatra, thirteen activists from two local NGOs were detained briefly by police for questioning after sending a delegation to the provincial parliament to protest President Soeharto's comments on the demonstrators.

BACKGROUND TO THE HARSH REACTION

The Indonesian government's reaction to the demonstrations must be put in the context of twelve months of increasing controls on freedom of expression and association that began with the banning of three news publications in June 1994, including Tempo, the weekly magazine edited by Goenawan

Mohamad. Goenawan sued Minister of Information Harmoko, who signed the ban, and on May 4, 1995, a panel of three judges in the Jakarta administrative court ruled that the 1984 press law on which the ban was based was unlawful, and ordered Tempo's press license restored. The delight over the decision among Indonesians desirous of greater openness in the country was tempered by a recognition of reality: the administrative court has very little influence. Minister Harmoko announced that he would appeal, and most people assumed that higher courts would play by the political rules and rule against Tempo. Moreover, the ruling was likely to have little impact on the larger problem of senior officials of the Indonesian government taking personal umbrage at criticism and using the legal system to impose their punishment of choice.

Tempo was closed in part because of articles critical of the minister of research and technology, B.J. Habibie. Its closure led dismissed reporters and editors, including Goenawan Mohamad, to form a professional association called the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) which in turn began publishing a bulletin called *Independen*, with trenchant political commentary critical of the government. One of those whose views frequently appeared in *Independen* was Sri Bintang Pamungkas, the parliamentarian now in danger of arrest in connection with the demonstrations. The closure of the newspapers also led to demonstrations in Indonesia's major cities; taking an active role in these demonstrations was a largely student organization called the Pijar Foundation (Yayasan Pijar) whose publication, *Kabar Dari Pijar* (News from Pijar), called among other things for Minister Harmoko to be hung in effigy for the press ban. One of the Pijar activists was Yeni Rosa Damayanti, the third person to be named in the context of the demonstrations.

On March 9, Tri Agus Susanto, the editor of *Kabar Dari Pijar*, was arrested and charged under Article 154 of the Criminal Code, with spreading hatred against the government. On March 16 and 17, three members of AJI were arrested, ostensibly for publishing *Independen* without a license, a violation of the same press law that the Jakarta administrative court declared unlawful in May, and for spreading hatred. The three were Ahmed Taufik, 29, head of the presidium of AJI; Eko Maryadi, its secretary-general; and Danang Kukuh Wardoyo, an office helper. Police finished their investigation of the three in early May 1995 and their trials were expected to start shortly thereafter. On March 29, thirteen of the founding members of AJI were expelled from the Jakarta chapter of the official In-

donesian Journalists Association (Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia or PWI), including the editors of the publications banned in June 1994. In addition, two journalists from the leading Jakarta daily Kompas and two from the English-language Jakarta Post were told they had to resign from AJI or leave their respective papers. Pressure on editors from the Ministry of Information to sack AJI members was reportedly intense. The expulsion from PWI-Jakarta was formerly endorsed by the central office of PWI on April 17.

On April 26, Dr. George Aditjondro, a lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University, who has run afoul of the government because of his research and advocacy on East Timor, was formally charged with insulting a government body in public for a lecture he gave in August 1994 in Yogyakarta. In the lecture, he made jokes about Suharto and three men considered his cronies in a discussion of presidential succession. When the charges were filed, Dr. Aditjondro was in Perth, Australia, where he was expected to remain, but local military authorities were reportedly putting pressure on the university to call him back to face the charges.

The determination of the Suharto government to punish criticism, whether voiced or written, was thus evident long before the demonstrations in Germany took place. When it became clear that someone was going to have to take the blame for the demonstrations, those who were courageous enough to speak out during the post-June 1994 crackdown made obvious targets.

THE DEMONSTRATIONS

President Soeharto's visit to Germany had been planned for many months, giving activists in Europe ample time to prepare for it. The president was due to attend a trade fair in Hanover on April 2, stop in Bonn and Dusseldorf, then travel to Dresden and finally stop in Weimar. The mayor of Weimar refused to receive him because of concerns over human rights violations.

In Hanover, about twenty German NGOs decided to hold a parallel event to the trade fair, lasting from March 30 to April 2. They invited a range of groups, from East Timorese in Lisbon to well-known critics of the Suharto government in Jakarta. Sri Bintang Pamungkas and Yeni Rosa Damayanti were two of the latter; it is not clear that the two were aware of the extent to which their presence would fit into the parallel program. Sri Bintang gave a series of lectures on the Indonesian economy at Hanover University on March 31 and Humboldt University on April 4 where he touched on the problem of conglomerates, an increasing gap between

the rich and poor and other aspects of the Indonesian political economy.

In addition to the program, activists held a small, peaceful demonstration in Hanover on the night of April 1, before President Suharto arrived, and a larger one on April 2, involving about one hundred people. Security was so tight, however, that the demonstrators could not get near the president.

The demonstrations in Dresden on April 5 were a different matter. They were organized by two German organizations opposed on human rights grounds to German economic and military cooperation with Indonesia. The two, Wolfspetz and Timor und kein Trupp, were not in touch with any groups in Indonesia, according to the head of Wolfspetz, Johanna Kalex. When the two groups learned of President Soeharto's plan to visit Dresden, they first sent an open letter of protest to the mayor of Dresden and the prime minister of Saxony, demanding that the invitation be revoked. The letter was signed by thirty-three organizations. Members of these organizations decided to "welcome" Suharto at 10:30 a.m. when he was to visit the Zwinger castle and art museum complex. One group, pretending to be students on a school tour of the museum, waited until his entourage approached, then unfurled banners, shouted rude epithets, banged pans and blew alarm whistles. They also blocked one exit of the castle and got near enough to slap a rolled-up newspaper against President Soeharto's umbrella. President Suharto was forced to break off his tour after only twenty minutes and return to his hotel. He remained in his hotel until it was time to depart for dinner with his host, the Saxony prime minister. The demonstrators were lying in wait again, and they surrounded the special bus in which Suharto was riding and rocked it back and forth for a few minutes. The bus had to take a detour to the restaurant, and demonstrators kept up a din outside throughout the evening.

SOEHARTO'S REACTION

The protests infuriated Suharto. When he returned to Indonesia, after a trip through Central Asia, he set the stage for a virtual witch hunt with a series of remarks to the press. "We have to be more vigilant now toward those who give materials or money from inside the country – because according to reports, there were people from here who went there and provided materials – and for this alone, we need to watch out," he told reporters on April 13. "These people are insane, irrational. They are selling their own nation to another country." He said it was "sick" to use foreigners to fight internal challenges.

He further noted that the German government had been aware that Amnesty International was planning demonstrations, and in Hanover, Bonn and Dusseldorf, it was able to keep the demonstrations under control. But in Dresden, because it was formerly part of a Communist country, security forces had no experience in putting down demonstrations because demonstrations had never been allowed.

One observer remarked, it was impossible for the President to imagine that a demonstration could take place without an Indonesian mastermind, or that people could take part without having been paid to do so. The Indonesian embassy in Berlin reportedly spread the news that demonstrators were DM8 per head per hour.

On the same day that Suharto vented his rage against the demonstrators, Lt. Gen. Soeyono, chief of staff for general affairs for the Indonesian armed forces, said the government had proof that three well-known critics of Indonesian authoritarianism were involved in the demonstrations. The three were Goenawan Mohamad, former editor of Tempo; Sri Bintang Pamungkas, aged fifty, the parliamentarian from the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan or PPP), whose fellow party members were in the process of trying to expel him from the party because of his pro-democracy activities; and Yeni Rosa Damayanti, twenty-seven, a student activist who was released from prison in December 1994 after serving a one year on charges of insulting the head of state in a 1993 demonstration. None of the three was in Dresden when the demonstrations took place. Nevertheless, said Soeyono, all three could be charged with subversion – a capital offense – because in addition to blackening Indonesia's good name abroad, the three had put the president in danger.

Goenawan had been in Germany with his wife between March 3 and March 18 but was in Singapore at the time of the demonstrations. While in Germany, he gave several interviews about the muzzling of the Indonesian press but said, "I was just explaining what happened. If I'm later accused of tarnishing Indonesia's good name, that's a matter of interpretation." When asked whether he supplied the demonstrators with materials, he retorted, "Do demonstrators abroad really need to be supplied with materials in the age of information when they can use e-mail and news services?" Goenawan was not formally interrogated, although as of May 1, the possibility that he would eventually be charged remained a real one.

Sri Bintang Pamungkas was the subject of more intensive investigation. First, his passport was revoked after he returned to Indonesia from Germany on April 12, effec-

tively preventing him from traveling overseas. He received no formal answer to his question about how such restrictions could be placed on him when he had not even been formally charged. Then he was formally summoned for interrogation on April 16, on suspicion of having violated Article 134 of the Indonesian Criminal Code, insulting or undermining the dignity of the head of state. The summons, still short of a formal indictment, was based on a police report dated April 10, written by an officer who had not been in Germany and had no first-hand knowledge of the demonstration. But according to Indonesian Law No.13/1970, Bintang, as a member of parliament, can only be interrogated with the explicit authorization of the President of Indonesia. He therefore requested, but could not obtain a copy of this authorization. Instead, he was shown a letter authorizing the investigation signed by the State Secretary, Moerdiono, not by Suharto. Bintang was questioned for three consecutive days beginning April 18 at the intelligence subdirectorate of the national police headquarters in Jakarta and was accompanied throughout by his lawyer from the Legal Aid Institute, Luhut Pangaribuan. Questions focused on his family background, his activities in Germany, and his meetings with other Indonesians during the course of his stay there.

On April 19, one day after Sri Bintang's interrogation had begun, his house was stoned by men on motorcycles, and the rear window of his car was smashed; he was given police protection at his request thereafter, but the suspected culprits were members of Pemuda Pancasila, a goon squad that has worked closely with the government in the past, particularly during election campaigns. On May 7, Sri Bintang received a police summons to appear for interrogation as a suspect for "endangering President Soeharto's security and insulting the head of state." He was ordered to appear by May 11 but said he would not obey the summons until he could see copies of the police report used as the basis for the case against him and the authorization from President Suharto approving his being questioned as a suspect.

Yeni Damayanti, who had been in Germany during Soeharto's visit and was in Hanover on April 2, remained in Europe as of May 1, and many believed it was unsafe for her to return.

As presidential fury became the news of the moment, those who wished to stay in good favor with the government rushed to jump on the bandwagon. The board of the government-sponsored youth organization, KNPI, issued a statement urging that strong actions be taken against the "anti-Indonesian" demonstrators in Dresden. The

leaders of PPP, in a particularly craven gesture, apologized to President Suharto for Sri Bintang Pamungkas's behavior, even though there was no evidence that he had done anything wrong and there were no charges against him. ("I'm not yet found guilty, and they're already apologizing? They should be ashamed of themselves," Bintang told the press.) The Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs, Soesilo Soedarmanto, said the demonstrations were evidence that NGO activists were trying to undermine Pancasila, the Indonesian state ideology. Professor Suhardiman, a leading light in Golkar, the ruling party, and former military police officer, said that the demonstrations represented the "politics of revenge" against the New Order government of President Suharto, perpetrated by groups, including NGOs, who were out to undermine national stability, both openly and covertly. The newsweekly Gatra, the magazine that replaced the banned Tempo which is owned by a close associate of President Suharto, Bob Hasan, became the medium for airing governmental accusations against suspected demonstrators. It quoted an unnamed source from the Indonesian embassy in Germany, for example, that Sri Bintang Pamungkas had been goading young demonstrators into shouting at the moment when Suharto arrived in Germany, and listed various East Timorese it termed "fanatic Fretilin followers" and others who it said had taken part; the source again was clearly the Indonesian embassy. These remarks presaged increased trouble for NGOs from the government, and indeed, the arrests in Medan on April 28, described in more detail below, may a harbinger of things to come.

NONGOVERNMENTAL REACTIONS IN INDONESIA

Indonesian NGOs, especially human rights organizations, were quick to protest government reactions to the demonstrations. A statement released by the Legal Aid Institute said that the government's accusations against Goenawan Mohamad, Sri Bintang Pamungkas, and Yenni Damayanti, before any charges had been brought against them, violated their right to presumption of innocence, and they were effectively being convicted in the press. They were also being denied their right to equal protection under the law. Second, the organization said, any state visit is the responsibility of the two states involved, and in this case, the Indonesian embassy in Bonn had particular responsibility for ensuring the visit went smoothly; it should not be using Indonesian activists as scapegoats for its own shortcomings. Third, it noted with approval President Soeharto's statement that the solution to internal problems should be

sought within the country, and said if controls on freedom of expression and association were relaxed in Indonesia, there might be less cause for demonstrations abroad. And finally, it said that if Indonesia was going to take an increasingly high profile role internationally, with its chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement and its role in APEC, it had to expect greater scrutiny of its human rights record abroad.

The protests were not restricted to Jakarta. On April 17, students in Ujung Pandang wrote a letter of protest to Minister Soesilo Soedarmanto for his remarks about NGOs, mentioned above. Also on April 17, ten student and NGO activists from a discussion forum called Forsolima appeared before the provincial parliament in Medan, North Sumatra to protest the accusation made against Sri Bintang Pamungkas, Yeni Rosa Damayanti, and Goenawan Mohamad and to urge the government to respect the rule of law and the principle of presumption of innocence. On April 20, a team of eight police officers came to the Forsolima office, looking for the ten delegation members. One of the ten, a man named Tonggam Siregar, was arrested. Another man, Herwin, from a land rights NGO called Bitra, was also arrested, apparently in order to press him to reveal where the other nine members of the April 17 delegation were. Using Herwin and Tonggam as guides, the police raided a house where other Bitra members were staying and arrested four. While the delegation to the provincial parliament was the pretext for the raid, local police seemed less interested in the demonstrations than in the role Bitra and Forsolima had played in the defense of farmers in a local land dispute. Two farmers involved in the dispute were also arrested. To the press, however, police said all were being questioned about the demonstrations. Three other NGO activists were arrested later the same day, but by April 21, all had been released. On April 24, students from Medan marched on the provincial parliament to protest the wave of arrests, and on April 25, the director of Bitra, Job Rahmat Purba, was summoned for questioning by North Sumatra police. As of May 3, ten students and three Bitra members had been extensively questioned, not about their involvement in the demonstrations but about their work with local farmers. A student group in the Central Javanese city of Yogyakarta, called Student Solidarity for Democracy (Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia Untuk Demokrasi), issued a statement in support of their Medan colleagues, saying that calling the demonstrators insane was not appropriate for a head of state. Using the government's own words, the group said such statements tarnish the good name of

the Indonesia abroad and were a violation of freedom of expression.

CONCLUSIONS

The Tempo victory notwithstanding, the outlook for freedom of expression and association in Indonesia remains bleak. President Soeharto's reaction to what was unquestionably an unnerving and humiliating series of events has been to look for scapegoats and for someone, anyone who can be held personally responsible for the demonstrations. Any government commitment to the rule of law, as Indonesian NGOs have been quick to point out, seems to vanish with a perceived affront to presidential or ministerial dignity. As with its efforts to prevent an East Timor conference from taking place in Manila in May 1994, the Indonesian government is again trying to stifle the legitimate exercise of freedom of expression beyond its own borders. Sri Bintang Pamungkas should be free to give lectures critical of President Soeharto's economic policies without being subject to interrogation and arrest or attacks on his house by government-linked thugs. Goenawan Mohamad should be free to give interviews to the European press on controls on freedom of the press without having to fear being called in for questioning by military intelligence. Yeni Rosa Damayanti should not have to be afraid of being arrested on her return home because of her peaceful dissident activities, in Germany or anywhere else. Ahmad Taufik, Eko Maryadi and Danang Kukuh Wardoyo, the AJI members, should be immediately released from prison and the charges against them for publishing *Independen* and "spreading hatred" should be dropped. Tri Agus from Pijar should be likewise released. The charges against outspoken academic George Aditjondro should be dropped, and the threats and harassment of NGOs by senior government officials, in violation of the right to freedom of expression and association, should cease.

On April 15, in a speech at Gajah Mada University, one of Indonesia's most prestigious academic institutions, Ginandjar Kartasasmita, minister of state and the head of the state planning agency BAPPENAS, said government policies should be preceded by open debate, because such debate improved the quality of the policies and helped ensure public support. He decried the lack of transparency in government which he said was often used to cover up incompetence and reluctance to accept criticism. President Suharto should heed his words.

* * *

BINTANG TO FACE POLICE THURSDAY

Jakarta, 6 May 1995 (AFP) – Police have summoned a vocal legislator for questioning as a suspect in a case of crime against the dignity of the head of state, press reports said here Saturday.

Legislator Sri Bintang Pamungkas was quoted by the Media Indonesia daily as saying that he has received a police summons to appear for questioning as a suspect in a case of "crime against the security of the state and against the dignity of the head of state." He is to present himself to the national police headquarters Thursday. Pamungkas said that the accusation against him was in relation to the series of anti-Indonesia demonstrations in Germany last month while Indonesian President Suharto was visiting several German towns.

The summons cited four violations of the criminal code as reasons for Pamungkas' questioning. They included intentional insult against the president, subversion with the aim of killing the president, physically attacking the president and displaying writings or images that insult the president.

Authorities have said that Pamungkas had been behind the series of anti-Indonesian demonstrations in Germany, including one in Dresden when the protestors came in close contact with the president and his entourage.

Pamungkas told the Media Indonesia daily that he planned to ignore the summons if the police continued to ignore his own demand.

He has demanded copies of the police reports used to justify the police interrogation as well as a letter signed by the head of state allowing the questioning of a legislator as the law requires. He also wants police letter used as grounds for the attorney-general to put him onto the list of people banned from leaving the country.

The Moslem-oriented United Development Party was already in the process of withdrawing Pamungkas' parliamentary seat. Party executives have said that Pamungkas has repeatedly breached party discipline and offended several ministers.

BINTANG QUESTIONING BOGGED DOWN

The following is a summary of the results of the police questioning of Sri Bintang Pamungkas MP on Thursday, 11 May 1995:

Sri Bintang Pamungkas visited Police headquarters, accompanied by his lawyers, Luhut Pangaribuan, Sukardjo Adidjojo and Dwiyanto Prihartono, in response to a police summons.

Sri Bintang first asked to see the Presidential Approval needed for an MP to be interrogated. When the police said they were unable to produce such a document, a heated discussion ensued. It was finally agreed that the report of today's questioning would consist of a statement by Sri Bintang to the effect that he was willing to be interrogated on condition that the legal criteria for such had been properly complied with, namely:

1. Written approval from the President: according to the law, this should come from the President himself and not from any substitute.

2. There is a clear instruction from the Attorney-General, as specified by the law.

3. The incident at which an offence is considered to have been committed was not mentioned in the summons. It is not sufficient for the summons simply to mention the articles of the Criminal Code deemed to have been violated. [The summons merely stated that the summons was issued in connection with a crime against state security and the dignity of the President, as specified under Articles 104, 131, 134 and 137.]

4. Since Sri Bintang is now being treated as a suspect, the Interrogation Reports of earlier interrogations when he was summoned as a witness are null and void; moreover the summons as a witness issued on 15 April made no reference to any approval from the President.

Sri Bintang then stated that if these matters are not properly resolved, the issue will be placed before a court for a ruling, in accordance with the laws in force.

The questioning was halted after Sri Bintang presented these four points.

On behalf of the Police, Brig-Gen. Ratta, head of information, said that since Sri Bintang was not prepared to continue with the questioning, the Police would issue another summons.

Comment: The impression is growing by the day that handling of this case by the law enforcement agencies, the police and the

Attorney-General's office, is in disarray. They are having difficulty deciding how to charge him because charges of masterminding the demonstrations will be extremely difficult to substantiate, whereas to charge him on the basis of his lectures in Germany might well be thrown out by a court of law, and in any case would not conform with the frenzied allegations made by Suharto.

SRI BINTANG, SRITEX, AND HARMOKO:

THE HIDDEN AGENDA BEHIND THE CURRENT WITCH-HUNT ON A FORMER INDONESIAN MP

Anonymous comment, May 16

Why are the Indonesian authorities currently treating one of Indonesia's finest (former) MPs, Dr. Sri 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). However, what the Indonesian press (consciously?) suppress right now, is maybe a more important reason. Namely that Sri 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.

In fact, apart from criticizing the aging Indonesian ruler in front of a foreign public, that might be Sri Bintang's "mortal sin" to Indonesia's ruling elite, which had led to his dismissal from the parliament earlier this year. Bambang Warih Kusuma, 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 saved from police interrogations in contrast to his colleague, Sri 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 (conglomerates), 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 a series of denials by Sritex spokespersons as well as a harsh rebuke by the local military commander, the Sritex case was shelved.

Only in November 1994, the issue resurfaced, after the governor of Bank Indonesia, the central bank, admitted in a hearing with Sri 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 au-

thorities of the Department of Information, by calling the newspaper editors to quit writing about the Sritex case.

Why should the Information Department officials kill the Sritex story, which they had not done in the case of the Eddy Tanzil-Bapindo case? Here comes in the strong Harmoko as well as Suharto family connections with Sritex.

Old-time buddies from East Java

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 copyright for those designs. So that practically speaking, every time Harmoko appears on the state TV screens, addressing a Golkar crowd in any village in Indonesia, he is not only campaigning for Golkar, but also carrying out sales promotion for Sritex, paid for by the TVRI subscribers. The company also monopolizes the production of military jungle uniforms as well as uniforms of Indonesian elementary to high school children.

Harmoko's younger brother

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 Mayasaphira into a new joint venture with Lukminto, namely PT Merdecindo Permai, a food & 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, namely an outdoor advertisement company, as well as into Bisnis Maritim, one of the ten media of Harmoko's Pos Kota Group.

The Tutut & Macedo connections

Besides being close to the Harmoko family, Lukminto is also close to Suharto's oldest 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 Macedo, 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 0 7:00 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 musholla. From the hundred East Timorese workers which arrived three years ago, only thirty have stayed behind in Sukoharjo, last year.

One of the 100 largest conglomerates

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, Yogya, 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 business magazine EBRI (Economic & Business Review Indonesia, April 23, 1994).

In spite of belonging to the hundred largest conglomerates in Indonesia, Sritex's labour and environmental records have been very poor, even according to other Indonesian politicians. Early last year, when members of the Indonesian parliament inspected the factory, it was found out 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). And 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.

Punishment by Harmoko's protégé

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, exposing the business connections of the Harmoko family is a mortal sin, according to Suharto. And as Harmoko's major protégé, Suharto wants to punish Sri Bintang Pamungkas, just as he punished Tempo for coming too close to the Habibie family's business connections in the German Navy ships deal.

ECONOMY, TRADE AND THE OMISSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

by Andreas Paul, ASTA NEWSLETTER #22 -ICP-, Hanover, Germany, May 25, 1995

Each year, the world's biggest industrial fair takes place in Hanover, Germany. Connected to the fair which is organised by the Deutsche Messe AG, a private company partly owned by the Federal State of Lower Saxony (of which Hanover is the capital) and partly by the City of Hanover, is always a partner country that is given the opportunity to introduce itself to the business world in a "different" way than other countries or companies at the fair. This year, the partner country was Indonesia which was celebrating economic "successes," the 50th anniversary of its independence from Dutch colonialism (and not officially, 30 years of state government terrorism under the Suharto regime and 20 years of occupation in East Timor, formerly a Portuguese colony). Suharto came to Hanover to open the Fair and the Indonesian pavilion which was supposed to be the "largest display of its performance potential." But not only the official delegation came to Hanover, also people from the opposition came to visit the Fair; they were then invited to discuss the Indonesian economic situation at the University of Hanover. As a consequence, Sri-Bintang Pamungkas, member of parliament and presently facing dismissal because of former criticism of the Suharto-regime, and Yeni Rosa Damayanti, a student and human rights activist are now threatened with prosecution. But they are not the only ones who were in Germany at one time or another, and are now prosecuted: Goenawan Mohamad,

former publisher of "Tempo" which was prohibited in 1994 after reporting on the sale of German war ships to Indonesia, is accused of having organised a demonstration in Dresden; and other persons from East Timor are prosecuted as well.

The Economic Successes

The history of economic co-operation between Germany and Indonesia is very long, it did not start in the foreground to the Hanover Fair. But the present phase is important for future trade relations, since both sides are trying - successfully - to intensify mutual trade and economic development; or in particular, Germany is trying to keep the door open to one of the most important future markets of the world: the World Bank estimates that Indonesia will be the fifth biggest market in world in the year 2020.

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During the recent years, trade with Indonesia declined from ca. US\$ 600 million (1990) to US\$ 390 million (1993); in order to stop this decrease, relations must be established or re-established. And the chances are rather good, because the Minister for Science and Technology, Bacharudin Jusuf Habibie, who studied in Germany and worked for several years for MBB in Germany, intends to maintain the "good" relations to Germany - if only Germany is willing enough to maintain them as well.

One of the tools to achieve this aim is the establishment of a forum for technology and sciences. Such a forum was already established between Japan and Indonesia; in its eleven years' work, the "Japan-Indonesia Forum for Science and Technology" functioned as a platform to introduce and coordinate projects and thus enabled Japan to hold a key-position in trade with Indonesia. Now, Germany and Indonesia have established an identical forum.

Whereas such a forum is more likely to bear the expected fruits in the future, already at the Hanover Fair, several contracts were signed. DeTeMobil, a subsidiary of German Telekom, got a contract worth more than US\$ 580 million, to further develop the Indonesian mobile telephone network. ABB will build two nuclear power plants, and Siemens will construct several coal power plants. The two nuclear power plants that

will be constructed by ABB will not be the only ones, as a total, the Indonesian government has planned to build 18 nuclear power plants; so this sector alone represents a huge market.

In addition, other sectors of trade are improving or are continuing a long tradition - like the shipbuilding sector. Shipbuilding is mostly connected with the Meyer-Shipyard in Emden - which had already constructed and sold several ships to Indonesia. PT IPTN, the Indonesian aircraft industry, which is one of the most important industries for Minister Habibie, because it is supposed to represent the innovative abilities of Indonesian technology, has more than 70 connections to German companies supplying PT IPTN with materials ranging from literature to machines.

The background to the economic co-operation is two-edged: for Germany, it is the important and vital step to keep the door open to the Indonesian market (and to the whole of South-East Asia), and for Indonesia, it is another step to reach the aims set by Habibie.

Habibie who became Minister in 1975, when he was called back from Germany by President Suharto, tries to modernise Indonesia and make it a country that is exporting high technology rather than importing it.

So far, Indonesia was "developed" by the manufacturing industry, which is more and more transferred from Hong Kong, South Korea or Taiwan, which themselves had shifted their industries to high tech, to countries like Indonesia. The frame for such a transfer is almost ideal, since the growing number of workers in Indonesia is desperately looking for work, and, because of the number of workers and of the grade of skill that is required for the manufacturing sector, the wages are less than poor. According to the "classical" doctrine of development, Indonesia would have to follow the path of such an industrialisation: first, the extension of the manufacturing industry, and then, very slowly, the improvement of the technological sector. For Habibie, the vision did not start at the "bottom," but at the top. With the aid of western technology, he intends to modernise Indonesian industry to enable it to develop its own high technology sector and also to export it. An example for such a development is PT IPTN which produces the N 250, an airplane that was developed in Indonesia (so far, airplanes, helicopters and spare parts were produced under license from Bell, MBB and CASA). The N 250 shall supply the domestic market, but shall be exported as well. Critics doubt that this project will be successful, because the intended sale of 700 airplanes cannot be achieved. Therefore, the subsidy of ca. US\$ 1.6 billion so far (since the forming of IPTN

20 years ago) will not settle the matter, it is more likely that also for the coming years, IPTN will only survive by subsidies.

Survival by subsidies is not only true for IPTN, but also for other Indonesian companies (e.g. Krakatau Steel). If such companies had to compete on an open market (which, by commitment, officials are in favour of), they would be lost, because they are hardly able to compete. Presently, they have the advantage that Indonesian companies - and also the military - are more or less compelled to buy these goods.

Criticism is the Work of Insane People

Presently, Indonesia is only "successful" in violating the human rights of its peoples and those who are forcibly made its people: the East Timorese. And the consequences of the Fair are just another example within a very long list of oppression.

When it became known that Indonesia will be the partner country of the Hanover Fair and that Suharto will visit Germany, Amnesty International, along with other German human rights organisations, organised a demonstration in Hanover.

Sri-Bintang Pamungkas, a legislator of the United Development Party (PPP), came to Hanover to hold a lecture on the economic situation in Indonesia at the University of Hanover.

The programme of Suharto did not only include the visit of the Fair, but also a visit to Dresden and Weimar (among other cities). The city council of Weimar declared Suharto an "unwanted person," the same was intended by different parties in Hanover and Dresden, but these resolutions were not that successful.

In Hanover, for example, the mayor Herbert Schmalstieg (Social Democrats and member of the board of the Messe AG) said that he did not see any obstacles to welcome Suharto in the City Hall. Of course, he also intended to (and did) talk about human rights violations in Indonesia, but in general, Suharto was welcomed as a noble President. So, Suharto signed the Golden Book of Hanover.

Such admonitions, however, did not seem to hurt Suharto that much. It was quite easy for him to convince the politicians and captains of industry who were present at the opening performance for the fair, that "both economic development and social progress are a preliminary step towards the respect of human rights." And "the freedom to form a labour union will be meaningless if there is unemployment." The goals are set, and for the trade partners, these goals are very convenient, because they will allow them to continue their work without rethinking their positions.

Suharto was much more hurt by the protest of the "rabble": in Hanover and Dresden, the people disturbed the peaceful scenes - and Suharto pretended (and still pretends) to be hurt and offended by the kind of protest. Back in Indonesia (or, more precisely, on his flight back from Turkmenistan), he said that "These people are insane and no longer rational."

His anger on the protests in Dresden and Hanover is now used as a tool to start a new wave of oppression against oppositional forces. All those who are supposed to have been in Germany at the time of the Fair, are now faced with prosecution. This of course is ridiculous, because Goenawan for example had been in Germany some weeks before the Fair - but still he is accused of being present in Dresden. Also Bintang and Yeni, who had never been in Dresden, are accused of being organisers of the protests.

These accusations are ridiculous, but they can be lethal for the accused. Normally, the charge would be up to five years in prison for insulting the president. But Armed Forces General Feisal Tanjung declared that he had not yet ruled out the possibility that Sri-Bintang would be charged with subversion; then, he could be faced with death penalty.

Suharto not only declared the critics insane, he also said that "If there are problems domestically, then let's solve them at home." Yet, the treatment of critics does not leave any room for real criticism. One way to silence them is to put them in prison, another way is to terrorise them in their daily life. So even if the accusation against Sri-Bintang are dropped, the government has the possibility to pay some rogues (critical people they are called who are just expressing their point of view - and of course, they are acting on their own accord) to smash windows, burn his car, etc...

Freedom of Expression vs. Suharto

When Suharto is talking about solving problems "at home" "at home," he seems to be quite confident that the means can be achieved by suppressing the people. A real opposition is not allowed to exist (which, of course, does not mean that there is no opposition against Suharto and his regime). Despite any declarations of the regime that Indonesia is a democratic country which undeservedly receive criticism from organisations like Amnesty International for human rights violations, the present reality reveals the opposite. The policy of "openness," which was the watchword of the government for the last three years, came to an end - if it ever really started.

For most of the oppositional forces, and in particular for the Indonesian students, "openness" never really existed anyway,

they never believed in such slogans. Yet, some older politicians and activists believed it, they were trying to use this situation in a tactical way and were trying to avoid the closing of "openness," in order to gain some improvements.

For the Suharto regime, "openness" was nothing but a tactical means to avoid a dangerous situation in which its own grip on the power might be loosened, due to political pressure from within or without.

So, when "openness" was introduced, it was a sign for the Indonesian people to use the "freedom" properly, and for other countries it was a sign that Indonesia really is democratic - a huge democratic, expanding market which needs only some investors.

Of course, the western countries almost always backed the Suharto regime, but at the beginning of 1990, after the often declared end of the Cold War and the cessation of Bipolarity, the question of human rights was on the agenda, and the political survival of some dictators depended on some concessions.

How easily such concessions are retracted, can be seen in the cases of the magazines Tempo, Editor and DeTik. All three of them were leading oppositional papers in which the regime was criticised for its policy.

In 1994, the (limited) Freedom of Press, which faced a short spring, came to an end when reports on government policy became too critical.

But even the expression "too critical" must be seen in a different light, because the issues the magazines were reporting on, were of common interest and what they had been writing on was the mere truth. Still, the images that were created by these reports were much too negative for the regime to stand.

So, when in Tempo, the sale of 39 former GDR war ships of Germany to Indonesia was criticised - and in particular the costs and the benefit (1) - the publishing license was revoked. The same happened to the other two magazines. For their open criticism they were rewarded with the revocation of the publishing licence.

The latest blow against Freedom of Expression was struck in April 1995, after Suharto came to Germany to visit the Hanover Fair. Since he not only met politicians and captains of industry, but was also faced with demonstrator who were protesting against the dictator and human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor.

The Indonesian delegation came to Hanover to celebrate the commemoration of the independence and past and future "successes" of the Indonesian economy. This visiting program perfectly agreed with the wishes of the Deutsche Messe AG, which is

in favour of just organising an industry fair and not to talk about "politics" (2), the government of Lower Saxony, the City Council of Hanover and with the Federal Government.

Yet, they were not able to solely paint a picture of brilliant colours of a paradise on earth, because some oppositional groups from Germany had also come to Hanover to organise a mass rally, some "subversive" activities, and discussions and press conferences. Due to these activities, at least the topic of human rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor was partly discussed in the public and its mass media.

But is it already a success when the mass media are reporting on human rights abuses, but are also celebrating the signed contracts with Indonesian companies, which will allow the Suharto-clan who owns or has a great influence on most of the companies (along with the Minister for Research and Technology, Bacharudin Jusuf Habibie, who together with his family and relatives, owns or has shares in more than 50 companies) also, to enforce and tighten its grip on the Indonesian society?

If we had believed in the morality of politics, and if we had believed in what the German Chancellor Helmut Kohl had told to the world in Copenhagen only some weeks before during the World Conference on Social Development (3), then we also would have believed that the Indonesian delegation - and especially President Suharto - never came to Hanover and were welcomed by the celebrities of city, state and economy. But then, who believes in what a politician says during a world conference?

Not only Suharto knows that the German politicians are rather interested in securing work places in Germany than securing the safety of some oppositional forces.

FOOTNOTES:

1. These old GDR-war ships were sold to Indonesia for only US\$ 12 million, which is ridiculously cheap; but the price must be put in relation to the follow-up costs: maintenance of the ships, construction of harbour facilities, and other factors will cost ca. US\$ 1.1 billion. In Tempo, the suggestion was made that to purchase new naval which would only cost ca. US\$ 733.3 million.
2. The spokesperson of the Deutsche Messe AG, Eberhard Roloff, said that the Messe AG never gives political judgments, "This is not our task." The Messe AG's task is to support trade.
3. In Copenhagen, Helmut Kohl told the world that "There is no justification for denying people their civil and political rights for the sake of economic objectives."

THE CHARGES AGAINST SRI BINTANG

TAPOL Report, 7 June 1995

Sri Bintang Pamungkas, who has been facing police interrogation since April in connection with his visit to Germany in April, has been summoned by the police for interrogation as a 'suspect' on Thursday, 8 June 1995.

The charges listed on the summons includes Article 104 of the Criminal Code which carries the death sentence.

The police summons dated 3 June states that he is being interrogated for 'crimes against state security and the dignity of the Indonesian President.'

Four articles of the Criminal Code are listed in the summons. They are:

Article 104: '..' with intent to deprive the President or Vice-President or his life or liberty or to render him unfit to govern...' which carries the death sentence or life imprisonment or a maximum sentence of twenty years.

Article 131: '..' assault against the President or Vice-President' which carries a maximum sentence of eight years.

Article 134: '..' deliberate insult of the President or Vice-President' which carries a maximum sentence of six years.

Article 137: '..' for demonstrating openly or in writing... containing an insult of the President' which carried a maximum sentence of one year and four months

EVENTS IN EUROPE

BUSINESS DEALS BETWEEN MADRID AND JAKARTA

Diario de Noticias, 21 February 1995.

Translated from Portuguese

According to a report in El Mundo, over the past 20 years Madrid has sold to Jakarta products worth 461,000 million Escudos, with the help of credits from Spain's Development Aid Fund. The Spanish daily, which quotes figures from the CIP - Research Centre for Peace (Centro de Investigacion para la Paz), Indonesia is the seventh largest recipient of these funds which are intended to strengthen and encourage Spanish exports. The Madrid Government denies that this special credit has been used to encourage the sale of arms, but the CIP claims that Defex, one of the companies to have benefited from the funds, does export such material.

SPAIN'S HIGHEST AWARD SECRETLY PRESENTED TO INDONESIAN GENERAL

Publico, 24 February 1995. By Eduardo Damaso. Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon - The Chief of Indonesia's Armed Forces, General Feisal Tanjung, was distinguished with the highest military decoration ever awarded by Spain to a foreigner during a ceremony held in secret last January in Madrid, while an Indonesian military delegation was visiting the country. General Tanjung went to Spanish weapons factories and saw demonstrations of military equipment.

Weapons and Decoration during secret visit to Spanish companies:

Secrecy surrounded the whole visit. Indonesia's highest ranking military officer, General Feisal Tanjung, was in Spain last month looking at military equipment. It is not known whether he bought any weapons this time, but trade between Spain and Indonesia is considered of such importance that Spain's Defence Minister decorated the Indonesian General with the highest distinction of merit that the Spanish Government has ever awarded a foreigner.

Spanish Minister of Defence, Julian Garcia Vargas, personally awarded the Indonesian Armed Forces Chief with the Grand Cross of Military Merit ... during the secret visit which took place between 25 and 28 January. There was no official statement about the visit and it was not reported by the Spanish press. It was only weeks later, in February, that the Indonesian delegation's

stay was admitted by the Spanish Ministry of Defence which published, in an internal bulletin, a photo of the Minister awarding General Tanjung with the decoration. The ceremony took place in the Ministry of Defence itself. During the trip, the delegation met with the Minister of Defence and with Spain's Chief of Armed Forces, Lieutenant-General José Rodrigo Rodrigo.

The decoration awarded to the General is a gesture of unequivocal political dimension which clearly demonstrates the importance of the trade, especially in military equipment, which Spain and Indonesia have carried on for over a decade.

Feisal Tanjung, who also visited Granada privately, saw military equipment being demonstrated at Torrejon Air Base. The equipment shown to the Indonesians there was mainly the F-18 fighter plane simulator, which is part of the Spanish Air Force based at Torrejon on the outskirts of Madrid.

Planes and Helicopters

The delegation also went to factories such as Defex and Indra, that are part of Spain's military industry. At Indra they were shown some of the latest developments in military equipment, such as the F-16 fighter simulators and the SH-60 helicopters. They were also given details of the Arine radar equipment system, a project which is still under assessment.

Sources linked to Spanish military sources admitted to Publico that this visit resulted in Spain successfully concluding an important business deal for the supply of military equipment to Indonesia. However, it was not possible to get hold of figures or details of the deal which, reportedly, has now been finalised.

Ever since the early 1980s, when Spain and Indonesia collaborated on the development of the Casa-Nurtanio CN-235 aircraft, a strong military co-operation project has been maintained between the two countries.

Publico has learned that the Portuguese Foreign Ministry was unaware of this episode, but that something of the visit is said to have been passed on to the Portuguese President. However, at the time of going to print, confirmation from the President's offices that military advisers to Mario Soares were aware of the visit had still not been obtained.

Spain is one of several Community countries that enjoy very good trading and political relations with Indonesia. Others in the group are England, France, Holland and Germany. The latter country recently sold the former GDR's entire war fleet to Indonesia.

MEETING TODAY IN FRANCE - EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT- INDONESIA FRIENDSHIP GROUP

Strasbourg, France, March 14 (LUSA) - The pro-Indonesian pressure group of the European Parliament is holding a conference Wednesday, in the Strasbourg "hemicycle" (France). It is expected that Portuguese general Galvao de Melo (of the Portugal-Indonesia friendship association) and Antonio Freitas Parada, president of the Timorese "parliament" be present, as well as a professor from the Dutch university of Leiden, who is a jurist and will talk about the legal statute of ET.

According to the conference promoter, the Dutch congressman for the Popular European Party (PPE), Janssen van Raay, it is the "sovereignty of the Timorese territory" that is at stake. Van Raay is a member of the "European Parliament-Indonesia Friendship" group.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY MISSION TO ET

Brussels, March 23 (LUSA) - The European Parliament (EP) will send five parliamentarians on an "ad-hoc" observing mission to ET and Indonesia, at a date not yet specified but which would be this year, according to a EP source in Brussels today.

This was decided at the conference of the EP presidents, composed by the president, Klaus Hansch, and by the leaders of the political groups, during a meeting in Brussels early this week. The decision was taken together with the Parliamentary Commission for Foreign Affairs.

It is now up to the political groups to nominate the five members of the parliamentary mission, whom may or may not be members of the EP delegation for ASEAN countries.

An EP delegation visit to ET was decided on by a parliamentary resolution approved after the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. Since then, the EP have repeatedly attempted, unsuccessfully, to obtain permission from the Indonesian government to send an EP mission for a reason of other than commercial nature.

THE OTHER SIDE OF PARADISE - DUTCH ACTIONS

From Infogroup Schism, Utrecht, April 4:

THE OTHER SIDE OF PARADISE at the PASAR MALING

Although Indonesia celebrates her 50th anniversary of independence this year, we don't think there's much to celebrate for a lot of people within Indonesia. In the Netherlands there will also be a lot of media-attention this year and a lot of festivities. Exhibitions, plays and gatherings are planned. And of course Queen Beatrix will visit Indonesia, just a couple of days after the 17th of august, independence day in Indonesia.

We suspect, however, that all these activities won't highlight the proper history and the current situation of the people within the territory of Indonesia. Subjects such as the ongoing militarisation, oppression of freedom of speech, print and organisation, transmigration and the large scale robberies of gold, oil etc. are not really known by the bigger audience.

In the meantime the Dutch government is busy to tighten the contacts with the Indonesians (especially on education, trade and weapon deliveries), without pointing at the subjects named above.

For this reason a couple of country- and solidarity groups decided to get together in HAK (means right in Bahasa) and organise a manifestation to show the other side of Indonesia, the side which the Dutch government (and population) does not want to see.

Our aim is to raise some consciousness by the Dutch audience for the human rights situation and the lack of democracy in Indonesia, with a political-cultural manifestation, the PASAR MALING (the thief market).

Many people, who presently live under the dictatorship of Jakarta, are being robbed for ages of their collective and individual human rights.

This has to end !

In the Netherlands it is still very precarious to speak about human rights in Indonesia. So this kind of 'consciousness raising' is very necessary !

The Netherlands are also responsible for the terrible situation in which a lot of people still live. The people at the manifestation will get the opportunity to present their culture and aspirations to the Dutch audience and to inform them about the other side of paradise in Indonesia of 1995.

WHAT WHERE and WHEN ?

It will be an open air manifestation.

Saturday 17 June 1995 Place: Neude (square) at Utrecht Time: 14.00 - 22.00 hours

Activities:

There will be performances of traditional and modern dance- and music groups from the Moluccas, West-Papua and East-Timor. There will be several speakers and poets who will be telling in their own way about their experiences, country, people, culture and the meaning of the manifestation.

To reach an audience as big as possible we will make a festival bulletin to present the people of Aceh, East-Timor, West-Papua and the Moluccas.

HAK is an initiative of the following groups:
Indonesia working group Purnama - Utrecht
Homeland Mission 1950 Maluku - Amsterdam

Stichting Papua Volken - Delft

Artists, human rights organisations, solidarity-groups and people from the Moluccan, Papuan and Indonesian community in the Netherlands will make a contribution to the benefit of this manifestation.

Greetings Karel and Jeroen.

HAK lauwerecht 55 3515 GN Utrecht
tel: Thursday 14.00 - 17.00 00-31-(0)30-721660 fax: 00-31-(0)30-721532 e-mail: schism@schism.aps.nl

(WARSHIP) MARKETING OPPORTUNITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

by Antony Preston former editor of *Naval Forces*. Excerpts from *Naval Forces 195*, page 68-74

Commentary by Marten Broek ENAAT

"The Indonesian Navy has suffered in the past from a government policy which put the creation of industrial capability before operational needs. This led to the extraordinary decision to try to create a force of coast guard hydrofoils based on the comparatively untried Boeing Jetfoil design." In the November issue of a Dutch promotion magazine for maritime affairs (naval and civil) it was mentioned the Dutch company Hovertrans B.V. sold a special Hovercraft to Indonesia in April that year. The conclusion which can be made from this is that one of the Habibie plans failed, the creation of a hydrofoil production line.

In the past *Naval Forces* mentioned several times that Indonesia would buy 23 frigates. Such an order would be one of the biggest orders for warships outside Europe and the United States I have seen in the past seven years, Malaysia has such ambitious plans at the moment. In the current issue

they are not so sure about that, and I think it is correct because rumours are going on since the early 1980's. A spokes person of the Dutch shipyard KMS de Schelde told, he want to see the order before he will believe it's true. They have some news on this story: "it is likely to be a gun-armed vessel [internal use and air defence, MB] capable of being given a weapon upgrade in time of tension [with external powers, MB]. What is required is a offshore patrol vessel with range and the ability to operate a helicopter, cheap to build and cheap to operate. (...) the East German acquisitions has inevitably pushed that date back by at least two years." The kind of ship Malaysia is acquiring, but less advanced. It is another set-back for the Habibiomics, because after the creation of a small arms industry and aerospace industry the next step was the build-up of a modern naval industry. Seen his ambitions on all these levels this must be more then the capability to build small naval vessels and Malaysia can become more advanced on this. Another conclusion which can be made is that some in Indonesia want to have a 400 ships navy (compared with a 550 ships navy in the US it is again a bit ambitious) but this is out of the question due to the lack of money.

The last point Preston makes is nothing new, but now it is said by a military analyst from their side: "Amphibious ships play an important role in moving military personnel around the archipelago, which explains the purchase of Frosh type tank landing ships from the former East German Navy."

Jane's Defence Contracts March 1995, page 4 Scorpion and Stormer score sales success (Maybe nothing new for most of you but I can not remember such detailed information has been on Email.)

Indonesia has placed an order with Alvis Vehicles of the UK for between 50 and 80 Alvis Scorpion light tanks and Stormer full tracked armoured personnel carriers. In addition the contract covers the provision of training and spare parts. Both the Scorpion and the Stormer will be powered by a Perkins Phaser diesel engine(...).

From Jane's Defence Weekly 11-03-95, page 6 Indonesia upgrades with Scorpions "The Diesel engined Scorpion 90, which is the primary export variant, carries a 90 mm Cockerill Mk II gun.(...)" Cockerill is a well-known Belgium Defence industry. On January 18 1995 the Belgium news paper *De morgen* published an article under the heading Vandebroucke (Foreign Affairs): no against arms for Indonesia.

BELGIUM - INDONESIA MILITARY RELATIONS

From: *Martin*, 24 May 95, Organization: *Amok-Maritiem Amsterdam*

Although the Belgium Intergroup for the parliamentary commission for foreign affairs announced (17/01/95) that "for now" no new export licenses for arms would be issued for Indonesia.(Deliveries resulting from existing contracts for which licenses had already been issued and to which suppliers were judicially bound would not be affected., *DE MORGEN* 18/01/95) Two new deliveries have taken place. The first is about Cockerill (from Belgium) 90 mm guns for the Scorpion can be seen as license contract, with Alvis UK, but not with Indonesia. The deliverance of Scorpion tanks is an important issue of the British campaign against arms trade to Indonesian and it could be helpful when Belgium groups are opposing the Belgium part in this deal. The second is not a license or was not already issued before this date. It is about the modernisation of the Indonesian Air Force F-5E/F fighters, by the Belgium company SABCA.

INDONESIA WANTS AIR FORCE MODERNISATION

From: *MILITARY AND ARMS TRANSFERS NEWS*, Issue No. 95/7 - 21st April 1995, ISSN 1355-4360, A digest of news from *Dfax*, Reply-To: philip@fhit.gn.apc.org; Reference: 950411.080, *REUTER*, Monday April 10, 1995

Indonesian air force chief Rilo Pambudi stated that the country needed more fighter planes, but that their purchase was dependent on government finances. The country has more than 80 combat aircraft, including 12 F-16s, and the first of 24 British Hawk jet fighters will be delivered in 1996.

INDONESIA UPGRADES F-5S

From: *International Defense Review* 4/1995, page 17

The Indonesian Air Force has selected Belgian Company SABCA to act as system integrator for its program to upgrade 12 F-5E/F fighters. The US\$ 40 million effort, to be implemented over three years include the installation of a GEC-Marconi Avionics head-up display and weapon-aiming computer, Litton Guidance & Control Systems LN-93 inertial navigation system, GEC-Marconi Sky Guardian radar warning receiver and other equipment.

TOWARD A EUROPEAN ARMS TRADE CODE

Peace Media Service, June 1, 1995

The General Assembly of Development NGO's of the European Union, meeting in Brussels April 27-28, called on European states to set up rigorous restrictions on the arms trade. The assembly represented more than 800 nongovernmental organizations active in developing countries.

Though in 1991 the EU Council of Ministers agreed on seven criteria to govern arms exports adding an eighth the following year, UK and Germany are still selling weapons to Indonesia while Italy and Portugal have self-imposed arms embargoes on Indonesia because of its poor human rights record.

Until 1994 France supplied arms to Rwanda, four years after Belgium ceased similar exports.

According to EU criteria, arms exports should take into account the purchasing country's record on human rights, its attitude to terrorism, and the effect of the purchase of arms on the country's economy, but the criteria are not binding on governments and there is no agreement as to how they should be interpreted.

The Development NGOs called for creation of a code with clear standards "for determining which arms sales are legitimate and which are not. And in so doing the code could form the basis for legislative controls."

Such a code would provide a mechanism for monitoring government practice so that "parliamentarians, journalists, NGOs and members of the public will be able to hold their governments accountable for its arms sales."

The NGOs also supported "a total ban on the use, production, stockpiling, sale, transfer and exporting of anti-personnel mines" and financial support from European states for mine removal in countries where mines pose a continuing danger. [Sam Biesemans, Press and Information Officer, Liaison Committee of European Development NGOs, 10 Sq. Ambiorix, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel +32.2: 736-4087, Fax 732-1934; e-mail sbiesemans@clong.be]

Also in May the Netherlands Red Cross launched a landmines communication campaign. The project which will include posters and advertisements in newspapers, magazines and public buildings to be displayed during 1995-96.

REPORT: EAST TIMORESE SPEAKING TOUR IN FRANCE

From Agir Pour Timor, June 8

This is a preliminary and incomprehensive report on the speaking tour that took place in France from May 15 to June 2. Six East Timorese were involved:

- Arlindo Freitas de Araujo Fernandes
- Calisto Doutel Sarmiento
- Carlos da Silva Lopes
- Ventura Valentim de Conceicao
- Juvenal Filipe Tavares de Jesus
- Herminia Maria da Gloria dos Martires Ximenes

The first three were among the students who occupied the US embassy in Jakarta last November. Carlos is responsible for the external delegation of RENETIL. Ventura was among the students who took refuge in the Finnish embassy in June 1993. Juvenal escaped through Thailand in 1990/91. Herminia moved to Portugal in 1990 with her family, in the framework of the repatriation program of ex-Portuguese civil servants. All 6 are members of RENETIL and now live in Portugal.

The 6 visitors were divided into three groups of 2: one going to the South-East, one to the South-West and one for greater Paris and the West.

South-East: Herminia and Arlindo

17-18 Clermont-Ferrand; 19-21 Grenoble; 22-25 Lyon; 26-28 Saint-Etienne; 29-30 Cannes; 31 Draguignan; 1 Marseille.

South-West: Carlos and Ventura

19-21 Limoges; 22 Toulouse; 23-25 Bordeaux; 26-27 Pau; 28-29 Orleans.

Greater Paris and West: Juvenal and Calisto.

21 Caen; 22-23 Nantes; (Juvenal) 27-29 Rennes

They met local associations, participated radio broadcasts, press conferences and debates, met some local politicians. In one place (Limoges) they appeared in a local TV evening news. More details will be posted later, while we get local reports.

Local newspaper articles generated by the speaking tour will be posted (in French) as responses to this topic.

EVENTS IN CANADA

BELLA'S STORY: EAST TIMORESE WOMAN SPEAKS OUT FOR JUSTICE

From the ACTivist, newspaper of the ACT for Disarmament coalition, Toronto, Canada, April 1995. by Caroline Xia.

Back home in East Timor, Isabel Galhos, 22, was the darling of the Indonesian military regime illegally occupying her country. Called "a bright girl with a bright future," the star propagandist for the brutal occupation was so trusted by Indonesian authorities that they selected her for the Canada World Youth exchange program. Last November, a month after arriving in Nelson, B.C., she defected, and is now touring Canada to denounce the regime that she once publicly championed and covertly undermined.

Galhos is making it her mission to expose the atrocities of the military occupation that has virtually turned her country into a mass graveyard. In 20 years, the Indonesian army has killed 200,000 East Timorese, one third of the entire population, reduced vast numbers to dreadful poverty, and taken over the Timorese economy. The blood-soaked Indonesian adventure, undertaken with the complicity of many countries, including Canada, has left no Timorese untouched.

Bella told me she was only two when Indonesian soldiers first entered her home. Her brothers, six and four years old, were crying from hunger and fear. Soldiers came in, complaining of the noise, and immediately killed them in front of her mother. Her aunt, who was living with them and had just given birth a week earlier, was raped to death, and in her final moments, witnessed the soldiers butchering her husband and two children.

Timorese women are a special focus for Indonesian policy-makers. The Indonesian government assiduously plies a soft-core genocidal program, otherwise known as family planning for the Timorese, whose numbers have already been decimated by napalm bombing, mass executions, and sadistic murder. Every six months, says Bella, the military goes to all the high schools, seeking out the young girls for compulsory birth control. "They came, and closed the door, and just injected us. We didn't know, we don't have the right to ask. We don't have children anymore." After visiting the schools, the military still goes around to individual villages and houses to inject the women they find. "They don't know who we are, so they just inject us again. Some women get injected three times."

Bella says that 80% of East Timorese women have been subjected to compulsory family planning. Back in 1985, the Indonesian government had already published a five-year birth control plan for 95,000 East Timorese women. In view of the Timorese experiences, the 1989 award of a United Nations population control award to Indonesian President Suharto can be seen only as the most gruesome irony.

Together with his methodical elimination of the East Timorese by violence and birth control, Suharto has also moved at least 150,000 Indonesians into Timorese territory.

Since the 1991 Dili Massacre – when the army opened fire on an unarmed crowd, killing 271 and wounding 382 – the Indonesian government has come up with a novel strategy of repression, control, and exploitation. Every East Timorese family must now officially adopt two Indonesian soldiers as live-in members. “They come any time,” Bella says, “use anything they want, eat and drink everything, and never pay anything, everything’s free. They really like to be adopted by a family that has a daughter. So besides eating, drinking, everything for free, they can also have sex without any responsibility. Me, my mom sent me to the nuns whenever the military comes, which is almost every day. They come anytime, ten o’clock, twelve o’clock at night. They wake everybody up and say they’re hungry, so we have to cook for them at that time. We are not free in East Timor, not even in our own house.”

Timorese daily life is a nightmare of forced deception, where every Timorese must be seen as endorsing his or her own oppression. While in East Timor, Bella excelled at the dangerous game of political masquerade. She extolled the Indonesian occupation on radio and in print, volunteered in the Indonesian army, and, at the same time, helped the extensive underground grassroots resistance movement by channeling supplies to East Timorese guerrillas. Her elaborate pretence convinced the Indonesian authorities, who selected her as the only East Timorese among 21 Indonesian representatives in Canada World Youth.

Before leaving Indonesia, the participants were ordered to stay silent on matters of human rights abuse. “My family had to sign a statement saying that if I say something wrong about East Timor, then my family will have to take responsibility,” says Bella. She has phoned her family repeatedly since her defection, but no one picks up the receiver. All the neighbours are now apparently shunning her family, for fear of falling under political suspicion.

Bella is asking Canadians to support East Timorese independence and to oppose Can-

ada’s extensive ties with the Indonesian government. Show your support by joining East Timor Alert Network’s demonstration on Saturday, 6 May, 1 p.m., at the south-east corner of Bloor & Spadina. For information: (416) 531 5850.

[This article was reprinted in the June 2 issue of the California-Nevada Methodist News.]

CANADIAN EAST TIMOR UPDATE #40

Number #40 – April 1, 1995

From the East Timor Alert Network/Canada (Excerpts)

THOUSANDS HEAR NEW VOICE

Thousands of Canadians heard the story of a new generation of resistance in East Timor when Isabel Galhos toured the country in March. Bella, who grew up under Indonesian rule, told audiences across the country that all Timorese, of all ages, continue to struggle for freedom. Since defecting from the Canada World Youth program and applying for refugee status, Bella has spoken in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Guelph, Ottawa, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto and Windsor. Among the highlights of the tour, she addressed the International Women’s Day rally in Winnipeg and the Folk for a Free East Timor benefit held as part of the East Timor Alert Network national conference in Ottawa, and spoke at every high school in the Windsor area. Through speeches and radio interviews, Bella reached thousands of Canadians. When newspaper readers are added in, more than a million Canadians had the chance to hear her message.

CRACKDOWN ON DISSENT, AND CRACKS IN THE MONOLITH

In its first-ever criticism of military actions in East Timor, the Indonesian national commission for human rights has confirmed that the army “killed unlawfully” 12 Timorese villagers in Liquiça in January. Soldiers “acting with recklessness” showed no respect for human life, the commission said. Since it was created personally by Indonesian President Suharto and is composed of his appointees, its statement may signal that people close to the regime are becoming concerned about the scale of human rights abuse in East Timor.

But there has been no let-up in the abuses. In March, 30 people were arrested in Liquiça. “The arrests are part of a crackdown by the military authorities in East Timor since widespread unrest resurfaced in November 1994,” said Amnesty International. “Since then, dozens of individuals have been subjected to short-term detention,

and large numbers of people are facing trial, some for their involvement in an entirely peaceful demonstration. There are continuing reports of torture, extra-judicial executions and ‘disappearances.’”

A list of 180 Timorese civil servants targeted for arrest is reportedly circulating in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Two more battalions of Indonesian troops arrived in March, bringing the total to ten battalions.

A vicious crackdown is under way, reported Rev. Alan Gill, the general secretary of Australia’s national council of churches. Timorese “speak of the heavy military presence, frequent violations of human rights and surveillance by security people,” he said after a recent church mission to the country.

Even longtime supporters of Indonesia have become disillusioned. “Since November there have been disappearances, arrests and arbitrary detentions,” said Florentino Sarmiento, former administrator of Canadian-funded aid projects in East Timor. “It’s frightening ... East Timorese are really obliged to live on their own rather than live together in peace with the Indonesians.”

JOURNALISTS ARRESTED

Indonesian supporters of East Timor have also been hit with a crackdown. Two members of the PIJAR Foundation were arrested in March. Computer disks and files were also seized in an apparent bid to stop publication of the underground magazine Kabar Dari Pijar. Six members of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) – formed last summer when three leading weekly papers were banned – were arrested soon afterwards. Again, the charges related to AJI’s journal *Independen*. The arrests, Amnesty International noted, “raise concerns about a renewed crackdown on peaceful political dissent in Indonesia, in particular those associated with independent publications which are perceived as critical of the authorities.” Also under threat are Mitra, published by the women’s organization Kalyanamitra, *Kompak*, an independent journal published in Bandung, and *Bima Darma*, published in Salatiga.

On March 28, the Indonesian government put pressure on editors to fire 45 members of AJI who work for mainstream newspapers. Two days later, in response to a national action alert issued by SIUPP, another Indonesian press freedom organization, 100 people demonstrated in Bandung and 70 in Jakarta.

Supporters are asked to write to protest these arrests and to demand that restrictions on freedom of the press be lifted. Please send letters to: H. Harmoko, Minister of Information, Menteri Penerangan, Jalan Merdeka Barat 9, Jakarta, Indonesia.

ETAN has issued a full action alert on freedom of the press in Indonesia. For a copy, please contact us.

CANADIAN EAST TIMOR UPDATE #41

April 27, 1995. From the East Timor Alert Network/Canada

LIBERALS RESUME WEAPONS SALES TO INDONESIA

The Liberal government has resumed weapons sales to Indonesia's dictatorship. Since coming to power near the end of 1993, the Liberals have authorized the sale of \$5,763,000 worth of military aircraft equipment to Indonesia, according to material obtained by the East Timor Alert Network under access to information laws. Five permits have been issued, but the details remain classified.

Federal officials have long boasted that Canada's policies on arms exports "are among the most restrictive in the world." A long-standing policy has been not to sell weapons to countries that are engaged in military conflicts, or that consistently violate human rights. This policy was repeated, mantra-like, in Foreign Minister Andre Ouellet's recent statement of the government's foreign policy goals.

Clearly the policy should apply to Indonesia, which is carrying on counter-insurgency wars in East Timor, West Papua and Aceh. Indonesia's consistent pattern of human rights violations is extensively documented.

Canada has, however, sold weapons to Indonesia. For instance, Indonesian soldiers invading East Timor in 1975 were supplied with bullets from Valcartier Industries of Montreal.

Under the old Conservative government, then-Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall noted that all applications for sales of military equipment to Indonesia had to pass her desk. She said these requests were routinely turned down, although she refused to declare an outright moratorium. In 1992, indeed, arms export permits to Indonesia declined to zero.

With Liberal Ouellet at the desk, the rubber stamp rides again. This was certainly not expected from the Liberals, who had indicated support for East Timor when in opposition. As opposition leader, Jean Chretien promised to work for the enforcement of UN resolutions that called on Indonesia to leave East Timor.

Arms exports to Indonesia need the authorization of the department of foreign affairs, and are good for 12 months after they are issued. That permits worth \$5.7-

million have been issued does not mean five sales will occur; only that the Liberal government has shown that it will allow an essentially free flow of arms to Indonesia. The ostensible restrictive policy turns out to be a free-for-all, with Canadian weapons for sale to whatever dictatorship is willing to pay.

The arms issue, of course, is aside from the massive flow of Canadian trade and investment to Indonesia.

Canada does not like to act on its own: witness the carefully multilateral nature of sanctions against South Africa. But if it was to announce an embargo on weapons sales to Indonesia, Canada would hardly be alone. NATO allies Italy and Belgium, for instance, have announced arms embargoes over the issues of East Timor and human rights. The European Parliament has called for an arms embargo. Even the United States banned the export of small arms.

This trading in death must be stopped. We ask supporters, as a matter of urgency, to demand that the government of Canada stop authorizing weapons exports to Indonesia. Canada should declare an arms embargo, and work for an international arms embargo.

Send letters as soon as possible to Foreign Minister Andre Ouellet, with copies to Opposition Leader Lucien Bouchard, Svend Robinson of Parliamentarians for East Timor, and ETAN. Raise the issue with your own MP, either by letter, phone call or in person if possible – many Liberal MPs have been shocked to learn that Canada is selling weapons to Indonesia.

MPs can be written postage-free @ House of Commons, Ottawa, K1A 0A6. Ouellet's fax is 613-995-9926.

LABOUR SOLIDARITY GROWS

In the past few months, several unions have taken strong initiatives in support of human rights in East Timor and Indonesia. The Canadian Labour Congress issued a statement of support for East Timor two years ago, on the initiative of the Windsor and District Labour Council.

After the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Jakarta last November, the Canadian Auto Workers, Canada's largest industrial union with 210,000 members, sent a strong letter to Prime Minister Chretien. At APEC, Chretien announced \$1-billion in new trade deals with Indonesia.

"Your recently completed trade mission to the APEC conference in Indonesia devoted considerable attention to multinational investments, trade and business promotion," wrote CAW national president Basil (Buzz) Hargrove. "It had very little to do with the promotion of human rights and democratic

development. As you are aware, Indonesia has an abysmal record in this respect. Independent unions (like SBSI) are brutally repressed. Strikes are declared illegal and their leaders arrested by the military dictatorship. Canadian foreign aid has been implicated in some of this – yet you are promoting more!

"I challenge you to commit one-half of the (overseas aid) budget for Indonesia in support for human and trade union rights. I call on you to condition Indonesian aid based on human rights and an end to the illegal occupation of East Timor. The government of Canada can play a leadership role here, similar to South Africa."

The CAW also wrote on March 28 regarding the recent crackdown on freedom of the press in Indonesia, including the arrest of members of the Association of Independent Journalists.

Union-to-union support for Indonesia's free trade union movement, the SBSI (Indonesia Prosperity Trade Union), is growing. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which includes the Canadian Labour Congress, passed a strong resolution backing the SBSI in December. Indonesia "continues to blatantly and systematically violate internationally-guaranteed trade union and other human rights," the ICFTU said. It promised humanitarian aid and acceptance of Indonesian free unions as members by the end of 1995.

In Ottawa, local unions working with ETAN Ottawa have formed a Labour Committee for East Timor.

In Toronto, the Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 3452 wrote to Foreign Minister Ouellet demanding economic sanctions against Indonesia. "Canadian government and business are exploiting low-wage Indonesian workers and are contributing to the harsh labour conditions," wrote union representative Irene Bell.

ENJOY THE SHOE MUSEUM, BUT ... BOYCOTT BATA SHOES!

Text of a leaflet handed out at the opening of the Bata Shoe Museum in Toronto, May 6, 1995

Genocide in East Timor – East Timor is a small country in Southeast Asia that is home to the worst case of genocide, per capita, since the Holocaust. One third of the East Timorese people have been killed since their country was invaded by neighbouring Indonesia 20 years ago. The killings are still going on today.

Unions banned – Indonesia itself is routinely cited by Amnesty International and others as a massive human rights violator. Opposition groups are outlawed, and news-

papers critical of the regime are closed down. Free trade unions are banned. The average wage is just \$1 per day.

Bankrolling the dictatorship – The Indonesian military regime is only able to carry on with its massive human rights violations with outside support. There are hundreds of Canadian corporations in Indonesia, with total investments estimated at \$3 billion. Many Canadian corporations have expanded operations in low-wage Indonesia at the same time they have slashed jobs here in Canada.

Bata a leading investor – Bata Shoes has three plants in Indonesia. Its Indonesian workers are the lowest-paid in the 60-country Bata empire, according to a union survey. Bata has crushed attempts to unionize. In 1979, Bata called in the army to break up a one-day sit-down strike at its Indonesian factories.

Walk away from repression – International sanctions against South Africa helped to end the apartheid regime. The same should happen today with Indonesia. Canadian companies should withdraw their investments in Indonesia until it agrees to pull out of East Timor and respect human rights.

Boycott Bata Shoes – In the 1980s, Bata withdrew from South Africa. In the 1990s, it should withdraw from Indonesia. However, Bata has refused to do so. Therefore, the East Timor Alert Network has called for a consumer boycott. Please, don't buy Bata Shoes – and tell them why.

East Timor Alert Network – ETAN is a national association of Canadians working for East Timor's right to self-determination. Locally, we can be contacted at: PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, M5S 2T1, (416) 531-5850.

CANADA ABANDONS HUMAN RIGHTS TRADITIONS

From ETAN/Toronto, May 14

Several Indonesian government ministers and businessmen have been in Canada recently, an occasion that has also spelled a new direction in Canadian foreign policy. The Liberal government, heir to the human rights legacy of Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau, has announced that henceforth trade will take precedence over human rights in all cases.

The best way to promote democratic development is through trade, "irrespective of whether they have dictatorships or ... political governments that do not espouse our own beliefs," Ouellet said after meeting the foreign ministers of ASEAN, including Ali Alatas of Indonesia, in Vancouver. "Isolation, contrary to some beliefs, is not conducive to helping the populations (of repres-

sive regimes). Foreign trade, which creates progress in the economy, is the best way of spreading (democracy) to the population. Therefore, Canada has expressed, through this new government, our desire to vigorously pursue a series of new trading initiatives in a number of countries irrespective of their human rights records." In the case of Burma, Ouellet said, Canada would follow ASEAN's policy (Globe and Mail, May 12, 1995).

Ouellet's comments were backed up by Raymond Chan, secretary of state for Asia Pacific, once an activist in Vancouver's large support group for democracy in China. The new policy, which formalizes a direction that has been emerging since soon after the Liberals regained power in 1993, is based on a desire to create jobs in Canada through export of products and services to the Pacific Rim. By hosting the Vancouver meeting, Canada also hopes to speak as ASEAN's voice at the G7 summit in Halifax next month.

The day before Ouellet and Chan met the ASEAN ministers, the Canadian Exporters Association and the Canada-Indonesia Business Development Office held the first of several "Partnering with Indonesia" trade seminars in Vancouver, with guest of honour Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo, state minister of investment of Indonesia. The minister dodged a question on East Timor. Two days later, a repeat of the same seminar in Toronto shifted to written questions, with questions on East Timor not asked by the moderators. Hundreds of business people attended the seminars. In Toronto, a small group of protesters from ETAN entered the seminar and distributed information on human rights in Indonesia.

Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo met Canadian trade minister Roy McLaren later the same day. Trade links between Canada and Indonesia are growing fast, with Indonesia identified as a key trade target by the Canadian government and industry groups. Investment is expected to hit \$6 billion in the next two years, according to Canadian Ambassador to Jakarta Lawrence Dickenson. The leading investor is INCO Ltd., which is planning a 50 per cent expansion of its nickel mining operations in Soroako, Sulawesi.

Another top investor is Bata Shoes, which is the target of a boycott by ETAN. The boycott was highlighted on May 6, when 50 people and a giant bloodstained shoe took part in street theatre and leafletting to mark the opening of the Bata Shoe Museum in downtown Toronto. About 1,500 leaflets were handed out asking people to "Enjoy the Shoe Museum, but ... Boycott Bata Shoes." Protesters were able to speak with Tom Bata, who argued that

Bata is a small player in Indonesia unable to influence the government – so it would not try.

HALIFAX G-7 SUMMIT AND EAST TIMOR ACTIONS

From: Bill Owen, May 20

The Nova Scotia branch of ETAN (East Timor Alert Network) will be manning a week-long display at the Alternative Peoples Summit during the G-7 Summit in Halifax June 11-18. We invite any group that has handouts or Display material, or letters/messages of support for East Timor to Fax/mail us copies by June 9 and we will display or distribute your material. - i.e. by June 9. we are especially interested in material on the Human Rights implications of University programs with Indonesia as the local University (Dalhousie U) has programs with Indonesia. Canada has just announced that Trade/Aid are to proceed in our foreign policy with no connection to Human rights concerns. We are a small group and it would be good to display the range of groups and concerns about ET. Material for Display can be faxed c/o Brookes Kind (902) 494-5185 or mailed to Bill Owen at 1226 Barrington St, Halifax, Nova Scotia, CANADA B3J 1Y4 - phone 902-423-3721

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

CONGRESSMEMBERS WRITE CLINTON

United States House of Representatives
February 23, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

As members of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, we write to express our concern about human rights conditions in East Timor and call on your Administration to reiterate U.S. concerns at the upcoming meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) in Geneva.

In November 1994, we wrote to request that you raise these human rights concerns with President Suharto during your meeting at the APEC Summit. We appreciate the statements you made pressing the government of Indonesia to give the people of East Timor greater freedom and to ensure the protection of fundamental human rights. However, we are disheartened by the lack of progress on human rights and the perpetual reports of torture and other serious abuses being committed in East Timor.

This year, the State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1994 reports: "The [Indonesian] Government continued to commit serious human rights abuse and in some areas, notably freedom of expression, it became markedly more repressive, departing from a longer-term trend toward greater openness. The most serious abuse included the continuing inability of the people to change their government and harsh repression of the East Timorese dissidents." In November 1994, the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary and Arbitrary Executions reported that the atmosphere in East Timor continues to be oppressive and resembles the conditions that precipitated the mass killings by Indonesian forces in November 1991. The Rapporteur's report serves as a warning to the world and should solicit a response from the international community to take action to prevent a repetitions of severe human rights violations.

In addition, we remain concerned about the large Indonesian military presence on the island and about reports indicating that one of the Indonesian army battalions that was responsible for Santa Cruz massacre recently returned to the region. We also oppose the mistreatment of Timorese political prisoners, the heightened migration of Indonesian settlers to East Timor, and the obstruction of international observers who are working to monitor trials of dissidents and report on conditions in East Timor. We firmly believe that these development demand a strong response by the international community at the UNCHR.

The international community should demonstrate its opposition to the continuing abuses by supporting a strong resolution at the UNCHR. We encourage the U.S. delegation to coordinate with other Representatives to the UNCHR to press for immediate implementation of the recommendations of the UN Special Rapporteur on East Timor.

We believe that a strong UN resolution must call for the following: unobstructed access to East Timor by journalists and other observers, the unconditional release of East Timorese political prisoners, an end to the harassment of members of the Catholic church, a full accounting of individuals killed or missing after the 1991 Santa Cruz cemetery massacre, an investigation into the deaths that have occurred during clashes in Dili and Baucau in 1994 and 1995, and the continuation of negotiations between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal to secure protection of internationally defined human rights standards. We also recommend that the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, the Special Rapporteur on Torture, and the Working Group on Disappear-

ances send investigative delegations to East Timor.

You have our firm commitment that we will support such actions at the upcoming meeting of the UNCHR and will work with you in order to improve conditions for the Timorese people. We appreciate your attention to our concerns and look forward to a positive resolution to this issue.

Sincerely,

Tom Lantos, Ben Gilman, Nancy Pelosi,
John Edward Porter, Tony Hall, Chris
Smith, Frank Wolf.

SENATE LETTER

United States Senate Washington, DC
20510

February 15, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

Despite nineteen years of brutal misrule and occupation by the government of Indonesia, the former Portuguese colony of East Timor remains among the least know human rights tragedies in the world today. We appreciated your statements on human rights in East Timor at the APEC summit last November. Since then, there have been several new incidents of repression in East Timor, including the reported summary executions of six civilians by the Indonesian military on January 12. We are writing to ask that your Administration support a resolution or statement reflecting U.S. concerns about the situations in East Timor at the upcoming session of the United Nation's Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva.

A U.S.-sponsored resolution in Geneva should address several issues. East Timorese detainees do not enjoy safe and humane treatment on the island of East Timor or elsewhere in Indonesia. These conditions must be ameliorated. Indonesia should be called upon to allow unrestricted visits to East Timor by international observers and journalists. The resolution should press for the release of East Timorese political prisoners and a full accounting of those killed, wounded or missing as a result of the 1991 Santa Cruz cemetery massacre in Dili.

The resolution should also support mechanisms that promote restraint by the Indonesian military and security forces, such as visits to East Timor by the United Nations Working Groups on Arbitrary Detention and Disappearances, and the Special Rapporteur on Torture, and independently verified reductions in Indonesian troop levels. Tensions between native East Timorese and Indonesians who, as a result of special treatment by the Indonesian government, dominate the private sector and local government institutions could be reduced by

restrictions on further settlement by migrants from Indonesia.

Estimates of the number of East Timorese killed, imprisoned or exiled since Indonesia's 1975 invasion run into the hundreds of thousands. We believe that the U.S. relationship with Indonesia should enable us to effectively press our concerns on the Jakarta government. We urge your Administration to counsel President Suharto to act with restraint toward East Timorese. American leadership in crafting a strong resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Conference (sic) in Geneva in the next several weeks will be a crucial sign of U.S. concern and its support for a peaceful and equitable resolution of the East Timor conflict.

Sincerely yours,

Alfonse D'Amato, Frank H. Murkowski,
Craig Thomas, Frank Lautenberg, Russell D.
Feingold, Connie Mack, John H. Chafee,
Patrick J. Leahy, Claiborne Pell

FERRARO: DESPITE PROGRESS, UNHRC WORK "FAR FROM BEING DONE"

*Ferraro remarks, U.N. Human Rights
Commission, March 6*

Geneva – Although significant human rights progress has been made since the U.N. Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) first met almost a half century ago, "our work is staggeringly far from being done," warns Ambassador Geraldine Ferraro.

Now there is "no nation where human rights can be abused without fear of international exposure. We have built a foundation and found a voice," Ferraro, head of the U.S. delegation to UNHRC, said in a statement to the commission March 2.

However, human rights violations continue, and "we have to admit that we have little power to shame certain countries," the ambassador said.

"But that should not deter us," she declared. "For our work will not be done until the day comes when no one is jailed or tortured for political and religious beliefs; when ethnic cleansing is not feted in one town and feared in another right next door; when political prisoners are not executed because they dare to speak up for freedom...."

Ferraro cited areas where she said the commission and the international rights community "might make an immediate difference in the near future," including Bosnia, Rwanda and Burundi.

Ferraro mentioned South Africa as a country which has "overcome difficult circumstances and begun the hard work of turning to democracy and the protection of human rights." She also assessed human rights developments in Haiti, Guatemala,

Chechnya, East Timor, China and elsewhere.

Deploring Cuba's "lamentable human rights record," Ferraro said, "There is probably no other nation whose actions at the commission have been so consistently and deliberately divisive as Cuba's....It

[...]

Following is an excerpt from Ferraro's statement, as prepared for delivery:

In some countries, efforts have been made to improve human rights, but progress is very uneven. The situation in East Timor, for example, continues to be worrisome, and much remains to be done. We see a continuing pattern of violence. I note in particular the killings of six East Timorese civilians in January, after intimidation and torture by the military, according to the Independent Indonesian National Human Rights Commission. We appreciate the government's own actions to investigate and make public its findings. But it is equally important that official action be focused on eliminating abuses, and on establishing a climate of full respect for human rights in East Timor.

If there are countries where progress in observing human rights is being made, there are others where that is sadly not the case.

Mr. Chairman, the United States has long been deeply concerned about the failure of China's government to permit its citizens to exercise internationally-recognized civil and political rights.

ASIA PACIFIC CENTER FORMED IN WASHINGTON; SEEKS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The ASIA PACIFIC CENTER for Justice and Peace has just been formed in Washington. Although it grows from the merger of four groups which have been working on justice and peace issues in Cambodia, Korea, the Philippines and Taiwan (among other places), the APC will work on issues from across the entire region.

APC is setting up an office on Capitol Hill and is hiring an executive director (see below for job announcement).

For job-related inquiries, please contact Anne Unander (see below).

For other issues, write Kathryn Johnson at the APC office:

Asia Pacific Center
Room 504, 110 Maryland Ave, NE
Washington, DC 20036 USA
202-543-1094 fax:202-546-0090

Although APC will be using the Internet, in this formative stage I have agreed to help circulate this information through cyberspace. For now, write me at cscheiner@igc.apc.org.

Please repost all or part of this announcement as you feel is appropriate. Thank you.

– Charlie Scheiner, East Timor Action Network,
APC Board of Directors

ASIA PACIFIC CENTER FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE

Mission Statement

The Asia Pacific Center (APC) supports justice and peace throughout Asia and the Pacific. It is composed of churches and other religious bodies, advocacy groups and coalitions related to and working on Asia Pacific concerns. It is motivated by a deep spiritual and human bond, and by commitment to reciprocal and mutually empowering relationships, with the peoples of the region. APC focuses on the policies and actions of the U.S. government, corporations, international institutions and religious bodies as they impact Asia and the Pacific.

The functions of the APC program include: monitoring countries and issues, policy analysis, advocacy, constituency and public education, supporting people-to-people relationships and resourcing networks. The Center works on both country and regional issues as determined by the Steering Committee. APC's understanding of realities in Asia and the Pacific is informed by cooperative relationships with institutions and faith-based and grassroots people's organizations in Asia, the Pacific and the United States with whom we share basic principles and concerns.

These include respect for and promotion of the following:

- Human Rights – encompassing individual and collective political, civil, social, economic and cultural rights.
- Economic and Environmental Justice – including respect for the rights of workers, long-term ecological sustainability, cultural and ethnic integrity, and local and national self-reliance, in order to reverse the devastating environmental, social and economic impact of exclusively market-driven development schemes.
- Gender and Racial Justice – based on the recognition and affirmation of the rights of women and all racial/ethnic groups to full participation, just compensation and equal protection in all spheres of human activity.
- Democracy – including free and open discussion and decision-making processes which are responsive to public concerns, allow for self-determination, cultural diversity, grassroots participation and minority and indigenous rights and are independent of foreign interference and domination.

- Peace – including demilitarization of societies and support for negotiated settlements that address root causes of conflict rather than military approaches to resolving conflict.
- Genuine Collective Security – based on mutually beneficial cooperative agreements and relationships among peoples within a nation and among nations.
- Interfaith Cooperation – including interfaith dialogue, understanding, and respectful co-existence.
- May 24, 1995

Short version of Job description. Please publish this where it will be seen by people who might be interested.

Executive Director sought for the Asia Pacific Center for Justice and Peace. Will be responsible for program development and implementation, advocacy, financial management and grassroots networking. Must have excellent administrative, fundraising, public speaking and writing skills and experience working, living or travelling in the Asia Pacific region. Experience in direct advocacy strongly preferred. Should be comfortable working in cross-cultural and multi-faith environment. Salary mid-thirties plus benefits. Position based in Washington, D.C. Some travel required. Must be able to work legally in the United States at time of hire. Cover letter stating qualifications and experience and resume to: APC Search Committee, c/o Ms. Anne Unander, UMC General Board of Global Ministries, Room 1536, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115 by August 15, 1995. NO PHONE CALLS.

WINSTON LORD: VOLUNTARY BUSINESS PRINCIPLES COMING IN 'NEAR FUTURE'

Transcript: 3/10/95 Foreign Press Center briefing

Washington – The Clinton administration is still consulting on a list of voluntary principles for U.S. businesses operating in other countries, and there should be an announcement in the near future, according to Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord.

BRIEFER: WINSTON LORD, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS

[...]

My last stop was in Indonesia. I went there as a special emissary of President Clinton to address the specific issue of Iraq compliance with United Nations resolutions

arising from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. It's our strong view – which I conveyed in a personal meeting with President Suharto – that the sanctions against Iraq should not be lifted or eased until Iraq is fully in compliance with U.N. resolutions.

I also managed to talk of a lot of other issues with my old friend, Foreign Minister Alatas of Indonesia, and other government and private sector leaders. And I emphasized the richness and mutual benefit of our ever-growing relations in Indonesia. Our topics included APEC. As you know, Indonesia was chairman last year. We had the historic Bogor declaration. Now in support of Japan, we wish to see that political commitment and promise implemented. We talked about trade and investment issues between us – regional security issues, including the South China Sea, where Indonesia's had a leading diplomatic role; human rights, including the East Timor situation; indefinite extension of the Nonproliferation Treaty, which as I said, we strongly favor; Cambodia; Korea; and other issues.

So with that brief introduction, I'll be glad to go to your questions.

Comment: Lord seems unaware of the parallels between the Indonesian invasion of East Timor and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait – and the duplicity of Western approaches to both. When contrasted with statements from John Shattuck this week on human rights in Indonesia, the internal split within the State Department is clear.

– Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

WINSTON LORD CALLS FOR IMET

Testimony by Assistant Secretary Winston Lord before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, March 14, 1995. [Excerpts]

Indonesia is an active, positive and influential actor in regional and world affairs. Its nearly 200 million people make it the world's largest Moslem country. It is located along vitally important sea lanes. Indonesia's stable development thus has important implications for regional prosperity and security. The promotion of democracy and respect for human rights is a critical element of our policy toward Indonesia. Its rapid rates of economic growth, rich resource endowment and large population translate into substantial opportunities for American exporters and investors and jobs for American workers.

Indonesia's vast natural wealth - it has the second largest tropical forest in the world - is threatened by deforestation, pollution, loss of biodiversity and the destruction of coral reefs. AID's programs in Indo-

nesia support stable economic development by assisting a highly successful family planning program, limiting the spread of AIDS, and assisting in the revision of regulations to promote economic efficiency, as well as opportunities for U.S. firms. Assistance is designed to foster a more democratic, pluralistic society, with projects in East Timor, and programs to improve women's literacy, knowledge of their rights an access to credit. In cooperation with Japan, AID is establishing an endowment to protect Indonesia's biodiversity. All of these efforts, while of great benefit to Indonesia, directly support U.S. interests as well by encouraging stable development, human rights and environmental protection.

International Military Education and Training (IMET)

Dollar for dollar, our most effective component to U.S. security assistance in the region is IMET. Reinforcing success, we are recommending only modest increase for regional total of \$5.275 million in this unique people to people program.... A notable new initiative is the restoration of IMET funding to Indonesia, which will be a low-cost means, particularly via E-IMET, to decision-makers. If we do not make personal contacts today with the region's leadership of tomorrow, we forego ir retrievable opportunities for future cooperation and influence.

NOTE: Administration budget document includes \$600,000 for IMET for Indonesia

TIMOR BIG PROBLEM FOR INDONESIA

Voice of America, 3/16/95

By Jill Gathmann, Washington

Intro: relations between Indonesia and the United States have improved dramatically during the past few years. International trade has increased, economic development is on the rise, and US military cooperation is growing. But US concerns about Indonesia's human rights policy still present a problem for Jakarta. As VOA's Jill Gathmann reports, officials in that developing southeast Asian country are asking for patience.

Text: at an international forum in Washington this week, US and Indonesian officials noted that 1995 marks the 50th anniversary of Indonesia as an independent country.

A group of Indonesian nationalists declared the country independent of Dutch colonial rule in 1945, after Japanese occupation forces left at the end of world war two.

Five decades later, activists in East Timor – the former Portuguese colony now con-

trolled by Jakarta – want independence from Indonesian rule.

In 1976, one year after invading East Timor, Indonesia annexed the island.

Indonesia's claim to the island has never been recognized by the UN general assembly, and the world body has called on Jakarta several times to withdraw its armed forces.

Washington has criticized Jakarta for alleged human rights abuses by its armed forces in East Timor.

US National Security Council advisor Stanley Roth says that, with the new conservative republican party shift in congress, it is likely that the subject of East Timor will remain an issue in relations with Indonesia.

“The continued high level visibility and attention in the congress to developments in East Timor will continue. I think that I get more letters on East Timor in my job at the white house than any other country in Asia. A number of senators and congressmen follow it very closely, and it is an area where continuing ongoing human rights problems do jeopardize the relationship, do give Indonesia somewhat of a black eye in (damage) its reputation in the United States, and do affect the relationship. And so it's an area where we do have to continue working on.”

Since the 1975 invasion, human rights groups say 200-thousand people in East Timor, one-third of its population, have been murdered or have died from starvation and disease.

The groups say military authorities have used torture to obtain information from political detainees. And thousands of people have been tried and sentenced to lengthy prison terms for alleged political crimes.

Indonesia's former minister of energy and mining, Mohammed Sadli, says Indonesia is working to change its record on human rights abuses, but that some understanding by the United States is needed.

“We are still sensitive that you are hitting us over the head with respect to East Timor, human rights, workers rights, whatever... Well, after all, china's still doing it, so we cannot be less than china. We have to work hard now on the maintenance of these bilateral relations. (but) keep on preaching to us (laugh) and if we don't do it right away, please, please be patient. (laugh) give us 15 years.”

But 15 years may not be soon enough for the US Congress. As the Republican majority begins to consider cuts in foreign aid, officials say Indonesia may find there is very little sympathy for delaying reforms.

CONGRESS SLAMS US HR POLICY

Voice of America, 3/16/95

By Paula Wolfson, congress

Intro: the Clinton administration's response to human rights abuses in Asia is coming under criticism in the US Congress. VOA's Paula Wolfson reports some lawmakers say the White House is reluctant to back up its words with action.

Text: there was anger and frustration in the hearing room when top state department officials appeared before members of the house subcommittees on Asia and human rights.

Republican Christopher Smith of New Jersey held up a thick blue copy of the State Department's latest human rights report. He said the administration should be commended for its detailed country-by-country analysis of conditions. But he said the Clinton White House, while reporting these abuses, does little to stop them.

"This book - well written and I think very well documented - is disconnected from the policies enumerated by this administration."

Mr. Smith made specific mention of china's family planning policy, charging the Clinton administration is doing nothing to block the practice of forced abortions. China was also the target of comments made by democrat Tom Lantos of California.

"I wish our administration had fought as hard for human rights in china as it did against the theft of intellectual property. This administration went to the mat when the subject was the theft of American intellectual property. But this administration ducked (avoided) a fight, as did the previous administration, when it was a question of human lives, torture, persecution, discrimination, forced abortions - the most sickening of practices imaginable on this planet."

The Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, John Shattuck, defended the administration's approach. He said the Clinton White House has not shied away from controversy when it comes to advocating the rights and freedoms of individuals.

"This administration has placed more emphasis on issues of human rights throughout Asia than any administration that I am aware of."

Mr. Shattuck noted that in Asia, the United States is dealing with countries with a wide range of political systems - from the established democracy of Japan to the authoritarian regime that rules Burma. He closed his testimony with a few quotes from Nobel peace prize laureate Aung San Suu

Kyi. The Burmese democracy activist once said "human beings the world over need freedom and security so they can be able to achieve their full potential."

U.S. PLEDGES TO SELL MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO JAKARTA

REUTER, Mar 16, 1995

JAKARTA - The United States has pledged to sell military equipment to Indonesia and said it might also resume military training aid to Jakarta, a senior Indonesian armed forces official said on Thursday.

First Admiral Muddin Ma'ruf, an adviser to Armed Forces chief General Feisal Tanjung, said this message was conveyed by Admiral William Owens, vice-chairman of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff, in talks with Indonesian Vice President Try Sutrisno.

"There are two important things from their discussions. He (Owens) said the United States is making efforts to resume training aid for Indonesia's military. He also pledged to sell military equipment to Indonesia," Ma'ruf told reporters.

Ma'ruf gave no details of what kind of military equipment could be sold to Indonesia, whose relations with Washington have been hurt at times over allegations of human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

He said the issue of training aid - known as the International Military Education and Training (IMET) fund - would be discussed by the U.S. Congress at a date not yet disclosed.

Owens was scheduled to hold a news conference later on Thursday.

U.S. KEEN TO SELL WEAPONS TO INDONESIA

JAKARTA, March 16 (Reuters) - The United States is keen to resume military training aid to Indonesia and sell weapons to Jakarta despite the situation in East Timor, a senior U.S. military official said on Thursday.

Admiral William Owens, vice-chairman of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff, said he was satisfied Jakarta was dealing properly with issues over Indonesia's military involvement in East Timor.

"From our standpoint in the (U.S.) military it seems when an issue is raised affecting the military's involvement in East Timor that appropriate action has been taken to address those concerns," he told a news conference.

Owens said in this context it was normal for the U.S. military to seek to re-establish the International Military Education and

Training (IMET) fund with Indonesia and seek arms sales.

The U.S. Congress cut off IMET to Indonesia in 1992 to protest the November 1991 massacre of up to 180 civilians during a funeral march in the East Timor capital Dili. The IMET issue is to be discussed by Congress at a date not yet disclosed.

"It seems completely appropriate that we attempt to establish a normal relationship with the Indonesian military and the Indonesian government," said Owens, who is on a five-day visit.

Owens, who earlier held talks with Vice President Try Sutrisno, gave no details of what military equipment could be sold to Indonesia.

Washington's relations with Indonesia have been hurt at times over allegations of human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The Senate voted last July to restrict small arms sales to Indonesia, which invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed the tiny territory one year later.

The United Nations has never recognised the annexation.

IMET FOR INDONESIA IN 1996?

Quotes may be inexact, as they result from translation of a translation.

Washington, March 16 (LUSA) - The Clinton Administration announced today in Jakarta its intent to re-establish military aid to Indonesia. Admiral William A. Owens said at a press conference today in Jakarta that the Pentagon will seek the re-establishment of the IMET program for Indonesia for 1996. Owens was received in Jakarta by Vice-President Try Sutrisno and Minister of Defense Edi Sudrajat.

On Tuesday, in Washington, Secretary of State Winston Lord praised the decision by the Clinton Administration to re-establish the IMET program for Indonesia, describing it as 'a low cost initiative to improve the respect for the democratic values among those who in the future will be called upon to make decisions.'

Winston Lord, who completed last week a trip to South Korea, Mongolia, China, Japan and Indonesia, described today the Asia-Pacific region as 'the most robust and important economic region in the world.' 'East Asia,' said Lord, 'is the recipient of one third of the total US exports and represents nearly three million jobs in the US.' US exports to Asia are growing faster than to any other world region.

The Clinton Administration submitted to Congress a proposal for assistance to the Asia-Pacific region [the nature of this assistance is not specified in the LUSA report - presumably military (?)] for the fiscal year

of 1996 (starting October 1, 1995) involving a total of \$281.5 million USD.

Winston Lord stated that 'promoting democracy and respect for human rights is a critical element in the US policy towards Indonesia,' and that 'its fast rate of economic development, abundance of natural resources and vast population translate into substantial opportunities for US exporters and investors, and jobs for US workers.'

Referring to the assistance projects for Indonesia by the Agency for International Development (AID), Lord said that 'the assistance is conceived to foster a more democratic and pluralistic society, with projects in East Timor, and programs to better women education, knowledge of their own rights and access to credit.' Lord added that these efforts, while benefiting Indonesia, also 'directly support the interests of the US and at the same time encourage a stable development, human rights, and environmental protection.'

According to Lord, the IMET military program is 'dollar by dollar our most effective component of US assistance for the purpose of security in the region,' and is considered 'a long-term investment in the promotion of a professional military and of democratic alternatives for key foreign leaders, both civilian and military.'

INDONESIA WELCOMES U.S. PLANS ON WEAPONS SALES

REUTER, abridged

Jakarta, March 18 - A top Indonesian military official on Saturday welcomed plans by the United States to resume military training aid and sales of weapons to Indonesia.

"It is good. The U.S. military seems to understand about Indonesia," armed forces commander General Feisal Tanjung told reporters.

A senior U.S. military official said on Thursday the United States was willing to resume military training aid and weapons sales to Jakarta despite criticism of the government's human-rights record in the troubled province of East Timor.

Admiral William Owens, vice-chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, said he was satisfied Jakarta was dealing properly with issues over Indonesia's military involvement in East Timor.

"From our standpoint in the military it seems when an issue is raised affecting the military's involvement in East Timor that appropriate action has been taken to address those concerns," Owens said.

Owens said in this context it was normal for the U.S. military to seek to re-establish the International Military Education and

Training (IMET) fund with Indonesia and seek arms sales.

Indonesia wants to send troops to train in US

(abridged)

Jakarta, March 18 (AFP) - Indonesia wants to resume sending troops to the United States for training, but would not automatically resume buying US military equipment, the head of the armed forces, General Feisal Tanjung, said Saturday.

The US Congress is to debate the 1995-96 budget and decide on funding for the International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme. The budget comes into effect on October 1.

"We are prepared to send our officers to any country as part of a programme mutually beneficial to both parties," Tanjung told reporters.

But he refused to link the renewal of the IMET programme to arms purchases.

"We will first compare (US equipment) with equipment from other countries, because after all it's our money we're talking about."

SHATTUCK: ASIAN SOCIETIES SHIFTING AWAY FROM AUTHORITARIANS

Testimony of Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck in the House of Representatives, March 16. Excerpts

Washington - "There are more and more signs that the center of gravity in Asian societies does not rest permanently with the authoritarians," according to John Shattuck, assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights and labor.

In testimony before the House International Relations Subcommittees on Asia and the Pacific and International Operations and Human Rights March 16, Shattuck acknowledged that stories of human rights abuses in China, Burma, Vietnam and North Korea often dominate the news.

"These abuses are serious and widespread, and it is fitting that they draw the attention of the press," he said. "But there is another side of the human rights story in Asia, which does not receive the attention it merits."

"Internal pressures for change are confronting even the sternest regimes," Shattuck said. "People and organizations are speaking out and making known their commitment to democracy and human rights even when the costs are high."

"We see those pressures now in China, Burma, and Vietnam, and I am sure they will come in North Korea. It is our task to ensure that the U.S. continues to contribute to

the progress of human rights and democracy as these societies transform themselves," Shattuck said.

Shattuck warned that progress would be erratic. "There will be progress and there will be serious backsliding. It is, however, incumbent on us to take the long view and not become too discouraged by setbacks or too complacent in the face of progress," he said.

Following is the official text of Shattuck's testimony, as prepared for delivery:

HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

Testimony of the honorable John Shattuck Assistant Secretary of State Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor before the House Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific and the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, March 16, 1995

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have this opportunity to discuss human rights and democracy in Asia with you. Support for democracy and human rights in this dynamic region is a key element of U.S. policy for the region. We are committed to working with the Congress to devise the most effective means of advancing this interest within our more general Asia policy.

I will address some key Asian countries in my remarks, and use them to illustrate some general features that I believe we can distinguish in the region, but we must remember that each of the several dozen societies here is quite distinct - and that distinctiveness shapes our bilateral diplomacy.

An Overview

Before looking at the specific situations of key countries, and the means we have available to affect those situations, I will attempt to make a general assessment. Categorization of the large array of countries that make up the region from the standpoint of democracy and human rights is at once simple and complex. The extremes are easy to identify; there are democracies that equal those elsewhere, such as Japan, New Zealand and Australia, and there are authoritarian regimes whose only concession to democracy and human rights lies in their names or their paper constitutions. Within these extremes is a very diverse collection of nations and standards of accountable government.

India, for example, is the world's largest democracy and one of the oldest in Asia, but has a very problematic record on human rights. The Philippines and South Korea are valued democratic partners of the U.S., and indeed, our alliances with them have been

made stringer than ever by their democratic progress. Thailand, Cambodia, Mongolia and Sri Lanka have made transitions to democracy, but have varying records in practice of adherence to democratic standards, and quite disparate histories on human rights.

In a number of states circumstances are less encouraging; ethnic or religious strife or ideology or simple desire for power has all too frequently restricted the operation of democracy or seriously undermined the application of human rights standards. Among those we could cite is Indonesia, where an authoritarian government rules despite a veneer of democracy, and where there are major problems with both human and worker rights as well. Human rights are routinely violated on a large scale in Afghanistan. In Pakistan, religious and ethnic rivalries have resulted in numerous murders, bombings, and civil disturbances, with over a thousand people killed in the last year in the city of Karachi alone.

At the absolutist end of the spectrum lie China, Burma, and Vietnam. Because of its size and influence, China's future development will have enormous consequences for the region and the world. North Korea has sealed itself from the world. Not only one-party but one-man rule has been the organizing principle of the state. The North Korean dictatorship maintains extremely tight controls over its citizens.

Vietnam is also a one-party state, and its government is responsible for substantial human rights abuses. It is opening to the West, however, and we have established a human rights dialogue, which will be an integral part of our own developing relations with Vietnam. Finally, I would cite Burma, where a popular movement for democracy was crushed by the military in 1990; this authoritarian regime continues year after year to show a callous disregard for human rights.

The human rights abuses that occur in the states I have highlighted often dominate the news. These abuses are serious and widespread, and it is fitting that they draw the attention of the press. But there is another side of the human rights story in Asia, which does not receive the attention it merits. There are more and more signs that the center of gravity in Asian societies does not rest permanently with the authoritarians. Internal pressures for change are confronting even the sternest regimes. People and organizations are speaking out and making known their commitment to democracy and human rights even when the costs are high. We see those pressures now in China, Burma, and Vietnam, and I am sure they will come in North Korea. It is our task to ensure that the U.S. continues to contribute to

the progress of human rights and democracy as these societies transform themselves. There will be progress and there will be serious backsliding. It is, however, incumbent on us to take the long view and not become too discouraged by setbacks or too complacent in the face of progress.

U.S. Policy Goals and Strategies

Before I discuss specific countries, I will briefly address two fundamental principles underlying our human rights policies in Asia. First, we are not trying to impose a Western form of society or idea of human rights. These ideals are reflected in international obligations subscribed to by Asian governments as well as others. I would quote Secretary Christopher's remark about this last year: "Commitment to democracy is neither occidental nor accidental. We are not imposing an American model; we are supporting a universal impulse for freedom."

Second, promoting human rights and democracy is, in our view, in the interest of the United States, as of all nations. Our shared economic and security interests in Asia are best served in the long run by a political and social order that respects the rule of law, where freedom of speech is a safety valve, and where government is accountable to its citizens.

As history has shown, democracies seldom if ever make war on each other. At the same time, there is a close relationship between our interests in human rights in Asia and our economic interests there. Trade relations in themselves are no substitute for vigorous human rights advocacy. Economic growth and trade and the accompanying social mobility do not suffice to create political pluralism. They do, however, create powerful pressures for political change. Free and open markets need open societies that respect basic rights and the rule of law.

Assertions continue to be heard, sometimes from senior officials in Asia, that economic development must take precedence over democracy or respect for human rights. This posited tradeoff is ultimately false. It is precisely because the United States has an interest in economic development and political stability in Asia that it promotes human rights and accountable government. President Clinton explained this on the eve of his departure for the APEC summit in Jakarta last November:

"In societies where the rule of law prevails, where governments are held accountable to their people and where ideas and information freely circulate, we are more likely to find economic development and political stability."

Tools for Promoting Democracy and Human Rights

How can we promote these central goals? Throughout the world the United States pursues a broad-based approach to promoting democracy and human rights. At the State Department, my bureau works closely with the regional bureaus to fashion plans appropriate for each country and issue, along with multilateral approaches where this would be effective. And I chair the new inter-agency working group on democracy to coordinate democracy-promotion activities throughout the U.S. government.

Bilateral diplomacy is the foundation of our international dialogue. There are intensive dialogues on human rights with China, Vietnam, and Indonesia, which I plan to visit next month. Beyond the headlines, we regularly raise human rights issues with individual governments, for example, encouraging the Thai government to pass new legislation amending the 1991 labor law that constricted worker rights there. We are also discussing continuing concerns about worker rights violations in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Pakistan.

Following a 1993 worldwide directive by Secretary Christopher, a system of embassy-based working groups has been operating to coordinate reporting and development of action plans focused on human rights and democracy issues specific to the host country. Measurable benchmark activities are built into these plans, which are reviewed and adjusted periodically. Our annual country reports on human rights play a related role in this bilateral diplomacy. They are a guide for the embassy working groups, and they are widely publicized throughout Asia and read by governments and private organizations. Both official and private sources often issue statements acknowledging the reports; even in their assertions criticizing the reports, some governments for the first time acknowledge the need to conform to international human rights standards.

Our bilateral democracy strategies target key "countries in transition" across Asia with financial assistance and support in multilateral institutions, including special efforts concentrated on accountability and national reconciliation. In Cambodia, for example, we have pledged \$40 million in 1995 to advance these goals. The USAID program focuses in four areas: population and public health, infrastructure development, building democracy, and promoting broad-based economic growth. Through the Democracy Initiatives Project (\$15 million over 5 years), we will work to strengthen public and NGO institutions in transition to a democratic and free market society. Assis-

tance is provided through organizations such as The Asia Foundation and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute. We also granted \$500,000 to Yale University in January for the support of work related to the Cambodian Genocide Justice Act passed by the Congress in 1994. In Mongolia we have supported a variety of activities to assist the democratization process, and while our Freedom Support Act budget no longer includes Mongolia, we will remain committed to supporting economic and political reforms there.

Multilateral approaches can sometimes be an effective complement to unilateral pressure. In particular, we are trying to make more effective use of the UN system, where we are asking for greater support from Asian democracies. We were instrumental in creating the new position of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights last year, and have supported his work. We have successfully called for Special Rapporteurs on problems such as torture, racism, arbitrary detention, extrajudicial executions and religious intolerance (and the latter has recently visited China). In the Human Rights Commission, we sponsored or supported key resolutions and statements focused on human rights abuses in Asia, including China, Burma, and East Timor. This year for the first time, China failed to prevent action on the resolution, which lost by only one vote. We are also encouraging the efforts of international humanitarian organizations to visit political prisoners in some Asian countries, such as China, Indonesia and India.

Although we prefer to cooperate positively with other governments, we have available a range of negative inducements, to use when necessary. These include trade sanctions, opposition to loans by multilateral development banks, reduction of U.S. economic or security assistance, reduction or suspension of senior-level visits, prohibition of some or all military sales, and termination of OPIC coverage and EXIM lending. Privileges of duty-free exports to the U.S. under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) are conditioned, in part, upon commitment to international labor standards by the exporting country. Examples of these methods include our opposition to loans to China, except for projects aimed at basic human needs, and to Burma; our restrictions on official visits to North Korea and Burma; our GSP reviews of Indonesia and Pakistan and other countries; and our calibrated arms sales policy, which affects several states in the region.

Our public diplomacy supports these bilateral and multilateral efforts. U.S. officials have stressed human rights and democracy concerns in regional settings such as the

ASEAN post-ministerial meetings in Bangkok in July 1994 and in conjunction with the President and Secretary's participation in the APEC meetings in Jakarta last November. After those meetings, Secretaries Christopher and Brown held productive meetings with the Human Rights Commission there. Officials who visit Asia include human rights and democracy messages in their public statements, to support the efforts of local defenders of freedom and to remind public officials of their importance. There is a strong democracy and human rights content in VOA broadcasting, and resources are focused on relatively closed societies. In addition, Radio Free Asia has been authorized and funding appropriated by the Congress.

Cooperation with U.S. nongovernmental organizations is vital. They conduct their own assistance programs, monitor developments and provide critical feedback on human rights and democracy progress and problems. Among the organizations with programs in Asia are the National Endowment for Democracy, the Asia Foundation and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, all of which receive support from the U.S. government and work with grassroots Asian NGOs. We have also consulted with the U.S. business community, which has a stake in the establishment of the rule of law because it is the best guarantee that contracts, intellectual property and other transactions will be respected. U.S. businesses are also important in ensuring respect for worker rights.

We also seek partnerships with Asian democracies to facilitate cooperation on mutual objectives, and look for regional initiatives to support, such as the ASEAN Colloquium on Human Rights, which recommended that ASEAN form its own subregional Human Rights Commission. We have also supported initiatives by other governments, such as the Forum for Democratic Leaders established in December 1994 by the Kim Dae Jung Peace Foundation (Korea) with the objective of promoting Asian democracy and civil society. Finally, we are working with Asian women's organizations to prepare for the UN World Conference on Women, to be held in September 1995 in Beijing.

Civil-Military Relations

We have also focused on the role of the military in human rights protection and democratic systems. Our military training programs recently have been restructured to incorporate this. Direct training (formerly called International Military Education and Training or IMET) now includes training for foreign military services (and to some extent civilians) in a variety of disciplines and sub-

jects, including rule of law, human rights, and the function of the military in a democratic system. These programs increase our influence on both military and civilian leaders throughout the region. They can advance international understanding of democratic values and the supportive subordinate role of the military to civilian authority. And they take place in the U.S., exposing the participants to Americans and our democratic institutions.

U.S. military officials who visit the region or interact in other ways with their military counterparts include material on these issues in their talking points, to ensure that the message of the importance of the military's role in maintaining constitutional democracy is conveyed to military audiences.

Key Countries in 1994

I would now like to review developments in a few key countries in more detail, and at the same time provide you with a synopsis of our country policies and strategies on human rights and democracy.

Indonesia

Indonesia is a complex society, whose authoritarian government is coupled with emerging democratic elements and a rapidly developing market economy. Pressures for greater freedom have led to periods of openness, and an independent National Human Rights Commission has criticized government actions, but the government continues to restrict development of an opposition. The human rights situation in Indonesia has deteriorated since early 1994. Following the arbitrary arrests and detentions of labor activists for labor demonstrations last April, the Indonesian government in June reversed a trend towards greater "openness" by revoking the licenses of three major publications. The government also prepared a draft presidential decree that would seriously limit the activities of nongovernmental organizations interested in human rights and worker rights, although this decree now appears to be on hold.

There are also problems on the labor front. The GOI refuses to recognize the independent SBSI labor organization, and military authorities interfere in labor matters. Key SBSI leader Pakpahan was convicted on charges of incitement, and his sentence of three years was extended to four when he appealed.

Finally, the situation in East Timor, which began deteriorating in late 1994, worsened further in January this year, with reports that security forces had executed six civilians while suppressing suspected separatist activity. Following an investigation, the armed forces announced that there were indications of procedural violations by the

military during the raid in which the six died, and formed an honor council to hold accountable any wrongdoers, while asserting that the six victims were strongly associated with the armed secessionist movement, Fretilin. The independent National Human Rights Commission, however, said there was credible evidence that the victims, who it said were non-combatant civilians, had been tortured before their deaths. We are very concerned about this and other signs of increasing violence in East Timor, and I plan to visit Indonesia, including East Timor, next month.

We have steadily pursued our human rights and democracy agenda, working with Indonesians both inside and outside the government, and using our USAID and USIA programs to support NGOs. Both President Clinton and Secretary Christopher pressed for continued progress on human rights during their bilateral meetings in November, stressing that our relationship would not reach its full potential without such progress. We are monitoring the GOI's implementation of the action plan on worker rights agreed to last November, even though the formal review of the Indonesia GSP case is suspended. We will also respond to the GOI's invitation to make suggestions on improving its labor legislation. Finally, we have banned the sale of small arms and crowd control devices as part of our arms sales policy toward Indonesia.

We have urged the Indonesian government to improve access to East Timor for Indonesian and international organizations; encouraged Indonesian government recognition of the special status of East Timor, with greater local control over political, economic and cultural life; emphasized the importance of reducing military forces in East Timor; and supported negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the UN Secretary General.

ETAN OPPOSES RENEWED MILITARY TRAINING AND ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

Press Release from the East Timor Action Network/U.S., March 17, 1995

The East Timor Action Network/United States (ETAN) today condemned recent promises by Pentagon and State Department officials to renew military aid and unrestricted U.S. arms sales to the Indonesian military.

"This policy shift could not come at a worse time," said Charlie Scheiner, coordinator of ETAN. "Its consequences will soon be visible in East Timorese corpses, Indonesian military arrogance, and fewer American human services."

On a recent visit to Jakarta, Admiral William Owens, Vice-Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, met with Indonesian Vice President Try Sutrisno. Following the meeting Admiral Owens told the press that "From our standpoint in the [U.S.] military it seems when an issue is raised affecting the military's involvement in East Timor that appropriate action has been taken to address those concerns."

"The admiral's confidence flies in the face of reality," said Scheiner. Over the last two months, arrests and killings have escalated markedly in East Timor, both by uniformed soldiers and military-supported "ninja" death squads.

On Tuesday, Assistant Secretary of State for Asia Winston Lord announced the renewal of U.S. military aid to Indonesia, claiming that it will increase respect for democratic values among Indonesia's future leaders.

"As the Suharto military regime celebrates its 30th year, there is no evidence that the over 2,600 Indonesian military officers who received IMET training between 1975 and 1992 have shown increased respect for human rights," said Scheiner. During that period, Indonesia invaded the neighboring territory of East Timor. In one of the worst cases of genocide since World War II, over 200,000 people one-third of the population were killed as a result of the December 7, 1975 invasion and occupation of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony north of Australia.

"It is particularly outrageous that the call for increased military aid comes at a time of Congressional budget-slashing. We cannot afford lunches for impoverished American school children, yet we are eager to feed munitions to Suharto's soldiers," said Scheiner.

"If American taxpayers cannot afford public broadcasting to teach our children how to read, how do we justify training Indonesia's soldiers how to kill? Students at U.S. universities are facing massive tuition increases and service cuts. Perhaps they should enlist in the Indonesian army so that they can get a free education at Fort Benning," he added.

Vice President Sutrisno headed the Indonesian military in 1991, when soldiers used U.S.-supplied M-16s to shoot down 271 East Timorese people in a peaceful memorial procession. In the aftermath of the Sutrisno said that "People like that have to be shot, and we will shoot them."

In a report released last December, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions, noted "... the conditions that allowed the [1991] Santa Cruz killings to occur are still present. In particular, the members of

the security forces responsible for the abuses have not been held accountable and continue to enjoy virtual impunity." The Special Rapporteur pointed out that "access of victims of human rights violations to the judiciary or to non-governmental organizations has not improved." The Rapporteur "clearly sensed terror among many East Timorese he had the opportunity to meet."

Even the Indonesian government-controlled Human Rights Commission denounced the military's January 12 capture, torture and murder of six East Timorese civilians not connected with the resistance, yet the army continues to claim it acted properly.

Congress terminated U.S. military aid to Indonesia in 1992. The ban, which ended a military training program (IMET), was reaffirmed in 1993 and 1994. In 1994, Congress also codified a State Department policy restricting the sale of light arms from U.S. companies to Indonesia. The State Dept. recently assured Congress that they intend to maintain their light arms ban.

ETAN/US was founded following the 1991 massacre. ETAN/US supports genuine self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor in accordance with the UN Charter and pertinent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. ETAN/US currently has a dozen local chapters.

U.S. OFFICIALS EXHIBIT DICHOTOMY IN POLICY ON INDONESIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Washington Post, March 18, 1995, By R. Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post Staff Writer

A senior Pentagon official announced Thursday that the United States is eager to resume training of military officers to Indonesia on the same day that a top State Department official told Congress Washington is "very concerned" about human rights abuses in that country.

In a classic case of politically unfortunate timing, Adm. William Owens, the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta that he supported renewing training that was suspended in 1992.

In that year, Congress cut off the program in response to alleged human rights violations by Indonesia in East Timor, which it occupied in 1975 and annexed a year later. But Owens said Washington's concerns over the Indonesian military's human rights performance in East Timor had waned, according to press accounts of his remarks there.

"From our standpoint in the military, it seems when an issue is raised affecting the military's involvement in East Timor that appropriate action has been taken to address those concerns," Owens told a news conference, according to Reuters news agency.

His remarks were made the same day that the top U.S. human rights official was testifying on Capitol Hill that Washington is "very concerned" about a marked deterioration of the human rights situation in Indonesia, including an apparently brutal slaying in January of six unarmed civilians by security forces in East Timor.

Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck told a joint hearing of two House International Relations subcommittees that the Indonesian human rights situation, "which began deteriorating in late 1994, worsened further in January this year with reports that security forces had executed six civilians while suppressing suspected separatist activity" in East Timor.

Shattuck noted that a human rights commission appointed by the government had uncovered credible evidence the victims "had been tortured before their deaths. We are very concerned about this and other signs of increasing violence in East Timor." He added that he plans to visit Indonesia next month to press U.S. concerns.

The coincidence of the two announcements provoked discomfiture in the administration, which has been trying to forge closer political, economic and military ties to Indonesia even as its pleas that the government demonstrate more respect for human rights appear to have fallen on deaf ears.

One senior U.S. official went so far as to say that Owens's call for renewed U.S. training of Indonesian military officers "did not reflect U.S. government policy, although [it does] ... reflect the overwhelming view in the U.S. military." The official, who spoke on condition he not be named, said that even though the administration had officially requested funds for such training, it had not decided whether the money would ever be spent.

Pentagon officials confirmed that the administration has asked Congress for \$600,000 to spend on training Indonesian military officers. According to the State Department, the funds are meant to "improve the overall professionalism and readiness of the Indonesian armed forces," provide instruction in the proper maintenance of U.S.-made military equipment, and promote military accountability and respect for human rights.

But the administration's lack of resolve about whether to pursue the program if the funds are granted stems from its ambivalence about using military training to try to

foster enhanced respect for human rights. On March 11, for example, the administration announced that it had cut off its training of Guatemalan military officers "due to the lack of substantial progress in human rights cases" there.

Officials said the impetus for renewing the Indonesian training came primarily from U.S. military officers like Owens, who believe that Indonesia is becoming a major regional power and note that its territory includes a favored route for U.S. naval vessels moving between the Indian and Pacific oceans.

These considerations led the Pentagon to authorize sales of an estimated \$10.7 million in weapons to Indonesia from its Foreign Military Sales program last year, in addition to an estimated \$90 million in arms that the State Department licensed for sale.

"There is widespread agreement that ... [military training] serves a very positive function in terms of exposing foreign militaries to U.S. values," one official said.

But Michael Jendrzeczyk, Washington director of Human Rights Watch/Asia, said his organization had "not seen any evidence" of the improved cooperation on human rights matters cited by Owens. "Since the 1950s, Indonesian officers have been trained here and there's been no discernible improvement," he said.

The Clinton administration last year barred sales of U.S. small arms and crowd control devices to Indonesia. But it helped defeat legislation that would have forced Indonesian security forces to prove they were not using any lethal U.S. military equipment in East Timor.

Comment from Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US. This is more "hypocrisy" than "dichotomy." The article does not include statements made to the press this week by Assistant Secretary of State for Asia Winston Lord, that IMET should and would be resumed, a view also echoed by Nicholas Blake, the State Department Desk Officer for Indonesia.

However, a State Department official Friday assured a Senate staffer that State had no intention of trying to lift the ban on small arms sales.

The IMET controversy surfaces the fundamental questions involved in U.S. policy toward Indonesia and East Timor. It has symbolic importance far beyond the numbers of dollars and troops involved. Many in Congress are aware that the situation in East Timor has deteriorated markedly over the past three years, and this will be a struggle that bears watching and participation.

ALATAS: WE WILL NOT BEG

Voice of America, 3/24/95 By David Butler, Bangkok

Intro: Indonesia's Foreign Minister has said his country will accept the revival of an US military training program suspended in 1992 if it is offered, but will not beg for it. As David Butler reports from our Southeast Asia bureau in Bangkok, the program was suspended after Indonesian security forces fired on demonstrators in the troubled territory of East Timor.

Text: Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told a parliamentary commission Thursday the suspension of the program was Washington's problem, not Indonesia's.

Mr. Alatas said if the US offers to revive the program he saw no harm in accepting it, but – in Mr. Alatas' words – Indonesia will not beg for it. The Foreign Minister's remarks were reported Friday by the official Antara news agency.

Washington suspended its International Military Education and Training program in Indonesia after security forces fired into a crowd of mourners in 1991, killing more than 100 people in East Timor.

In a letter published Thursday by the Jakarta Post newspaper, US Ambassador to Jakarta Robert Barry said Washington wants to restore the program.

Mr. Barry said restoring the program would support US security objectives and also expose Indonesian military personnel to democratic concepts. Ambassador Barry said these include civilian control of the military, military justice and accountability, and US concepts of democracy and respect for international standards of human rights.

Earlier this month, Admiral William Owens, vice chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, said in Jakarta he was satisfied with Indonesia's handling of its military involvement in East Timor. Admiral Owens said this meant the U.S. could revive the military training program and seek arms sales in Indonesia.

EX-SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER SAYS US POLICY ON EAST TIMOR "A MISTAKE"

((sub)TEX, AUSTIN, Texas, March 28, 1995:

At a question and answer session today on "leadership" here at the University of Texas, former Secretary of State James Baker described US policy on the Indonesian invasion of East Timor as "a mistake."

While answering a student's question on the US's role in assembling a "multinational force" during the Gulf war, Mr. Baker

stressed that high moral principle was a decisive factor in galvanizing international support for the attack on Iraq, and that while oil had played a part in the decision to intervene, the aggression of a large nation invading a smaller one could not be tolerated in principle.

At this point in the session a second student queried Baker on the failure of such high principle to address the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975. It was pointed out that precisely the same type of UN resolutions were passed condemning the aggression of the world's fourth largest nation against a half-island of only 600,000 people, and yet the international community had failed to act. To be fair, it was granted that the comparison is not entirely appropriate, as Iraq did not carry out anything comparable to the Indonesian slaughter in East Timor, where 200,000 people have died due to the invasion.

In response, Mr. Baker explained that while the two situations were comparable, with the Iraqi invasion there was a "great confluence of interests" which made action possible and assured domestic support for the war. "The American public would not have supported sending US troops into East Timor" Mr. Baker announced.

The questioner, a journalist with (sub)TEX, a local student newspaper, pointed out that since the US was lending full financial, material and diplomatic aid to the Indonesians to carry out the invasion, the massacres could have been stopped without deploying a single US soldier, simply by withholding the equipment and aid that was sustaining the aggression.

"We make foreign policy mistakes, we've made them in the past, we're making them now" replied Mr. Baker, who went on to say that it had all happened before his time in office.

IMET: THE US CONGRESS IS OBSTINATE, NOT THE GOVERNMENT

MILITARY ASSISTANCE: PRYING OPEN OWENS' PROMISE

SINAR, 2 April 1995. By Totok Suryanto. Translated from Indonesian. Translations of professional titles may be inaccurate.

The U.S. through William Owens promises to release IMET. That assistance is viewed as not very important.

It looks as if being two-faced is thoroughly the American style. Especially concerning the implementation of human rights. Apparently, as represented by the Clinton administration, America's double face has

popped out again. This time in connection with aid for ABRI in the form of a military education and training program.

In the matter of this assistance for ABRI there are conflicted opinions between the government [*pemerintah*=lit. government, but *pemerintahan*= administration might be the intent] and congress. Even more precisely, the difference of opinion is between the Senior Representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, William Owens, and Congress plus several state offices. They actually still haven't come to an agreement on the question of whether the assistance, called International Military Education and Training (IMET), to ABRI officers needs to be given again or not. Congress feels it needs to re-weigh the Indonesian human rights record after the Liquiça Incident of 12 January 1995.

IMET assistance was opened up again at the time of the Owens visit to Indonesia in early March. Owens—the number two person in the U.S. armed forces—promised to make an effort to see that the education aid, which was frozen after the 12 November 1991 Dili Incident, can be released.

If the program materializes, it can be certain that a number of ABRI officers will return to savor the taste of military education in "the land of Uncle Sam." And the education, according to ABRI commander General Feisal Tanjung, is reliable enough. The pity is that the good intentions of Owens are being made into an issue by State Department Under-Secretary John Shattuck and congress.

Until now, John Shattuck actually also has a difference of opinion with Deputy Secretary of State for Asia and the Pacific Winston Lord, whose evaluation is the same as Owens.' Luckily, Indonesia isn't too dependent on the kindness of heart of the U.S. Suppose there actually were a quarrel between the government and the U.S. congress over this issue. It definitely won't be ABRI who will be bothered. "They themselves were the ones to ask, not us," said Feisal.

Feisal's pronouncement is fitting. Because, up until now, even without IMET assistance, the military training and education which is needed for ABRI officers just went ahead. And, as put by ABRI Information Center Chief Major-General Syarwan Hamid, Indonesia also has a number of alternatives to train and educate the military. For example, in Germany, England, or Australia. European countries like England and Germany are known to have military training programs which are no less intensive.

Military Supervisor Lieutenant-General Hasnan Habib moreover considers the question more coolly. Indonesia, he says, obviously doesn't revolve around the issue of

IMET assistance. And the issue of the difference of opinion between the Pentagon and congress also is no new phenomenon. Hasnan admits that the view of congress is that the question of human rights is always tied to foreign aid. And, there is a difference of perspective on the question of human rights in the country.

Congress, according to the former Indonesian ambassador to America, rarely wants to see the charming side [*jarang mau melihat secara jeli*] of Indonesia's efforts to truly develop basic human rights. Meanwhile, the U.S. government is more comfortable illuminating the question of human rights through diplomatic policy without tying it to assistance.

Meanwhile it is the Pentagon that actually knows more about military issues and has not been of the same opinion as congress since early on. So, said Hasnan, the prior cessation of assistance was not at the initiative of the Pentagon or the U.S. government [*pemerintah Amerika Serikat*]. "Congress was clearly the obstinate one," stated Hasnan.

Is IMET assistance large enough? According to Hasnan Habib, it actually is not as much as all that. Indonesia itself has for a long time not considered IMET as assistance which is very important. The proof of that is even without the aid, the quality and professionalism of ABRI officers is none the less. The value and quality of ABRI probably cannot be disputed, since ABRI is sorely needed in the process of settling international problems, such as in Cambodia and Bosnia. This is probably an indication that ABRI is on par with other world armies.

COMPROMISING HUMAN RIGHTS

Boston Globe, Editorial, April 3, 1995

The most generous way to describe the Clinton administration's approach to human rights is to call it ambivalent.

John Shattuck, assistant secretary of state for human rights, has said all the right things and produced candid reports on human rights around the world. But President Clinton ignored Beijing's abuses for the sake of trade, subordinated human rights to strategic concerns when Boris Yeltsin assaulted Chechnya and made the fatal mistake of refusing to classify the mass murders in Rwanda as genocide when to do so might have enabled UN forces to stop the slaughter.

Recently there has been an unusually overt demonstration of the administration's ambivalence on human rights. Speaking in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, the vice

chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. William Owens, said the Pentagon wanted to resume a US program for the military and educational training of the Indonesian army, a program that Congress suspended in 1992 because of Indonesia's flagrant abuse of human rights on the conquered territory of East Timor.

The same day, Shattuck was telling Congress that the human rights situation on East Timor, "which began worsening in late 1994, worsened further in January this year." Shattuck's testimony replicated a report by the organization Human Rights Watch/Asia on "Deteriorating Human Rights in East Timor." The report describes "extrajudicial executions, torture, disappearances, unlawful arrests and detentions and denials of freedom of association, assembly and expression."

As Clinton and the new Congress consider the Pentagon's request for \$600,000 to spend on the training of Indonesian officers, they ought to heed the counsel of the US Catholic Conference. "As difficult as the situation in East Timor has been over the years," the bishops' office noted, "congressional protests and representations by various US administrations have helped limit the severity of human rights abuses, keeping a bad situation from becoming much worse."

This is no time to encourage Indonesian persecution of the East Timorese.

METHODIST RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

WHEREAS Indonesia continues to occupy East Timor in defiance of United Nations resolutions; and

WHEREAS said occupation has resulted in the death of approximately 200,000 Timorese (one third of the population), according to Amnesty International and Roman Catholic Church estimates; and

WHEREAS the Indonesian government has allowed, encouraged and assisted tens of thousands of Indonesians migrate to East Timor, thereby displacing Timorese families from their ancestral homes and creating serious unemployment and marginalizing Timorese in their own country; and

WHEREAS Amnesty International and other independent observers have documented a continual and severe pattern of human rights abuses, including abductions, beatings, torture, rape, extrajudicial executions, and imprisonment for non-violent political advocacy; and

WHEREAS in February 1995 nine U.S. Senators and eight House members wrote President Clinton urging the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations Human Rights

Commission to submit a strong resolution to demonstrate to opposition to the continuing human rights abuses in East Timor; and

WHEREAS in March 1995 U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck testified before two Congressional International Relations subcommittees that he was very concerned about the deteriorating human rights situation in East Timor; and

WHEREAS on March 1, 1995 the United Nations Human Rights Commission 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 Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church:

Call upon President Clinton and the U.S. Congress to take increased and definitive action to encourage Indonesia to comply with United Nations resolutions on East Timor, including withdrawing its military forces from East Timor;

Support the application of the Christian Church of East Timor (GKTT) for membership in the World Council of Churches and other ecumenical bodies;

Call for the participation of the East Timorese themselves in a peaceful resolution of the problems of East Timor; and

Call upon the United States government to cease military aid and place and embargo on the sale of arms to Indonesia.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the General Secretary of the GBGM be requested to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, all U.S. Senators and Representatives and all appropriate ecumenical colleagues.

Passed April 5, 1995 by the General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church.

ARMS AND THE MAN (SOLARZ)

Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 April 1995. By John McBeth, with Nigel Holloway

During his 18-year tenure in the U.S. Congress, Rep. Stephen Solarz earned a reputation as a champion of peace and human rights in Asia, notably helping to broker the Cambodian peace treaty. Since losing his seat in 1992, however, he has found a variety of new ways to make a living.

During a flying visit to Indonesia early this year, Solarz had an unpublicized half-hour meeting with armed-forces commander Gen. Feisal Tanjung. According to a high-ranking Indonesian military source, the former congressman tried to interest the general

in "many, many kinds of arms" from Russia and the United States.

The discussion, on January 5, didn't become very detailed. "There was no response from Gen. Feisal because he was not interested in talking about arms purchases," the source recalls. "Mr. Solarz was not very satisfied, but he did say he would return."

Solarz, reached in Washington where he used to head the house Asia-Pacific subcommittee, denied he had proposed arms sales to the Indonesians. "That's not quite true. I wasn't peddling arms. That's not my profession." He explained: "I am working for a variety of companies, but the purpose of my trip was not to sell arms."

The ex-congressman confirmed that he consulted "some people in the military" during his Jakarta trip, but said he couldn't remember meeting Indonesia's most senior general. The Indonesians say Feisal was the only military man on Solarz's brief schedule.

The U.S. Embassy in Jakarta learned about the meeting only after it took place: "It's an unusual experience to see a change as radical as this one," comments one American diplomat.

THE BUDDY SYSTEM: CLINTON WANTS TO RESUME MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDONESIA

Far Eastern Economic Review, 6 April 1995. By Nigel Holloway in Washington

The United States doesn't close the doors of its military training programmes to foreign officers just because they serve authoritarian regimes. The courses, according to Washington's rationale, are a good way to build ties with future leaders and promote democracy. Trainees learn about American weapons and tactics, but they are also taught that in the U.S., civilians control the military, not the other way around.

Some countries send officers to the U.S. for training while continuing to use their military to abuse their citizens. This puts Washington in a quandary: Should it respond by halting training for such countries? Or should it press on in the hope that the military will eventually see the light? The case of Indonesia shows there are no easy answers.

In 1992, the U.S. stopped aid to Indonesia for its International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme in protest over the massacre of demonstrators in East Timor a few months earlier. But it did not completely bar Indonesia from the programme. Officers could sign up if their government paid the bill.

Now the Clinton administration has asked Congress for \$600,000 to restore IMET funding for Indonesia in the fiscal year that begins in October. Winston Lord, the assistant secretary of state for Asian and Pacific affairs, argues that it's a cheap way "to improve respect for democratic values among future decision-makers."

Although Congress will not decide on the matter for four months or so, the administration's chance of success seems good, now that the Republican Party is in control of both houses. "Traditionally, the Republicans have supported the use of IMET for countries such as Indonesia," says a Senate aide.

But there's one hitch: Indonesia's human-rights record has deteriorated since early 1994, according to John Shattuck, the assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights. He told a Congressional committee on March 16 that "we are very concerned" about the torture and killing of six civilians in East Timor by troops in January.

Shattuck listed several other events that he said had set back the cause of human rights in Indonesia in the past year. Among these were the closure of three publications, military interference in labour issues, and the jailing of an independent labour-union leader. Shattuck plans to visit Indonesia, including East Timor, in April.

Denying any contradiction between human-rights concerns and the resumption of U.S.-funded military training, State Department officials point out that Indonesia would receive a special form of IMET training "with increased emphasis on democratic values." Human-rights groups are sceptical, however.

"There is no evidence that IMET has contributed to a reduction of human-rights violations in Indonesia," says Mike Jendrzyczyk, Washington director of Human Rights Watch/Asia. "A fundamental issue is the lack of accountability for military abuses. No amount of IMET training can correct that."

Human Rights Watch doesn't take a stand on the issue of resuming IMET aid to Indonesia, however. Instead, it is calling on Congress to expand a seven-month-old ban on U.S. sales of light weapons and small arms. The ban, says the group, should be widened to include "all lethal items" sold to Indonesia.

The chances of imposing a more comprehensive ban are slim, Congressional staffers say. They note that President Bill Clinton has been emphasizing commercial diplomacy with countries such as Indonesia and China. But the sources expect the current ban on the sale of light weapons to Indonesia to remain in force, even if IMET aid resumes.

U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICIAL VISITS EAST TIMOR

DILI, East Timor, April 12 (Reuter) - The United States has sent its most senior human rights official to East Timor, scene of recent unrest which has attracted expressions of concern from Washington and other western countries.

Assistant Secretary for Human Rights John Shattuck arrived in the capital of Indonesian-run East Timor on Wednesday on a two-day visit for meetings with local leaders.

Shattuck told legislators from the local council of elders that Washington was committed to improving the observance of human rights everywhere.

He also said Washington appreciated the development in East Timor carried out by the Indonesian government, which invaded the territory in 1975, despite differences on human rights issues.

"We have a similar task, which is to cooperate to improve human rights in the world," said Shattuck.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 and has been widely accused of violating human rights in the troubled territory.

This year, the United States and other countries have expressed concern over several incidents, including the killing of six East Timorese near Liquiça by soldiers on January 12.

The army has admitted wrongdoing but says the six were subversives.

Shattuck was scheduled to meet military leaders, the governor and East Timor bishop Carlos Belo, a critic of Indonesian rule.

He will later be joined by Democrat Senator Chuck Robb, who is on the Senate East Asian and Pacific Affairs Committee.

Diplomats said Shattuck would also visit several Indonesian cities and hold talks with non-government groups, activists, officials and other figures.

The embassy has declined to comment on his visit.

US RIGHTS OFFICIAL QUESTIONS TIMOR KILLINGS

April 13, 1995, Reuter, abridged

Dili, East Timor - The most senior U.S. human rights official discussed on Thursday the controversial killing of six East Timorese by troops in January with Indonesia's top official in the territory.

Assistant Secretary for Human Rights John Shattuck held talks with Governor Abilio Soares which included discussion of the army's role in the former Portuguese colony.

Shattuck arrived in East Timor on Wednesday and was scheduled to meet army leaders and Bishop Carlos Belo, an outspoken government critic.

"There is nothing to cover up in East Timor," Soares told reporters after his meeting with Shattuck. "They do not question integration... but only raise the issue of human rights and the killings."

He said Shattuck also wanted to know the army's role in East Timor, its strength and when it would leave.

"I told him that East Timor still needed the army to help development," Soares said.

Diplomats said Shattuck would also visit several Indonesian cities and hold talks with non-government groups, activists, officials and other figures.

He is accompanied by Democrat Senator Chuck Robb, a member of the Senate East Asian and Pacific Affairs Committee.

US HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICIAL VISITS EAST TIMOR

From earlier Reuter story: April 12, 1995

Dili, East Timor - Shattuck told legislators from the local council of elders that Washington was committed to improving the observance of human rights everywhere.

He also said Washington appreciated the development in East Timor carried out by the Indonesian government, which invaded the territory in 1975, despite differences on human rights issues.

"We have a similar task, which is to cooperate to improve human rights in the world," said Shattuck.

SHATTUCK - REDUCE TROOPS, GIVE AUTONOMY

Voice of America, 4/20/95. By Dan Robinson, Bangkok

Intro: A senior US official has delivered what he calls a clear message to Indonesia about human rights issues in the country that are still of concern to the United States. From our Southeast Asia bureau, VOA's Dan Robinson reports Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy and Human Rights, John Shattuck, also repeated the US desire that the people of East Timor have more of a say in running their own affairs:

Text: Mr. Shattuck described his visit as a follow-up to discussions Secretary of State Warren Christopher held last November in Jakarta with the government-sanctioned Human Rights Commission, and independent groups promoting human rights.

He said he was given broad access, and said he hopes Indonesian officials will act upon US concerns in the spirit of friendship between the two countries.

One of the areas Mr. Shattuck focused on was human rights in East Timor. The government has formed a military tribunal to investigate charges of abuses by Indonesian soldiers.

In his prepared statement, Mr. Shattuck called for full accountability in connection with an incident in which six East Timorese were killed by soldiers last January, and other incidents. He said the United States wants to see further troop reductions in the troubled territory, and one other step:

“The United States favors very strongly increased opportunity for the people of East Timor to participate in decisions affecting their own government, and certainly opportunities in all areas, whether economic, whether those be economic or political, and the issue of additional measures to provide for more local autonomy was certainly one of the major discussions I had with government officials.”

Mr. Shattuck, and later the US embassy in Jakarta, confirmed that a US senator, Charles Robb, met April 12th with jailed East Timorese independence leader, Xanana Gusmão. Mr. Shattuck said he himself had made no request to meet with Mr. Gusmão.

On other issues, Mr. Shattuck said Washington continues to be concerned about recent restrictions on freedom of the press.

On workers rights, he said Washington recognizes Indonesian government moves to increase the minimum wage. But he pointed to what he called problems involving military intervention in the activities of workers organizations:

“The opportunity for individuals engaged in pursuing worker rights and free association and the development of labor unions, their opportunity to engage in those activities without any questioning or other form of engagement by military, or by any police officials for that matter, I think should be quite clear.”

Assistant Secretary Shattuck declined to predict how Indonesian government moves to address US concerns about labor rights will be received when the US congress considers renewal of authority for the GSP system of preferential trade status this year.

He was also asked about the controversial issue of US funding for training members of Indonesia’s military (IMET). Congress cut off such funding in 1992, but senior US military officials strongly favor its resumption.

In Mr. Shattuck’s words – the United States strongly wants to engage in military to military cooperation with Indonesia, but there is no question human rights is a very important consideration in this area as well.

U.S. RIGHTS OFFICIAL SEEKS TROOP CUTS IN TIMOR

JAKARTA, April 20 (Reuter) - The United States most senior human-rights official said on Thursday Indonesia should reduce its military presence in troubled East Timor.

“We encourage the government to give the people of East Timor more influence over their own local affairs, and to reduce the number of troops stationed in the province,” John Shattuck, assistant secretary of state for human rights, told a news conference.

“The issue of the presence of military troops in East Timor in a fairly substantial number is certainly a major concern about the process of addressing this human-rights question,” he said.

Shattuck, who met senior military and government officials and the territory’s outspoken Bishop Carlos Belo this week, said the United States strongly favoured the opportunity for East Timorese to participate in the decision-making process.

“This includes areas such as the economy and politics,” he said at the end of his nine-day visit to Indonesia.

He said his visit had three areas of focus, freedom of speech, East Timor and labour rights in Indonesia, including the rights of workers to associate freely by forming their own labour unions.

Jakarta, April 20 (LUSA) - summarized - After a visit of 10 days to Indonesia and ET (two days in ET), at the invitation by the Indonesian National Commission for Human Rights (created last year by President Suharto), John Shattuck spoke today at a press conference in Jakarta. Shattuck defended the necessity of taking the human-rights violators in ET responsible for their actions, and stated that he is hopeful in that a Tribunal of Military Honour that has been called upon to analyse human rights questions will come to prosecute all those responsible for the human-rights violations in ET. Shattuck expressed his support for the Indonesian Human Rights Commission, which he said he hopes will have a critical role in the responsabilization of H.R. violators.

Shattuck also stated that he has encouraged the Indonesian government to delegate on the East Timorese more decision power over their own affairs, and to reduce the number of troops in the territory.

During his visit to Indonesia and ET, John Shattuck met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and other members of government, with Bishop Ximenes Belo, and with representatives of the ICRC and of journalist and labour groups.

SHATTUCK SEES REASONS FOR ENCOURAGEMENT, CONCERN IN INDONESIA

Transcript of press conference of John Shattuck, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor

Thursday, April 20, 1995, U.S. Embassy, Jakarta, Indonesia

Shattuck: I am pleased to be here to share some observations after my visit to Indonesia this past week. I am, as you know, the official in the U.S. Department of State charged with democracy, human rights and labor issues in the formulation and implementation of our foreign policy. These are very important concerns for the American people, as they are, I believe, for all Indonesians.

Last November President Clinton and Secretary Christopher held discussions on human rights with President Suharto and other senior members of the Government of Indonesia, and with the National Human Rights Commission. Secretary Christopher indicated then that we looked forward to continuing this dialogue. My mission was undertaken to fulfill that commitment, and I was pleased to have the opportunity to meet with members of the National Human Rights Commission, as well as with many others. I look forward to more dialogue in the future.

During my visit I met with a broad range of officials and nongovernmental organizations. On the government side these included Foreign Minister Alatas, Attorney General Singgih, Minister of Manpower Latief, Army Chief of Staff General Hartono, the governors of Surabaya and East Timor, and the military commander of East Timor.

On the nongovernmental side, I met with university leaders and academics in East Timor, Surabaya and Jakarta; leaders of human rights, labor, environmental, development, and legal organizations in all these places; Bishop Belo in East Timor; representatives of the Indonesian Press Association and the Alliance of Independent Journalists, as well as representatives of the official labor union, SPSI, and the unrecognized union, SBSI; and delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Indonesia is a dynamic country which enjoys a position of leadership in Asia and in the Non-Aligned Movement. Its socio-economic progress is very impressive. It has a large and growing number of nongovernmental organizations, which play an increasingly vital role in Indonesian development. Progress on human rights is also very important, to Indonesians and to people in

many other countries who are influenced by Indonesia's example.

My visit had three particular points of focus:

- First, freedom of expression, and press freedom;
- Second, East Timor; and
- Third, labor rights, including the rights of workers to associate freely by forming their own labor unions.

While I have found reasons to be encouraged about some developments in these areas, unfortunately there are reasons for serious concern as well. I believe that the people of Indonesia want more progress on these matters and we strongly support that.

Let me first address the issue of free expression. In recent years the press had enjoyed considerable freedom in Indonesia and a vigorous press had developed. Now, however, we are concerned about recent restrictions on that press and on those who seek to write or speak without censorship. Freedom of expression, even of ideas that are uncomfortable, is a fundamental element of a democratic society. Freedom of inquiry is the means by which self-reliance and initiative develop, and these are of course key factors in economic development.

In fact, virtually all modern economies operate by freedom of expression and communication.

Second, on the subject of East Timor, the National Human Rights Commission has initiated an investigation of the killings of civilians last January in Liquica. Based on my discussions with government officials and others in East Timor, I am convinced of the need for full accountability for the human rights abuses that occurred in Liquica and other places in East Timor earlier this year.

In this connection we note the convening of a military honor court to address these issues, and hope that it will prosecute all those responsible for criminal violations of human rights. We encourage the government to give the people of East Timor more influence over their own local affairs, and to reduce the number of troops stationed in the province.

Third, during my visit I learned more about the restrictions on labor activities in Indonesia. We recognize the government's efforts to ensure that the minimum wage is paid. But it is also important to guarantee that workers have freedom of association to organize their own unions and bargain collectively, and that the activities of worker organizations be free from military intervention.

Before I open up to your questions, I would like to offer a few more words about the National Human Rights Commission.

The Commission has gotten off to a good start, and we are pleased that the public has responded by bringing it many more cases than it can manage. We hope that the Commission will be provided enough staff so that its responsibilities can be expanded and fully carried out. In particular we anticipate that the Commission will play a critical role in ensuring accountability for official actions, particularly, but not only, in East Timor.

Q: Sir, you said that unfortunately several things are not satisfactory in your discussions with Indonesia on human rights and labor rights and all that; what are the explanations to this statement from the Indonesian officials? Are they saying that they will improve or make big promises or very soon in the near future?

A: I've had very good discussions with all of the officials that I described and I think that certainly the desire for improvement in the area we have talked about is very clear. These are matters that are important to Indonesians, all Indonesians. These are not issues relating necessarily to any country from the outside, such as the United States, and in that respect I think these discussions have been very positive. Certainly the work of the National Human Rights Commission in Indonesia is very important in this respect, but I did want to highlight in my statement the areas where clearly there are serious concerns.

Q: In regards to labor rights, could you tell us if you discussed specifically the issue of GSP and whether United States' attitude towards some of the recent reforms in Indonesia in that area?

A: The issue of GSP is very much on the agenda of the U.S. Congress now. The legislation that authorizes GSP will be considered again this summer and all of the issues regarding freedom of association and labor rights that are covered in the GSP legislation will be open to public consideration in the Congressional discussions around GSP. Clearly the issues that I have been discussing in Indonesia are very much a part of that.

Q: Can I ask you, sir, of your impression of the human rights and security situation in East Timor now and particularly what response you got from Indonesian military officials when you brought up the issue of troop reductions?

A: Clearly the issues of human rights, above all in East Timor, were the ones that I focused on, and the particular concerns that people in East Timor and people all over the world in many respects have about recent human rights abuses that have been reported. These were discussed at consider-

able length with all the government officials I met with. I think the issue of the presence of military troops in East Timor in fairly substantial numbers is certainly a major concern, (as is) the process of addressing these human rights questions, particularly the issues that were raised around the events in the early part of this year. The United States strongly favors a reduction in the number of troops in East Timor and that position has been made very clear to the government of Indonesia.

Q: In response, when you bring up the issue of troop withdrawals and reductions, what are they telling you?

A: I think they certainly listen attentively and I think the issue of troop withdrawal has been addressed in the past; certainly I hope it will be addressed very soon in this calendar year.

Q: This is about the East Timor issue again. What do you think about granting special autonomy for East Timor to (address) all of its domestic problems?

A: Well, the United States favors very strongly the increased opportunity for the people of East Timor to participate in decisions affecting their own governance, (including) certainly opportunities in all areas, whether those be economic or political. The issue of additional measures to provide for more local autonomy was certainly one of the major discussion topics that I had with government officials.

Q: Could you say anything more about what kind of recommendations you will be making about renewing Indonesia's GSP status?

A: As I said earlier, the GSP legislation is up for overall consideration by the U.S. Congress, so I think that until the Congress acts on the basic authority, the GSP authority, it is premature to say anything specific about any particular country, but it is certainly true that worker rights' practices and freedom of association in many countries, including Indonesia, will be subject to close review during the time the GSP legislation is considered by the Congress.

Q: During your visit to East Timor we learned that you met with Carlos Belo, the Bishop. Is there any special message to you from him? And the second question is on the guerrilla movement there: what does the Indonesian government tell you about it?

A: Bishop Belo was one of the many people with whom I met in East Timor. Of course, he is the leader of and head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, a very important religious leader in East Timor, and I met with him to find out what his assessment of

the human rights situation is, and it certainly very much reflected the comments that I made a few moments ago regarding particular cases. With respect to, as you put it, the guerrilla movement, I think the number of individuals who are active in that category is relatively few. That was certainly the understanding I received in discussion with the military commando in East Timor.

Q: In your statement you mentioned the workers' rights association and you commented on freedom from interference from the military. Can you spell out what you meant by that?

A: I think the opportunity for individuals engaged in pursuing worker rights and free association in the development of labor unions, their opportunity to engage in those activities without any questioning or other form of engagement by military or by any police officials, for that matter, should be quite clear. That was one of the areas a number of NGOs active in this field as well as others have brought to our attention – some difficulties that have occurred with respect to engagement by military or police forces.

Q: Every year the State Department prepares a report on the human rights situation in every country, which I would guess is completed late in the calendar year. You're here at the end of April. Would you say overall that you have the impression Indonesia's human rights situation has worsened or gotten better, or changed in any way, since the time of the last State Department report?

A: I think I'll let the report speak for itself and I think the meetings that I have had, the positive impression I've had about the activities of NGOs, is very important to stress. I think we do not make these kinds of assessments other than during the course of every calendar year.

I would like to make one comment about the human rights report. The U.S. is very proud that this year for the first time it did a report on itself; I think it is very important for people in Indonesia to understand we have appeared before the U.N. Human Rights Committee, made up of representatives of 18 different countries, just 3 weeks ago in New York, and had two very extensive days of discussion regarding all aspects of the U.S. human rights record, including our shortcomings as well as positive elements of our record. I think it's in that spirit that our Human Rights Reports on other countries are also done. We make very clear, and President Clinton has made particularly clear, that the U.S. will also engage in a very honest and open discussion of its own human rights record. We are very proud of that

record, but we are also very pleased to be able to discuss it in an international setting.

Q: I would like to ask for your comment on the U.S. plan to resume military training for Indonesia under the IMET scheme?

A: Well, as you know this is a matter that the U.S. Congress acted upon two years ago, and it will be once again considering the issue of International Military Education and Training, particularly in the area of human rights and civilian-military relations, but I can't comment on what will happen with respect to that issue because it still is very much under consideration. We certainly want to strongly engage in military-to-military cooperation with the government of Indonesia, but there is no question that the issue of human rights is a very important matter of consideration in that area, too.

Q: Several weeks ago in Germany there was a demonstration when President Suharto went there. The government of Indonesia said that many Indonesians were involved in this demonstration and is starting an investigation. Are there any discussions with the Indonesian side and what is your opinion about this issue?

A: I will repeat what the U.S. Embassy has said, I believe, about that matter. That is, the U.S. strongly supports the freedom of individuals to engage in peaceful assembly, wherever they may be. I'm not going to comment any further on the facts in that case, but certainly the issue of freedom of assembly is one that was on the agenda of my meetings with government officials.

Q: I just want to make a confirmation on your presence here. Are you here as a visitor at the invitation of Indonesian National Human Rights Commission or just a regular visit? And also, one of the Indonesian members of Parliament says that your presence here is "intervention" in Indonesia. What is your comment on that?

A: I am here very much at the invitation of the Human Rights Commission and (because of) our cooperative and collaborative interest in advancing human rights in both of our countries. This is a matter that was discussed when President Clinton and Secretary Christopher were here in November, and as you may recall, Secretary Christopher did meet with the National Human Rights Commission at that point, and I have come as a follow-up to that discussion, very much at the invitation of the Commission. I think the U.S. is pleased to be able to recognize the work of a National Human Rights Commission that is beginning to address some very difficult issues in the area that I have outlined in my comments this morning.

Q: If I could follow up on that question, what about the comments by the Parliamentarian that your visit here is intervention, and he even goes further, I think, and says it is almost undermining Indonesian sovereignty and that such actions should be carried out through the U.N. Human Rights Commission?

A: I think my visit is a indication of the depth and breadth of the relationship between the U.S. and Indonesia and it is very much, as I said earlier, at the invitation of the Indonesian Human Rights Commission, and in the spirit of cooperation between two countries that have a great deal in common. Certainly the great diversity of the U.S. and the great diversity of Indonesia, I think, show the need for both of our countries to address seriously issues of human rights, and it was in that spirit that my visit was made.

Q: Your discussion with government officials – what were the reasons given by them for the recent restrictions on freedom of expression of the press? And, also, secondly, how satisfied are you that the military honor commission looking into the Liquica incident will be able to account for what happened?

A: On the issue of freedom of expression and freedom of the press, I understand that there are some legal areas of permissible restriction. We believe that is very inconsistent with the broad commitment to international standards of freedom of expression, but those are the areas of legal restriction that were used to impose some of the restrictions that I have referred to. With respect to the military honor court, as I said in my opening statement, we welcome the convening of the honor court and the investigation into human rights abuses in East Timor, including Liquica. We hope very much that those who were responsible for any criminal violations relating to human rights, and all those responsible, will be held accountable in an appropriate forum; such a forum, I believe, is the honor court that is being convened.

Q: Apart from Liquica, did you ask Indonesian military authorities about the incident in early February when five people were kidnapped off the streets of Dili and haven't been seen since? Have you inquired into that case?

A: There are certainly a number of examples of human rights abuses in the early part of this year, including reports of the kind that you described that we have inquired into. We've urged a full investigation by appropriate authorities, including the National Human Rights Commission, as well as the

honor court that's been convened by the military.

Q: Did you receive any undertaking that the military would investigate that particular incident?

A: We certainly received an assurance that these human rights issues were being investigated. The scope of the investigation I'm obviously in no position to comment on because I am not privy to the details.

Q: I understand that Senator Robb met Xanana Gusmão last week some time. Did you yourself meet Xanana Gusmão or did you ask for a meeting?

A: I didn't and obviously his having met with this individual, Xanana Gusmão, meant that it was not necessary for an additional U.S. meeting to take place; but certainly an interest in all of the human rights issues around those who have been imprisoned for, or in any way involved in, issues of human rights was very much on my agenda in all aspects of my meetings, which took place in East Timor, Surabaya and Jakarta.

Q: Aside from GSP are there any other mechanisms that the U.S. is considering using in order to persuade the Indonesian government to move towards a more open society?

A: The most important aspect of my visit, and I think President Clinton's and Secretary Christopher's discussions with the government of Indonesia, is to say that we look for the broadest possible relationship with Indonesia, but clearly issues of human rights are on the agenda, and to have the fullest and best relationship with Indonesia will require those issues to be addressed in many different ways. This is a matter for the people of Indonesia and the government of Indonesia. But the U.S., for its part and its relations with all governments all over the world, stresses the importance of human rights as a way of improving the relationship between any two countries such as our own.

Q: Just to follow up, what do you mean by the fullest and best relationship?

A: Well, all aspects of a relationship that one would hope to be positive between two countries.

Q: I still want to get the gist of all the discussions. Do you get the impression that the Indonesians will cooperate and do something about what you're concerned about? What is your impression?

A: I was very well received in Indonesia. I was given very broad access to government officials and had the opportunity to raise these issues that I have discussed here this afternoon. The discussions were positive, I think my message was clear, and it was

delivered in a spirit of the friendship between the U.S. and Indonesia. I think it was received in that spirit and we certainly that it will be also acted upon in that spirit.

Q: I want to ask you for your comment about Minister Ginandjar, who spoke last week about the need for public debate on every public government policy before (unclear)? What do you think about this? Is it premature for Indonesia to have public debate about government policy?

A: I'm not sure that I really understand the question or know enough to answer it. But if you want to explain it more, maybe I can.

Q: It was about the price of cement and how every policy should have public debate before it ...? What do you think about this?

A: Certainly the importance of public debate and making public policy is very clear and a very crucial element of freedom of expression and the development of a democratic process. Perhaps most importantly, a critical element of development and the way in which development can most effectively be pursued is through open discussion and debate about issues of great importance or economic importance, as the one you are describing, which I know nothing in detail about, of course.

Q: For these last couple of months we have been denied entry into East Timor except for couple of journalists who went there with an Ambassador. Did you raise a question, a discussion, (about this) with Indonesian officials?

A: The issue of freedom of expression and freedom of the press, including access by the press, to appropriate – and all – places of interest for press freedom, has been discussed in my meetings, and clearly the subject of access to places such as East Timor is one of those areas.

VOA EDITORIAL: SHATTUCK IN INDONESIA

Voice of America, April 26, 1995

Annrc: The voice of America presents differing points of view on a wide variety of issues. Next, an editorial expressing the policies of the United States government.

Voice:

John Shattuck, Assistant Secretary of state for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, visited Indonesia this month. In addition to meeting with government officials, he spoke with representatives of human rights, journalism and labor groups, and the International Committee of the Red Cross. He also visited East Timor.

Speaking at a Jakarta news conference, Mr. Shattuck said his visit had three points

of focus – freedom of expression, labor rights and East Timor. In recent years, a vigorous press has developed in Indonesia. But the United States is concerned about renewed press restrictions, including the banning of three major publications. As Mr. Shattuck said, "freedom of expression, even of ideas that are uncomfortable, is a fundamental element of a democratic society. Freedom of inquiry is the means by which self-reliance and initiative develop, and these are of course key factors in economic development. In fact, virtually all modern economies operate by freedom of expression and communication."

Mr. Shattuck also expressed concern about restrictions on labor activities. As the international labor organization pointed out recently, there is evidence of "serious and worsening infringements of basic human and trade union rights" in Indonesia.

In regard to East Timor, Indonesia's national human rights commission is investigating the January killings of civilians in Liqueça. Mr. Shattuck said a full accounting is needed for these and other human rights abuses in East Timor. In addition, the U.S. Encourages the Indonesian government to give the people of East Timor more influence over their local affairs, and to reduce the number of troops stationed in the province.

"Indonesia," said Mr. Shattuck, "is a dynamic country which enjoys a position of leadership in Asia and in the non-aligned movement. Its socioeconomic progress is very impressive. It has a large and growing number of nongovernmental organizations, which play an increasingly vital role in Indonesian development." But as assistant secretary of state Shattuck stressed, "progress on human rights is also very important, to Indonesians and to people in many other countries who are influenced by Indonesia's example."

Annrc: That was an editorial expressing the policies of the United States government. If you would like to be heard on this issue, please write to editorials, voice of America, Washington, DC, 20547, USA. You may also send us a fax at (202) 619-1043. Your comments may be used on the air.

NO SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDONESIA'S SOLDIERS

Editorial, The New York Times, April 20, 1995

The Clinton Administration wants to resume taxpayer-financed courses for Indonesian military officers in the United States. It is a terrible idea.

The Administration argues that the courses expose future leaders of Indonesia's

military-dominated regime to American concepts of human rights, teach officers how to use American-made weapons and strengthen security cooperation in Asia. Those are legitimate goals. But Congress cut off funding for training Indonesian officers under the International Military Education and Training program in 1992 to protest flagrant human rights abuses by the Indonesian military in East Timor.

The Bush and Clinton Administrations have gotten around the ban by allowing Indonesia to send officers for training at Jakarta's own expense. But Indonesian military leaders feel insulted by the Congressional funding restriction and now the Clinton Administration wants to give them relief.

Unfortunately, there has been little improvement in the Indonesian Army's human rights performance. Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck is now in Indonesia conveying Washington's concern over the military's torture and murder of six Timorese civilians in January. By seeking to lift the ban on military scholarships, the Administration undermines Mr. Shattuck's message.

Washington has made an honest effort to improve the human rights component of its training programs. But abusive military behavior in countries like Guatemala and Indonesia is rooted more in the local circumstances of repressive rule and the messages coming down the military chain of command than in any specific training deficiencies.

By signaling to Indonesia's top commanders that American taxpayers will pay for scholarships no matter how badly its soldiers behave in East Timor, the Administration more than cancels out the benefits of any new human rights training courses. Congress should maintain the ban.

AI: NO IMET FOR INDONESIA

Letter from AIUSA: Government Action Network, April 30

Government Action Network
Amnesty International USA
304 Pennsylvania Ave SE, Washington,
DC 20003
<gan@aiusa.usa.com>

Raise the Roof!

April 28, 1995 - The Clinton Administration has requested \$600,000 in International Military Education and Training (IMET) funds for Indonesia. The Indonesian government, however, continues to systematically violate the human rights of Indonesians and East Timorese, and despite public assurances to the contrary, the human rights situation worsened last year.

The United States, by law, may not give security assistance, "except under exceptional circumstance," to "any country of which the government engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." (Section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act) IMET funds were cut off in 1992, precisely because of human rights concerns. Despite serious concerns about the Indonesian government's commitment to improving human rights adherence, the Clinton Administration intends to resume IMET funding for fiscal year 1996.

Last year the Indonesian government arrested and harassed individual human rights activists, political activists, and journalists in the run-up to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meetings in November. Labor rights activists continue to be arrested and harassed, and severe restrictions were imposed on domestic non-governmental organizations. The Indonesian government also has failed to adequately investigate the killing of six East Timorese in the village of Liquica.

Please write Assistant Secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs Winston Lord, and ask him to rescind the administration's request for \$600,000 in IMET funding for Indonesia. Tell him that this would be sending the wrong message to the Indonesia government. Ask him how the United States can justify resuming IMET when the human rights situation is deteriorating in Indonesia and East Timor. The United States should not be sending aid to human rights violators.

Assistant Secretary Winston Lord
Rm 6234A, Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W., Washington, DC
20520

Phone 202/647-6600
FAX 202/647-7350

SEN. LEAHY: A CHANCE FOR JUSTICE IN EAST TIMOR

Congressional Record (Senate), April 26, 1995, Page S5732

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, on January 12 of this year, the Indonesian military tortured and murdered six unarmed civilians in Liquica, near Dili, in East Timor.

The Indonesian Army Chief of Staff, while reportedly admitting 'procedural violations,' claimed the victims were supporters of the guerrillas. However, the National Human Rights Commission of Indonesia, which released a scathing report on March 2, accused the military of 'unlawful' killings of innocent civilians.

As anyone who follows events in East Timor knows, the Liquica shootings were not an isolated incident. They were part of a

pattern of political violence on the island in which Indonesian troops have been implicated for decades.

However, the fact that the National Human Rights Commission published such a conscientious report is encouraging. The Indonesian Government now has two choices.

One choice is to repeat its mistakes after the November 1991 Dili massacre. Many here will recall how back then, the unarmed demonstrators were sentenced to long prison terms, while a handful of lower ranking soldiers who fired the deadly shots went to jail for a few months and the officers who gave the orders and tried to cover up the crime went scot free.

The other choice is to take responsibility, and use this opportunity to punish severely all those implicated in these crimes, and by doing so deter others from committing such atrocities in the future. Only when the impunity ends will the abuse of human rights end.

Let us hope that the Indonesian Government seizes this opportunity to demonstrate that no one is above the law, because it is long overdue in a country that seeks to be accepted as a respectable world power.

F-16 SALE TO INDONESIA GAINS WIDER SUPPORT

Defense News, May 1-7, 1995

Lynn Davis, U.S. undersecretary of state for international affairs and arms control, is expected to determine by month's end whether to allow F-16 [fighter plane] exports to Indonesia, which has been criticized on its human rights record.

Department sources say they are leaning toward authorizing the multi-billion-dollar sale of up to 18 F-16s because of Jakarta's positive role as arbiter of regional disputes. But White House officials say they realize they must tiptoe around congressional sensitivity over killings and arbitrary arrests in the former (sic) East Timor.

SENATE COMMITTEE PASSES FEINGOLD AMENDMENT ON INDONESIA

Preliminary report from the East Timor Action Network, May 18, 1995.

The following amendment, proposed by Senator Russell Feingold (D-WI), was approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 17, 1995, as part of the State Department 1996 Authorization Bill. This bill still has to go the Senate floor, perhaps next week.

Unlike the stronger Feingold Amendment approved two years ago, this one is attached to a bill which Congress will take through the entire legislative process. Feingold was supported by Jesse Helms, Republican Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and one of the most powerful men in Congress. If he continues to support it, it will probably survive to become law.

The House of Representatives is working on its own bill which does not (at this point) include the Feingold language. There will eventually be a conference committee to resolve the differences between the versions passed by both houses. There are other legislative initiatives related to East Timor in the House, and will be more activity over the next few weeks.

FULL TEXT:

Section 511: Prohibition on the Transfer of Arms to Indonesia

Consistent with P.L. 103-306 (Section 582), the United States is prohibited from selling or licensing for export to the Government of Indonesia light arms, small weapons, and crowd control ordnances, including helicopter-mounted equipment, until the Secretary of State determines and reports to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relation and the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives that there has been significant progress made on human rights in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia, including:

1. compliance with the recommendations in the United Nations Special Rapporteur's January 1992 report and the March 1993 recommendations of the United Nations Human Rights Commission;
2. significant reduction in Indonesia's troop presence in East Timor;
3. thorough and impartial investigation of gangs and violent civilian groups operating in East Timor;
4. improved access to East Timor for Indonesian and international human rights and humanitarian organizations and journalists, including the deployment of United Nations human rights monitors if so requested;
5. constructive participation in the United Nations Secretary General's efforts to resolve the status of East Timor; and
6. greater local control over political, economic, and cultural affairs, with an end toward resolving the future status of East Timor.

US SENATE RESTRICTS ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

Publico, 19 May 1995. By J. Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese

The Foreign Relations Committee of the US Senate yesterday passed an amendment, proposed by Democrat Russ Feingold, which prohibits the sale of US light weapons to Indonesia.

Feingold justified the amendment (identical to a previous one put forward in 1994 by Feingold and Senator Patrick Leahy) by saying that the human rights situation in East Timor had "deteriorated over the past year." Russ Feingold went on to explain that the aim of the yesterday's amendment was to show the Jakarta regime that "the US is not going to tolerate a campaign of repression against the people of East Timor."

Next week the full Senate is to discuss the question of conditions on arms sales to Indonesia, while the House of Representatives is still drawing up its own proposals on the subject. There may be a need later to harmonise the legislation produced by the Senate and the House. Support from influential Jesse Helms, the Republican Chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, is a sign that Russ Feingold's views might survive this legislative process.

The passing of the Feingold amendment in the Senate contrasts with some of the messages recently coming out of Washington, and especially out of the Pentagon. In mid-March, Admiral Owens, number two in the US military hierarchy, visited Jakarta, where he publicly stated that "from a (US) military point of view it seems that each time doubts are raised about military involvement in East Timor, appropriate measures have been taken (by Indonesia)."

Sources in the US linked to East Timor solidarity learned that, during Owens's visit to Jakarta, the Indonesians were assured that US arms sales would very soon be free of all restrictions. Owens himself confirmed this when he stated that "it seems completely appropriate to try to establish a normal relationship with the Indonesian Government and military."

The concern of solidarity organisations heightened when Deputy Secretary of State for Asia, Winston Lord, affirmed in March this year that restoring US military support to Jakarta, involving training in the US, would help to encourage respect for human rights among the future leaders of Indonesia.

After that, in mid-April, John Shattuck, a high-ranking State Department official who is in charge of the office dealing with promotion of democracy and human rights, was in East Timor. In Jakarta, where he ended his nine-day visit to the region, Shattuck spoke

in favour of reducing Indonesian military presence in East Timor.

AI ON US MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA

by Rita Beamish, AP. 5/17/95

Washington (AP) - Amnesty International USA urged the Clinton administration Wednesday to tighten efforts to seek human rights improvements in countries that receive U.S. military aid.

The group singled out Indonesia, where President Clinton wants to resume aid despite a high-profile repression of dissidents last year.

In an annual report analyzing U.S. military assistance and human rights performance by recipient countries, Amnesty International USA said the administration is providing military aid to 19 countries with poor human rights records.

The State Department itself makes complaints against the same governments in its annual report on human rights, but says that is only one consideration in aid decisions. Human rights may be outweighed by regional concerns or cooperation on programs such as anti-narcotics efforts.

Amnesty International USA, the U.S. affiliate of the London-based human rights group, praised the Clinton administration for this year's first-ever inclusion in its budget proposal of yardsticks to evaluate effectiveness of foreign assistance. The yardsticks, different for each country, include things like progress on economic reforms, completion of military modernization and regional peace efforts.

Human rights progress was cited as a criteria for some countries, including Indonesia.

"The administration needs to do considerably better in making a case for security assistance programs providing any positive benefit to human rights and to consistently matching objectives, measurements, and resources," the report said.

The group does not call for a summary cutoff of aid, but wants human rights criteria used to decide continuing assistance.

Clinton's 1996 budget request includes resuming \$600,000 in military training funds for Indonesia, which Congress cut off three years ago because of Jakarta's human rights violations in a crack down on East Timor protesters.

Indonesia's heavy-handed tactics drew attention last year when the government shut down three leading news publications and tried to quell domestic dissent in preparation for the Asia-Pacific trade summit attended by Clinton and other leaders.

Amnesty International USA's Washington director James O'Dea said Indonesia's "bad behavior is being rewarded."

But an official State Department explanation said military training is "one of the most effective foreign policy tools we have" because it exposes the security forces to "important democratic concepts such as civil control of the military, military justice and accountability."

The training courses include respect for human rights. Some of the world's repressive security officials have undergone the training.

U.S. REBUKED FOR INCREASING ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

by *Thalif Deen and Farhan Haq*

UNITED NATIONS, May 18 (IPS) - A leading human rights organisation is criticising the Bill Clinton Administration for re-summing military assistance to Indonesia and for increasing six-fold U.S. arms sales to that country.

James O'Dea of the Washington-based Amnesty International USA told IPS the U.S. proposes to increase government-to-government arms sales to Indonesia from 4.6 million dollars in fiscal year 1995 to an estimated 26 million dollars in 1996.

"The proposed 26 million dollars in weapons sales to Indonesia is extraordinary," he said, adding that the human rights situation in the country was so bad the U.S. Congress may not go along with the Administration's request.

Asked why Washington would step up sales, O'Dea said that Indonesia is considered "a very pivotal country" in the region. He also said Washington does not want to jeopardise the multi-billion-dollar trade deals finalised with Indonesia last year.

In a new report, Amnesty criticises the Clinton Administration for providing military grants to some of the worst violators of human rights. The report urges Congress to ensure that U.S. weapons and training are not used to strengthen the repressive capacity of regimes that "brutally violate human rights."

Recipients of U.S. military grants for fiscal year 1996 include Israel, Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia and Burundi - all accused of gross human rights violations.

Amnesty singles out a 600,000-dollar military grant to Indonesia as one of the "most controversial." The grant comes under the U.S. International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme which was cut three years ago.

The resumption of funding suggests that Washington is rewarding Indonesia "despite its lack of progress in the human rights arena," O'Dea said.

The United States provided about 1.9 million dollars to Indonesia for military training in 1990, 2.0 million dollars in 1991, and 2.3 million dollars in 1992. But since then, no grants have been provided for military training.

Washington also provided 25 million dollars in military credits to Indonesia in 1991, primarily for weapons purchases. But no credits have been granted by Washington since then.

The White House this week earmarked 600,000 dollars for Indonesia for 1996 claiming it can better monitor human rights considerations there.

Critics disagree that Jakarta has earned a change in policy. "Military aid and IMET were cut off because of Indonesia's human rights record," said John Miller of the U.S.-based East Timor Action Network. "There's been precious little sign of improvement, and even some backsliding, from Indonesia."

Miller noted that, even as Washington was moving to renew military training aid to Jakarta, John Shattuck - the top U.S. State Department human rights official - was testifying that Indonesia's human rights climate had worsened since last year's Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit.

"This is sending the wrong message to Indonesia - that they can do nothing" but still win U.S. support, Miller said.

Several Senators, including Russell Feingold of Wisconsin, have sought to attach greater conditions to report on Jakarta's human rights record before freeing any money. They worry that Indonesia may be bracing for a new round of repression in East Timor, annexed by Jakarta in 1976 as it was trying to gain independence from Portugal.

According to the Washington-based Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the United States was the largest single arms supplier to Indonesia in 1989-1991. During that period, Indonesia imported about 940 million dollars in arms, of which 360 million dollars was provided by the United States.

Meanwhile the United States has also requested about 3.0 billion dollars in military grants for Israel for fiscal year 1996 and 2.1 billion dollars for Egypt.

The Clinton Administration this year has added "effectiveness measurements" to its military aid proposals to Congress. But key countries such as Israel and Egypt have been exempted even though both governments are responsible for gross violations, Amnesty said.

"The U.S. must demand real measurable improvements in the human rights performance of the recipients of its security aid, monitor its end-use and cut assistance where

necessary," O'Dea said. "Otherwise it will be complicit in the commission of human rights violations"

U.S. LEADS IN ARMS SALES TO CONFLICT ZONES

by *Farhan Haq*

WASHINGTON, May 24 (IPS) - Some 90 percent of the world's conflicts today involve weaponry supplied by the United States, argues a group of experts seeking a code of conduct for such sales.

A new report by the World Policy Institute (WPI), part of New York's New School of Social Research, says that 45 of the 50 ethnic and territorial conflicts underway in 1993-94 involved one or more parties which received U.S. weaponry.

In those 45 current conflicts, the report adds, U.S. firms delivered a total of more than 42 billion dollars' worth of arms. And in 18 of those disputes, the United States is the primary weapons supplier to the government side.

U.S. arms manufacturers are the primary suppliers to many of the world's hot spots, selling the bulk of arms to Israel, the Philippines, Guatemala, Mexico, Turkey, Somalia, Pakistan, Liberia, Kenya and Morocco. The United States provides arms or military technology to more than 140 nations in all.

William Hartung, the report's author, argues that such a wide range of arms sales to often brutal or repressive governments may come back to endanger U.S. security.

"This unrestrained trade in the weapons of war is now fueling terrorism, aggression and murder on five continents," Hartung says.

Some of the weapons have "boomeranged," he says, noting their use in attacks on U.S. troops in Iraq and Somalia to the rise in anti-U.S. terrorism by U.S.-armed Afghan war veterans.

Representative Christopher Smith of New Jersey says that, when a Congressional delegation visited the bombed-out Croatian city of Vukovar in 1993, "dozens of bomb casings littered the streets...and were U.S.-made."

Hartung contends that many of the nations who have received arms from U.S. firms for defensive purposes have used them to mount attacks on internal forces or invade other nations.

A particular offender, he says, is Turkey, which has received more than 6.3 billion dollars of U.S. arms over the past decade.

"Turkey could easily become the Iran of the 1990s," Hartung argues, contending that Washington has done little to prevent Ankara's persecution of Turkish Kurds or its

two-month invasion this spring of Northern Iraq to rout out Kurdish groups.

He says that the Turkish invasion is just one of many examples that give the lie to Washington's belief that supplying weapons can help provide leverage on otherwise troublesome nations.

In the incursion on northern Iraq, he argues, it was Turkey which had the leverage to persuade U.S. troops patrolling Northern Iraq's 'no-fly' zone not to interfere – while President Bill Clinton had to accept the invasion.

Similarly, U.S. arms sales in the 1970s to Morocco and Indonesia failed to prevent the invasion by the former of the Western Sahara and by the latter of East Timor. Neither has budged from those territories since, a sign to Hartung that selling weapons provides little leverage.

Other recent conflicts also show the limits of U.S. influence over its clients.

Guatemala's government, which received 86 percent of its arms from 1987 to 1991 in its fight against indigenous groups from the United States, was revealed last month to be involved in the murders and tortures of several U.S. citizens. And Mexico used U.S. Blackhawk helicopters intended to counter drug trafficking at least twice to attack Zapatista rebels, Hartung says.

The argument that Washington could cut off logistics and spare parts if nations refuse to abide by its standards doesn't work, added David Evans of Business Executives for National Security, a group which monitors Pentagon policy.

"You can dress a sow like a ballerina, but it's still a hog," he says of arms sales to repressive regimes.

The important factor driving arms sales today, he argues, is the post-Cold War decline of the U.S. arms industry. In a climate in which the defence industry has already lost a million jobs, the Pentagon now contends that it is necessary to fight the potential future threat from current allies which Washington now arms, Evans notes.

But, with the United States likely to cut its military even further if the deficit grows, he says, "A few billion dollars in arms sales are the proverbial aspirin in the face of a heart attack."

Despite that, President Bill Clinton's administration has racked up record arms sales thus far in its term. The Pentagon and U.S. State Department helped U.S. firms sell deals worth a record 36 billion dollars in 1993, and another 14.5 billion dollars last year. U.S. arms sales now corner some 70 percent of the world market.

As Representative Sam Farr of California notes, U.S. taxpayers spend more money subsidizing arms sales than they do funding public education. The WPI estimates that

the government subsidizes arms manufacturers by some six billion dollars.

The WPI report urges the passage of a code of conduct, introduced last February by Republican Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon as an amendment to the Senate's foreign aid budget.

The code would exclude undemocratic, repressive or aggressive governments to receive U.S. weaponry unless they earned a special exemption from the president.

An amendment for such a code of conduct parallel to Hatfield's Senate version was sponsored by Democratic Representative Cynthia McKinney of Georgia. But it was defeated in the House of Representatives Wednesday by a vote of 157 to 262 against.

A Jan. 1994 poll by the National Security News Service indicates broad public support for a code of conduct.

Some 96 percent of respondents favoured measures to bar sales to "dictators or undemocratic governments." Conversely, only 15 percent of respondents support government-sponsored weapons trading, down from 32 percent in a 1990 poll.

The WPI report also seeks more extensive and public data-gathering about where and how much arms are sold, as well as restrictions on the sale of conventional weaponry.

PROTESTS AT INDONESIA BUSINESS FORUM IN SAN FRANCISCO

By Greg Knehans, ETAN/SFBA, May 22, 1995

As part of their ongoing roadshow to attract US businesses to Indonesia, the Indonesian government sponsored an Indonesian Business Forum in San Francisco on May 18. Though there was only a few days to plan a response, The East Timor Action Network/San Francisco and the East Timor Religious Outreach were able to effectively counter the efforts of the Indonesians to have a nice schmooze fest with San Francisco corporations. The forum was an all-day affair, with seminars in the morning, a luncheon speech by George Shultz (former Secretary of State under Reagan and well known for his support for the death-squad governments of Central America), individual meetings with Indonesian officials in the afternoon and finally a reception at the Indonesian Consul General's residence in the evening. The Indonesians had rented out the largest ballrooms of the Hilton for the forum.

The day began early, when activists from both groups, including six clergy representing four denominations (United Methodist,

Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Episcopalian), converged at the Hilton. As registration started for the forum, the activists went into the hotel and began handing leaflets to the businesspeople waiting to register. The leaflets detailed the brutality of the Suharto regime against its own people and the people of East Timor, as well as the immense corruption of the government.

The Indonesians were obviously completely unprepared for the action of the activists. While we had expected to be tossed out after a few minutes, the Indonesians did not even think to call hotel security for twenty minutes. Even then, some activists were able to evade the house dicks and others went to the entrances and other parts of the hotel. By the time the forum started, 300 flyers had been distributed and virtually every business person who went to the forum had received one.

In addition, some progressive business people participated in the forum, and were able to ask a number of embarrassing questions, both during the morning seminars and the afternoon consultations, keeping the issues of East Timor and human rights prominent throughout the day.

The effect this had on the Indonesians was easy to see from their reaction. Following the morning action, off-duty San Francisco policemen were hired for the rest of the day. Whether intentionally or not, the Indonesians hired some of the most disliked cops in SF, including one well known for his brutality in dealing with the group Food Not Bombs when they give food to the homeless (Yes, it's illegal in San Francisco to give food to hungry people.). The cops were able to keep the activists from the ballroom that Shultz was speaking in at lunch, but more flyers were distributed outside and left throughout the hotel.

Activists went in the evening to the Consul General's residence in the ritzy Pacific Heights district, where a reception was held for participants in the business forum. Large signs saying such things as "Make a Killing: Invest in Genocide" were placed all over the neighborhood. A truck was parked across the street from his residence with a large banner on the side reading "Indonesia Out of East Timor; Stop the Genocide." This time the Indonesians had not only off-duty cops but regular cops as well, who were able to prevent the distribution of any more leaflets, but flashing lights and police presence only served to draw the attention of anyone going to the reception to the truck and to the activists.

All in all, it was a pretty bad day for the Indonesian government. The East Timor activists were able to embarrass them in a way that hurts them the most, in the pocketbook, and they were once again unable to

keep their crimes hidden. Even without the protest actions, the forum would not have been exactly an overwhelming success. There were almost as many Indonesians as there were businesspeople at the seminars, with only about 50-60 in attendance, even with the star power of Schultz to draw people in.

CALIFORNIA CLERGY CHALLENGE INDONESIAN TRADE OFFICIALS

This article appeared in the June 1 editions of the Portuguese Tribune and Jornal Portugues-California

By Anne Treseder – May 25, 1995

A group of San Francisco Bay Area priests and ministers, citing their moral duty to speak on behalf of the silenced and vulnerable people of East Timor, were uninvited guests on Thursday, May 18, when high-level Indonesian trade officials presented a Forum on Business Opportunities with Indonesia.

Catholic, Episcopalian, United Methodist, and Presbyterian clergy, along with their lay supporters, converged on the San Francisco Hilton Hotel, where the Forum was held, and passed out information about the illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor to Forum participants, who included American businesspeople, Indonesian government officials, and representatives from Indonesian private industry.

The clergy – members of East Timor Religious Outreach – warned Forum participants that Indonesia wants you to do business in their country, but they don't want you to know [that] the Indonesian government of General Suharto is one of the world's most brutal and corrupt military dictatorships. In a leaflet, they told of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975 and the genocide committed there by the Indonesian military.

The clergy also handed out a grim, first-hand report of life in East Timor under Indonesian occupation. There's a great injustice in East Timor that we need to correct, said Rev. Robert Forsberg, a San Francisco Presbyterian minister.

Another pastor described the Indonesian reaction to their presence as one of shock and confusion. They hadn't expected to be confronted with the truth about their government's behavior in East Timor, especially by a group of American clergypeople!

How sad that they should come here, to the City of Saint Francis, to do business – even as people are dying in East Timor, added Father Louis Vitali, a San Francisco priest (St. Boniface Church) who also participated.

The clergy were able to distribute educational materials to Forum participants for

over twenty minutes before the furious Indonesian officials regained their composure and summoned hotel security personnel. The clergy left politely when requested to do so, but continued to pass out information at the hotel entrance, under the angry gaze of Indonesian consulate officials.

Meanwhile, at the Forum inside the hotel, Indonesian trade representatives distributed brochures about land in East Timor available for agricultural investment. I was shocked, said one San Francisco businessman who attended the conference. I wondered how many Timorese had been forcibly moved off their land in order to make it available for outside investment.

Rev. John Chamberlin of First St. John's United Methodist Church in San Francisco, who recently returned from a fact-finding trip to East Timor, explained why he and other religious had tried to remind Forum participants of the brutal truth about East Timor.

As clergy and people of conscience, we owe it to the Timorese to speak out and bear witness to their suffering, he said. The Indonesian government should not be permitted to conduct business as usual' in the United States while they continue to conduct slaughter in East Timor.

Chamberlin urged people in the U.S., and around the world, to refuse to do business with Indonesia until East Timor is free.

BACKGROUND ON EAST TIMOR AND US POLICY

Briefing Paper from ETAN/US for Congressional Lobby Days, May 22, 1995

The Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor ranks as one of the great atrocities of this century. It has claimed the lives of 200,000 Timorese* – one-third of the original population. It has been done in defiance of the UN Security Council, which has twice called on Jakarta to withdraw "without delay." And it has also, sadly, been done with the help of the United States. Indonesia launched its 1975 invasion hours after President Ford left Jakarta. The U.S. then doubled Indonesia's military aid, blocked the United Nations from taking effective enforcement action, and continues, to this day, to send new arms. Right now, the administration is considering the sale of up to 18 F-16 jet fighters to Indonesia.

The human rights situation remains desperate in East Timor and Indonesia itself. As this year's State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1994 reported: "The [Indonesian] Government continued to commit serious human rights abuse and in some areas, notably freedom of expression, it became markedly more

repressive, departing from a longer-term trend toward greater openness. The most serious abuse included the continuing inability of the people to change their government and harsh repression of the East Timorese dissidents." Testifying before Congress in March, Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck said the administration was "very concerned" about the deterioration of the human rights situation in East Timor and Indonesia.

In recent years, a bipartisan movement in Congress and at the U.S. grassroots has set out to reverse our government's mistaken course. Since the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz Cemetery massacre – in which Indonesian troops armed with American M-16s gunned down more than 200 Timorese civilians – Congress has taken a series of initiatives which have begun to shift the direction of U.S. policy.

After the massacre, 52 Senators (led by Malcolm Wallop R, Wyoming and Claiborne Pell, D, Rhode Island) wrote to President Bush, calling for the U.S. actively to support implementation of the UN resolutions on East Timor "with an eye toward a political solution that might end the needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the territory." (It was the first of a series of bipartisan House and Senate letters reaffirming support for self-determination.)

In October 1992, after a series of statements by Indonesian officials indicating that the massacre was an act of policy,** Congress voted to cut off Indonesia's IMET military training aid. The cutoff amendment was initiated by Reps. Tony Hall (D, Ohio) and Ronald Machtley (R, Rhode Island), and had crucial backing in committee from Sen. Patrick Leahy (D, Vermont) and Rep. David Obey (D, Wisconsin). The cutoff was opposed by the State Department, the Pentagon, lobbyists for the Indonesian military, and some U.S. corporations.

In March 1993, under pressure from Congress, the State Department reversed its traditional pro-Jakarta stand and cosponsored a successful resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission criticizing Indonesian abuses in East Timor.

In July 1993, again under Congressional pressure, the State Department blocked a transfer of U.S. F-5 fighter planes from the government of Jordan to Indonesia, citing human rights as one of the reasons. The Jakarta Post editorialized that the blockage of the F-5 deal "resounded like [a] sonic boom" in Indonesia.

That same month, President Clinton, in response to a letter from 43 Senators, raised the Timor issue in a meeting in Japan with Suharto, the Indonesian dictator. During his campaign Bill Clinton said that the U.S.

approach to East Timor has been “unconscionable.” In September 1993, at a press conference, President Clinton turned aside the argument that pressuring Indonesia on East Timor and human rights would have an adverse impact on U.S. business. He said, “The United States does have a very strong position on human rights, and I think we should... (b)ut that has not undermined our... commercial relationships... with countries that we think are making an honest effort to shoot straight with us and to work with us... We have questions about the issues of East Timor... but we have had good contact with Indonesia.” (In fact, U.S. companies have no investments in East Timor. Though U.S. weapons firms might indeed be hurt by a ban or cutback on weapons sales, it would not affect U.S. companies in Indonesia which are engaged in other lines of business. Their relationship with Jakarta is one of mutual profit - a basic fact unaffected by Timor policy). Last November during the APEC summit in Jakarta, President Clinton privately pressed President Suharto on human rights and publicly called for greater autonomy for East Timor.

In September 1993, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously adopted an amendment by Sen. Russell Feingold (D, Wisconsin) which conditions major arms sales to Indonesia on human rights improvements in East Timor. The amendment was a compromise version worked out after extensive negotiation with the White House, the Pentagon, and the State Department. Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R, Kansas) said that the amendment will “get strong support from the entire United States Senate [and] send a very important message to Indonesia about our concerns regarding human rights.”

The Feingold amendment sent political shock waves through Jakarta, though the authorization bill containing it never reached the Senate floor. At the same time, although the administration had signed off on the compromise amendment, some individual officials – notably Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord – mounted a campaign to keep the Feingold amendment from being attached to another legislative vehicle.

Early in 1994, in the wake of the Feingold amendment, the State Department imposed a ban on the sale of small and light arms and sales to Indonesia. The ban represents the first time that such an across-the-board prohibition has been imposed on any type of weapons sale to Indonesia. And the small arms ban sets an important precedent: it represents tacit acceptance on the part of the State Department of the principle that withholding weapons sales can advance human rights.

Now the issue becomes: what kind of sales should be withheld? And, why, if Ja-

karta’s armed forces continue to defy the Security Council, should the U.S. provide them with any weapons sales at all? Since the 1991 massacre, the State Department has licensed more than 250 military sales to Indonesia. The items sold have ranged from machine guns and M-16s to electronic components and communications gear and spare parts for attack planes. Every shipment sends a political message that the Indonesian armed forces and their illegal occupation of East Timor still enjoy U.S. government support. The U.S. should end those sales and inform the UN Secretary General that it is now willing to support enforcement of the Security Council resolutions. This would mean supporting the call of Catholic Bishop Belo of East Timor for a UN - supervised referendum in which the Timorese would freely choose their own political status.

In its version of the Foreign Aid Appropriations for FY 1995, the House of Representatives sought to renew the ban on IMET and close a loophole under which Indonesia continued to purchase some of the same training for a fee. The committee report accompanying the bill expressed “outrage” that the administration “despite its vocal embrace of human rights” allowed the purchase of training.

In July, the Senate put into law the prohibition on the sale of small arms. A few weeks before, the Senate had voted down an effort to ban the use of U.S.-supplied lethal arms in East Timor. The proposed provision in effect restated the U.S. - Indonesia treaty signed in 1958 which restricts the use of U.S.-supplied weapons to “legitimate self-defense” and strictly forbids their use for “an act of aggression.” The appropriations bill, as finally agreed to by both houses of Congress continued the IMET ban and prohibited small arms sales to Indonesia.

The 104th Congress has begun to act. In February, a bipartisan group of nine Senators urged President Clinton to support a resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission calling for specific steps to improve the human rights situation in East Timor. It said “We believe that the U.S. relationship with Indonesia should enable us to effectively press our concerns with the Jakarta government.” Members of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus in the House of Representatives sent a similar letter expressing concern about “the lack of progress on human rights and the perpetual reports of torture and other serious abuses.”

Just last week the Senate Foreign Relations Committee included a provision in the FY1996 State Department Authorization that would extend the small arms ban to include helicopter-mounted equipment. The

ban would remain in effect until the Secretary of State reports to Congress that significant progress has been made on human rights in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia, including compliance with UN human rights recommendations, significant reductions in Indonesia’s troop presence in East Timor, greater autonomy for East Timor, and constructive participation by Indonesia in UN talks on the status of East Timor.

In a report released last December, the United National Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions, noted ..”. the conditions that allowed the (1991) Santa Cruz killings to occur are still present. In particular, the members of the security forces responsible for the abuses have not been held accountable and continue to enjoy virtual impunity.” The Special Rapporteur pointed out that “access of victims of human rights violations to the judiciary or to non-governmental organizations has not improved.” The Rapporteur “clearly sensed terror among many East Timorese he had the opportunity to meet.”

Earlier this year, former Secretary of State James A. Baker, responding to a question about U.S. policy toward East Timor at the University of Texas said “We made mistakes in our foreign policy, we made them in the past, we are making them now...” Congress has an important role to play in undoing those mistakes.

The political issue in East Timor is a very basic one: the people simply want – and are entitled to – the right to vote in a UN-supervised referendum, in which they would be given the right to choose whether they want to be independent or become part of Indonesia. This has been endorsed by East Timor’s Bishop Belo and also by the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the umbrella organization of the East Timorese underground resistance. The Secretary-General’s office has expressed interest in moving toward such a referendum, but they have indicated that they are waiting for a political green light from the United States.

* The death toll estimate was first published by Amnesty International and was confirmed in 1990 by the Indonesian army intelligence chief for Timor, and this year by the Indonesian-appointed governor.

** Gen. Try Sutrisno, now Indonesia’s Vice President, said: “Such people must be shot and we will shoot them.” Gen. Herman Mantiri, the new regional commander for East Timor, said that the massacre was “quite proper” since “They were opposing us, demonstrating, even yelling things against the government.”

INDONESIAN AIRCRAFT TO BE BUILT IN ALABAMA

By Sherri Chunn, *The Mobile Press-Register, Ala. Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News*

May 30, 1995—The N-250 is carrying the weight of a country's future on its wings. Success could propel Indonesia's high-tech hopes to new heights. Failure could send them into a tailspin. These hopes won't be airborne until 1997 when the N-250, which will be produced in Mobile, hits the runway.

But Industri Pesawat Terbang Nusantara will have to overcome some preconceptions before it can carve out a niche for its premier project - dubbed the Intelligent Aircraft in company literature - in the less-than-stable commuter-aircraft market, industry experts say.

The N-250 is a high-speed, turboprop commuter aircraft that seats 64 to 68 passengers and employs a state-of-the-art electronic signaling system called "fly-by-wire." B.J. Habibie, IPTN's president-director, has said the company must sell at least 260 airplanes - pre-production priced in 1994 at \$13.5 million apiece - just to break even.

The World Bank questioned the project in a 1993 report, saying that the 1996-1997 market for smaller aircraft will be crowded with several competitively priced airplanes.

"IPTN can ill-afford a price war," it said. Others have suggested that IPTN is trying to walk before it can crawl by entering the high-tech world of aircraft manufacturing. IPTN has only been involved in the production of two other types of aircraft, the NC-212 and CN-135, both built in cooperation with CASA of Spain. As of November 1994, none of IPTN's aircraft had obtained type certification by U.S. and European authorities, according to an article in *Aviation Week & Space Technology*.

"The market is already saturated," said Byron Callan, an analyst with Merrill Lynch in New York. "They do have their work cut out for them."

Currently, nine models in the 60-90 seat market are either being produced or designed by other manufacturers, said Marlene Lee, an economist for Bombardier Inc., a regional aircraft producer.

U.S. regional airlines are projected to take delivery of only 602 aircraft in the 70-seat market between 1995 and 2004, according to numbers compiled by Richard Wynne, senior forecaster for Jetstream Aircraft. That works out to 60 deliveries a year.

But the N-250 only has two direct competitors in the high-speed turboprop market, the De Havilland Dash 8-400 and the ATR-82, Wynne said. Neither has been

launched yet, but the Dash 8-400 is expected to be out this year.

"IPTN has a head start," he said. "They're in good shape in terms of their timing with the market."

If the three manufacturers divided the market equally, that would work out to 20 planes per company per year, which isn't enough, Wynne said.

"That market isn't big enough to be divided equally among three," he said.

Lee said she expects the weak market to pick up in eight to 10 years, though. "The market will be larger for turboprops...but it's still going to be crowded because you're working with such small numbers."

The company also may face resistance in the market because it is based in Indonesia, a country known more for its oil reserves and coffee fields than for its high technology. Wynne said opening a production facility in Mobile should help the company overcome some of the skepticism in the industry.

IPTN also has to prove its dependability in production, technical support and customer support, Wynne said.

"Neither of the two airplanes (produced by IPTN) has penetrated the airline market outside of two manufacturing countries, Indonesia and Spain," he said. "This is a firm that has never supported this type of demand on a worldwide basis."

But there are numbers to support IPTN's move to produce a high-speed turboprop, which is designed to fly passengers from a hub to a spoke city, drop them off, pick up more passengers and fly them back to the hub.

The Regional Airline Association's 1994 annual report says that the U.S. regional airline industry "is moving markedly towards larger (over 40 seats) and faster modern regional aircraft, both turboprops and jets..."

Turboprops are more fuel-efficient than small jets on routes under 350 miles, Wynne said, and high-speed turboprops can travel farther more quickly than regular turboprops. Jets have the edge on trips over 600 miles, because even a high-speed turboprop is too slow, and most passengers don't want to ride in a turboprop for several hours. But the market for routes between 300 and 600 miles is currently one the fastest growing, Wynne said.

Before IPTN can begin establishing a customer base, it must gain FAA certification for N-250. The FAA currently is working with Indonesia on developing a bilateral agreement outlining the certification process, an FAA spokesman in Washington said.

Test flights of the N-250, which cost \$650 million to develop, are scheduled to begin this year.

Comment from Charlie Scheiner, ETAN: It cannot be mere coincidence that this factory is located in the Congressional District represented by Sonny Callahan (R-AL), who chairs the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. In the past, this subcommittee has been the source of the Congressional ban on IMET military training aid funding for Indonesia.

URGE CONGRESS TO SUPPORT EAST TIMOR: NO IMET FOR INDONESIA

House of Representatives to vote June 6.

Action Alert from the East Timor Action Network, May 26, 1995

The House is in recess. When they come back June 6, they will decide on the American Overseas Interests Act (H.R.1561). This bill, if passed unamended, resumes military training (IMET) aid for Indonesia which has been barred since 1992 because of human rights violations in East Timor.

Please call your Congressperson today (202-224-3121) to urge them to support Rep. Jack Reed's amendment to Section 3142. The amendment continues the prohibition on military aid.

Indonesia invaded the neighboring territory of East Timor in 1975. More than 200,000 East Timorese people (one-third of the population) have been killed by the occupation and war. On November 12, 1991, Indonesian soldiers shot into an unarmed, peaceful memorial procession at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, killing more than 250 people.

International outrage over this massacre reverberated worldwide. In 1992, after several statements by Indonesian military officials indicating that the massacre was an act of policy, Congress terminated IMET assistance to Indonesia. When the human rights situation in East Timor continued to deteriorate, Congress reiterated the ban in 1993 and 1994. These actions are taken very seriously in Indonesia.

In spite of clear messages from Congress and the State Department, the military government of Indonesia continues to violate human rights. The 1995 State Department Human Rights Country Report calls Indonesia "strongly authoritarian" and notes that "it became markedly more repressive" during 1994, as "the Government continues to commit serious human rights abuses." Last December, a United Nations Special Rapporteur noted that "the conditions that allowed the (1991) Santa Cruz killings to occur are still present. In particular, the members of the security forces responsible for the abuses have not been held account-

able and continue to enjoy virtual impunity.”

During 1995, the human rights situation in East Timor continues to worsen. For example, on January 12, Indonesian soldiers kidnapped, tortured and murdered six civilians in Liquiça. Even the government-controlled Human Rights Commission concluded that the victims were not guerrillas and called the “incident ... in essence a violation of basic human rights.” Indonesia has taken no steps to reduce troop presence or otherwise improve the situation.

In February, a bipartisan group of nine Senators wrote President Clinton: “We believe that the U.S. relationship with Indonesia should enable us to effectively press our concerns with the Jakarta government.” Members of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus from both parties sent a similar letter expressing concern about “the lack of progress on human rights and the perpetual reports of torture and other serious abuses.”

The Reed Amendment has supporters from the full range of political views and parties. This first-ever vote by the House of Representatives on East Timor is likely to be very close. Please get as many people as possible to call their Representatives. Many Congresspeople will be in their districts this week. If you call their local office, you may be able to speak or meet with them in person.

In your letter and discussion with your Representative, you could raise the following:

In light of the worsening situation in East Timor, resuming military training aid sends precisely the wrong message to Jakarta. Such a signal would be used by the Indonesian dictatorship to legitimize its occupation of East Timor – they would claim that “even the U.S. Congress understands that we are improving the situation, as they have resumed military assistance that was cut off for the past three years.”

The problem in East Timor is not training of the military, it is the occupation itself. Massacres and other brutality inflicted by soldiers on the East Timorese people are orders from the highest level, not irresponsible actions of individual soldiers. Human rights violations will persist until the soldiers are withdrawn.

Indonesia has consistently rejected efforts by the UN, the US, and other international bodies to improve the horrendous situation in East Timor, claiming that their “Asian definition of human rights” does not encompass Western prejudices against killing and torture. However, such Western protests are taken very seriously in the internal decisions and discussions of Indonesia’s ruling elite. In fact, the Indonesian

Foreign Minister has attended UN-facilitated discussions with his Portuguese counterpart since 1993, and Indonesia has agreed (although they often renege on their commitments) to allow limited access by U.N. officials and human rights groups to East Timor.

One element of the “expanded IMET” which would be allowed if this amendment loses is training in civilian control of the military. But Indonesia is a military dictatorship, controlled for 30 years by President/General Suharto, and there is no pretense of civilian control. The current Vice President, Try Sutrisno, was armed forces Chief of Staff at the time of the 1991 massacre. After the massacre, he said “Disrupters (like the murdered mourners) are people who must be crushed. ... Come what may, let no one think they can ignore ABRI (the Indonesian army). In the end, they will have to be shot down.”

The continuation of the ban on IMET does not jeopardize other aspects of the U.S.-Indonesia relationship. In fact, the economic relationship between our two countries is mutually beneficial, and there has been no indication that it is under reconsideration.

In this period of budget-cutting, it makes no sense to add a new expenditure which does nothing to enhance United States interests and is detrimental to people elsewhere.

PORTUGUESE CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS LETTER

A letter on IMET sent to all members of the House of Representatives.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
June 2, 1995

Dear Colleagues,

We are writing to bring to your attention an amendment that will be introduced by Representative Jack Reed (RI) to HR 1561 the American Overseas Interests Act which addresses an issue of particular concern to the Portuguese community.

The amendment would prevent Indonesia from participating in the International Military Education Training (IMET) program. The bill, as currently written, allows for Indonesian participation.

A restriction on Indonesian participation in IMET has been in place for the past 3 years due to Indonesia’s human rights record in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor which Indonesia invaded in 1975. This amendment is offered under the belief that removing this restriction would send a message that the United States is unconcerned about the continuing human rights situation in Indonesia. This situation

has not improved in any significant way since the restriction was originally put in place. International human rights reports and reports from the Department of State support the conclusion that significant progress has not been made in this country.

We hope you will give this amendment careful consideration. Because of the deep historical ties between East Timor and Portugal, many Portuguese-Americans have a particularly strong interest in this issue. As chairs of the House Portuguese-American Caucus we will be supporting this amendment and urge you to join us.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Pombo

House Portuguese-American Caucus Co-Chair

Patrick J. Kennedy

House Portuguese-American Caucus Co-Chair

REED AMENDMENT ON IMET NOT DISCUSSED

From ETAN/US, June 9, 1995

The House of Representatives has passed the Foreign Aid Bill which people concerned with East Timor were trying to amend. The bill authorizes \$600,000 for limited “expanded IMET” training. Because of a restricted schedule, the House did not take up the Reed Amendment, which would have barred U.S. military training aid for the Indonesian army. (More than 50 amendments were not discussed.)

However this bill may never become law, since President Clinton has threatened to veto it. Even if it does, it is not binding – the money still has to be passed through the appropriations process in a separate bill. The House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations began discussions yesterday on their Foreign Aid bill, which is where the IMET cutoff has been legislated for the past three years. The Committee will make its decision in the next few days.

There is bipartisan support on the Appropriations Committee for cutting IMET, but it is not clear if this view is shared by the Chairman or a majority. Please contact Representatives on the Appropriations Committee immediately to urge them to disallow IMET funding for Indonesia.

IMET ON APPROPRIATIONS

From ETAN, June 10

Since 1992, the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill has prohibited the use of IMET funding to train Indonesian soldiers. The bill has begun to make its way through the Congressional process again this year.

On Thursday, June 8, the Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee did its mark-up on the bill. There is no mention,

pro or con, of Indonesia-related IMET in the Subcommittee's report. There was no discussion of the issue during the markup.

This is a change from the last two years, when the Subcommittee reported a bill including the IMET ban. The change is due to the new Republican control of the House, which replaced Subcommittee Chairman David Obey (D-WI, who also chaired the full committee) with Sonny Callahan (R-AL).

The full House Appropriations Committee will mark up the bill on Thursday, June 15. We expect that an amendment will be introduced there to disallow IMET funding for Indonesia. Please contact all Representatives, especially those on the Appropriations Committee (list distributed with previous posting) to urge them to support the ban on IMET for Indonesia. The Congressional switchboard is 202-224-3121.

UPDATE JUNE 20, 1995

The Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill, H.R. 1868, will come to the House floor in the next day or two. That bill currently includes \$600,000 for military training aid (IMET) for Indonesia. Although the training is restricted to certain subjects (so-called "expanded IMET"), it would be a resumption of U.S. support for the Indonesian military that has been cut off by Congress for three years, since the Dili massacre of 1991.

Representative Nita Lowey (D-NY), with others, will introduce an amendment to strike IMET for Indonesia from the bill. There will be a vote on the House floor, with all Representatives participating. ETAN urges you to call or fax your Representative TODAY and encourage them to support the Lowey amendment. If they are favorable, ask them to speak on the floor to support it. All Representatives can be reached through the Capitol switchboard at 202-224-3121.

Although we had hoped to pass such an amendment in committee or subcommittee, Foreign Operations Chairman Sonny Callahan (R-AL) strongly (and successfully) discouraged members from introducing an IMET cut. A leading Indonesian airplane manufacturer, IPTN, has just announced plans to build turboprop commuter aircraft in Callahan's Congressional district. IPTN is headed by B.J. Habibie, Indonesia's Minister of Technology and a close confidant of President Suharto, and Callahan was understandably reluctant to embarrass his hometown's new patron. Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert Livingston (R-LA) also supports Indonesia, largely due to the influence that mining company Freeport-MacMoRan wields in his home state. New Orleans-based Freeport, Indonesia's major

gold and copper exporter, is a long-time, generous campaign contributor to Louisiana Representatives.

But ongoing killings, military occupation and human rights violations in East Timor are more important than pork-barrel politics.

A few weeks ago, ETAN worked for the similar Reed amendment on the authorization bill, but that amendment (and 50 others) never got to the House floor, since the Republican leadership did not allow enough time. Although the authorization bill passed the House, it faces a probable Presidential veto.

The Lowey amendment on the Appropriations Bill will almost certainly come to the floor. Lowey is on the Appropriations Committee which reported the bill, and the leadership will allow more time for amendments. The IMET ban has been part of the Appropriations Bill since, so all we are asking for is to maintain the ban in light of continuing human rights violations.

The issues are identical to those discussed in our earlier action alert on the now-moot Reed Amendment. Here are a few points you might want to make with your Representative:

1. Resuming IMET rewards Indonesia for continuing unacceptable policies, sending precisely the wrong message. The 1995 State Department Human Rights Country Report calls Indonesia "strongly authoritarian" and notes that "it became markedly more repressive" during 1994, as "the Government continues to commit serious human rights abuses." Last December, a United Nations Special Rapporteur noted that "the conditions that allowed the (1991) Santa Cruz killings to occur are still present. In particular, the members of the security forces responsible for the abuses have not been held accountable and continue to enjoy virtual impunity." The situation has gotten even worse over the first half of 1995.

2. Human rights violations by the military in East Timor are intrinsic to the military occupation, and represent policy determined at the highest levels. Sometimes Indonesia responds to international criticism by scapegoating a few low-level soldiers, but it is repeatedly clear that the violations which attract international notice are only a few of numerous manifestations of a deeply-established policy. There have been so many violations (200,000 killings) during the 20 years of invasion and occupation that it is inconceivable that these are not officially sanctioned. No amount of human rights training for individual soldiers will change the situation.

3. Much of "expanded" IMET purports to train low- and middle-level soldiers in democracy, human rights, and civilian con-

trol of the military. The Indonesian government is a military dictatorship which took power in a coup 30 years ago. There is no semblance of civilian control or democracy at any level – even the economy is permeated by the military, especially in East Timor.

4. Any IMET resumption will be used by the Indonesian government to signify, both to their own people and in international diplomacy, that they have solved the situation in East Timor. "Look," they will say, "even the unreasonable U.S. Congress finally understands that there is no problem in East Timor. They have given us a vote of confidence by restoring IMET." The fine points of "expanded" IMET will not be part of their statements and press releases.

5. The Lowey amendment does not call for limitations on the U.S.-Indonesia economic relationship, and would have no affect on such ties, which are mutually beneficial to both the U.S. and Indonesia.

6. International pressure, such as the IMET cutoff, is finally beginning to have a positive effect. Last month's UN-facilitated discussions in Austria between East Timorese of all political views, both in exile and still in the country, would not have taken place if Indonesia didn't feel it had to look reasonable to the international community. They are a very small step in the right direction. Now is not the time to let up the pressure.

7. In this time of fiscal scarcity, here is an easy way to save \$600,000 of taxpayers' money.

Last week, ETAN faxed the New York Times' April 20, 1995 editorial "No Scholarships for Indonesia's Soldiers" to every Congressional office. You might remind any aides you speak with to look at it.

Please let ETAN know of any responses you get. If your Representative will speak on the House floor, have them contact Matthew Traub in Rep. Nita Lowey's office at 202-225-6506.

UPDATE, JUNE 23

The House got behind schedule, and the vote will probably be this coming Tuesday, June 27 – so it's not too late to call your Representative at 202-224-3121 and urge to support the amendment to cut military training aid to Indonesia. Those are amendments sponsored by Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY) and Frank Wolf (R-VA). At this time, it's not clear which one will be the actual vehicle on the floor. Both are amendments to H.R. 1868, the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Bill.

Here's an article about how Nita Lowey's work on this has been perceived in her Congressional District in New York:

LOWEY DENOUNCES AID TO INDONESIA

Westchester congresswoman asks the House Appropriations Committee to reconsider giving military training aid to Indonesia because of its human rights violations on the island of East Timor

Westchester County Weekly, June 22, 1995. Lead story under "This Week in Westchester County." By Jean Marie Angelo

In a meeting of the House Appropriations Committee on June 15, Congresswoman Nita Lowey (D) from Westchester County asked fellow committee members to reconsider granting military training aid to Indonesia.

As it stands, Indonesia has been denied military training aid, which is also known as IMET funding, since 1992, when Congress cited the country for human rights violations in East Timor. Indonesia invaded East Timor, an island neighbor, in 1975. Since then, a reported 200,000 East Timorese have died as a result of the occupation and resulting skirmishes with the Indonesian military. The casualties make up one-third of East Timor's population prior to Indonesian occupation.

Through the years Indonesia has done little to improve its human rights record with the island nation. Just this year Indonesian soldiers kidnapped, tortured and murdered six East Timorese civilians in the city of Liquiça.

If the current bill in the House passes without any amendments, Indonesia stands to receive military aid despite its continued abuse of the East Timorese people, says Charles Scheiner, coordinator of the East Timor Action Network, an activist group based in White Plains. Scheiner founded the network after traveling to the island and witnessing a massacre of East Timorese citizens by Indonesian soldiers several years ago.

In the recent meeting of the Appropriations Committee, representatives discussed the details of the American Overseas Interests Act, which grants appropriations to many nations. Aid to Indonesia is part of this act, which has yet to go to vote in the House or Senate.

At the June 15 meeting Lowey was expected to go so far as to issue an amendment to the bill that would ban Indonesian funding, but in the end she settled for making a strong statement to the committee. After reminding the committee of Indonesia's human rights violations, she told the committee that she reserves the right to address the issue when the bill comes to the floor for a vote.

Sources speculate that Lowey backed down from drafting an amendment because of strong opposition from Congressman Sunny Callahan (R) from Alabama. Callahan is head of the Appropriation Committee's foreign operations subcommittee, and is a powerful figure in overall appropriation's activities.

Lowey may have been told that her special interests, which include women's health care, would be in jeopardy if she took too strong a stance on Indonesia at this time. However, sources in her office would not confirm this.

Callahan's office, however, did disclose an interesting piece of information. Indonesia will soon be doing business in Alabama. Indonesia plans to build an aircraft manufacturing plant in the southern state. A spokesman for Callahan denied that this would be the reason for Callahan's favor in giving military aid to Indonesia.

Callahan, said an aid, is simply following the policy laid out by the Clinton administration. To date, Clinton has not been tough on Indonesia, explains Scheiner.

"We are trying not to tie the hands of the administrative branch," adds Jo Bonner, chief of Callahan's staff. Decisions about such human rights violations are better made by the state department, which has access to confidential briefs not available to House members, he says.

INDONESIA'S LOBBYING EFFORTS ON IMET

This piece of "information" is being circulated to Congresspeople by Indonesia's lobbyists. If it's the best they can do, we shouldn't have too much trouble. In calling and faxing your Representatives, you might want to deal with specific points raised here.

Grammar and punctuation errors are in the original – it's painstakingly proofread to preserve the errors.

– Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US
June 2, 1995

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS AND INDONESIA

Prohibiting or limiting Indonesia's participation in IMET is counterproductive to U.S. national security interests.

Section 3310 of H.R. 1561: "Peace and Security in the South China Sea," responds to China's claim to the entire South China Sea. It calls upon the President to review the defense needs of countries in the region.

Indonesia is strategically located in the South China Sea which is a crucial sea lane between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Denying military assistance to Indonesia, including its participation in IMET, is con-

trary to this objective. As the largest country in Southeast Asia and the fourth largest in the world, Indonesia is a vital U.S. ally in this growing dispute. The country stretch across key water ways between Japan and the Persian Gulf. Significantly, it also is the most anticommunist country in the Far East.

China's expansionist ambitions threaten many U.S. interests in the South China Sea including the NATUNA project. This \$40 billion partnership, between Indonesia and several U.S. corporations, is the largest, planned, natural gas project in the world.

Indonesia is a long time friend and loyal ally of the United States.

Since gaining its independence Indonesia has supported the United States by assisting in peacekeeping operations around the world. It has been a major supporter of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees' efforts to resettle Vietnamese refugees.

Among all the nations, it is the only one to make its own territory, an island, available to the U.N. to assist in this humanitarian effort.

As the recognized leader of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), its reputation and influence becomes increasingly more important in the international community.

Human Rights progress is being made in Indonesia.

The investigation of the 1991 Dili incident, in East Timor, by the Military Council established by President Suharto, led to the dismissal of both the military area and regional commanders. Ten other officers and enlisted men were court martialed, imprisoned and discharged from the military.

President Suharto appointed the council's chairman to be the Commander of the Armed Forces. One of his first acts was to announce that human rights abuses will not be tolerated. Special training programs have been established in East Timor that emphasize respect for the Indonesian Constitution, human rights and respect for the culture and religion of East Timor. These measures also have been implemented in other commands.

The investigation of the Liquiça incident, in East Timor, by National Human Rights Commission and the Armed Forces Inspector General led to the court martial of the commander of the unit involved.

In a landmark decision, an Indonesian court overruled the closing down of a prominent magazine by Minister of Information.

An Army captain was court martialed for failure to take action after learning of a plot to kidnap and murder a labor leader. He was

dismissed from the service and sentenced to ten months in prison.

IMET is not a reward for good behavior.

IMET is a means for influencing the behavior of future Indonesian military leaders. The exposure of IMET students to western values and the role of the professional military in a democracy is of immeasurable value. It is significant that no Indonesian participant in IMET has ever been involved in a human rights incident.

Expanded IMET concentrates on nontraditional military courses such as fostering an understanding of democracy and civilian rule of law, civilian control of the military, internationally recognized human rights and defense resource management.

Indonesian human rights activists consider IMET a valuable contribution to improving military human rights behavior.

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SUHARTO ON FOREIGN AID

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Jakarta, June 14 (LUSA) - President Suharto declared today that Indonesia will accept foreign aid only when it is not conditioned on human rights.

"We refuse any aid that intends to impose on us any conditions at all. We do not accept that other countries tell us what to do," declared Suharto before a group of ministers and province governors.

Suharto was referring to the decision by the US in 1992 to suspend military aid to Indonesia, following the November 12, 1991 massacre in Timor.

Suharto declared that this did not result in a weakening of the Indonesian armed forces, and he also dismissed any fears of an economic crisis resulting from a growing foreign debt, which amounts already to \$100 Thousand Million dollars.

PETITION ON WORKER RIGHTS TO THE U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Human Rights Watch/Asia, June 14, 1995

Labor rights practices in Indonesia have been under international scrutiny, particularly since 1992, when the United States Trade Representative (USTR) agreed to review those practices in light of petitions submitted by Human Rights Watch/Asia and the International Labor Rights Education and Research Fund under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) provision of the Trade Act. The USTR review was suspended in February 1994, after the Indonesian government undertook a number of legal reforms and began gradually to raise the minimum wage across the country. Other reforms were announced in November 1994 prior to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, following a meeting between USTR Mickey Kantor and Indonesian Minister of Manpower Abdul Latief. Some of the reforms have borne fruit: there appear to be more government prosecutions of companies that fail to pay the minimum wage, for example.

But despite the Kantor-Latief agreement, grave abuses of labor rights continue in Indonesia:

The most fundamental labor right of all – freedom of association – continues to be denied to Indonesian workers. No union other than the government-controlled Serikat Perburuhan Seluruh Indonesia (SPSI) or the All-Indonesia Workers Union is allowed to function, and efforts to form independent unions are met with obstruction by government security agents, and harassment or arrest of labor organizers.

Intervention by the military in industrial disputes remains routine, both in terms of ending work stoppages and in overseeing negotiations between labor and management.

A government crackdown on the press in June 1994 that resulted in the closure of three leading news publications ended any move toward generating public debate on labor issues, and while articles on labor disputes continue to appear in the press, journalists have reported being under pressure not to report incidents that place the government in a negative light.

Reports continue of forced labor and debt bondage, particularly in estate crop production.

A 1994 reform that allows collective bargaining agreements to be reached at the plant level has not become a means to greater freedom of association.

In this petition, Human Rights Watch/Asia provides evidence that Indonesia is not "taking steps to afford interna-

tionally recognized worker rights" as required under the GSP provisions of the Trade Act and therefore requests the USTR's office to resume its review of Indonesia's labor rights practices under that Act.

Lack of Freedom of Association

Indonesian government assertions notwithstanding, no progress whatsoever has been made in the last year toward greater freedom of association or the right of Indonesian workers to form independent associations. One of the reforms announced by the Ministry of Manpower in January 1994 that led to the USTR review being suspended was a new regulation allowing workers to conclude collective bargaining agreements at the plant level. But in the new regulation, "union" was defined as "SPSI" (the government union) and no federation above the plant level has been allowed except under SPSI auspices. The one independent union that claims to have met legal requirements for membership, a federation formed in April 1992 under the leadership of labor lawyer Muchtar Pakpahan called Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (SBSI) or the Prosperous Workers Union of Indonesia, has been unable to get formal recognition from the government. In May 1994, Manpower Minister Abdul Latief said in a press conference, "In the eyes of the Ministry of Manpower, there is no SBSI. >From the beginning, we have referred to it only as 'Muchtar Pakpahan's group.' As of June 30 last year, we have refused to acknowledge SBSI as a labor union." SBSI continues to be unable to call a meeting without military interference, and its members face constant harassment, as the following examples attest:

On February 7, 1995, Soniman Lafau, deputy head of the Medan chapter of SBSI, was detained briefly for having in his possession a calendar with a picture of Muchtar Pakpahan on it. Lafau, who had only been released from prison on January 25 after serving a wholly unjust sentence for incitement in connection with the April 1994 worker riots in Medan, was arrested by an officer of the Labuhan Deli subdistrict military command (Koramil) as he was making a telephone call from a public telephone on the Medan Industrial Estate. He was taken first to the district military command, then to the Medan police headquarters where he was held overnight and then released.

On March 13, 1995, Mrs. Sunarti, an SBSI official, was summoned by police for interrogation and asked to testify as a witness in a government case against an activist from a non-governmental organization, Yayasan Pijar, that had been highly critical of the June 1994 crackdown against the press. Mrs. Sunarti has faced repeated har-

assessment for her activities on behalf of SBSI; she was arrested and briefly detained in February 1994 in Semarang, Central Java, on charges of "spreading hatred against the government of Indonesia" after SBSI called a one-hour general strike across the country to demand an increase in the minimum wage. There was no reason for summoning her as a witness in the Pijar case except to further harass her.

On April 20, 1995, a group of police officers picked up five SBSI organizers at their Medan, North Sumatra office and held them for interrogation for six hours at the regional police station. They were accused of holding a meeting without a permit.

On April 25, 1995, some thirty uniformed riot police and troops from the Jakarta district military command (KODIM) forcibly entered the SBSI national office in Jakarta and broke up a luncheon gathering to celebrate SBSI's third anniversary. In addition to SBSI members and officers, five guests were present, including U.S. embassy labor attaché, Tom Murphy, and country director for the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, Val Suazo. The military justified its intervention on the grounds that SBSI had no permit to hold the luncheon, although no SBSI application to hold a gathering has ever been approved.

Military Intervention in Labor Disputes

Neither the repeal of Ministry of Manpower Regulation 342 of 1986, authorizing military intervention in labor disputes, nor the Kantor-Latief agreement in November 1994 has made any perceptible difference in terms of involvement by the security forces in labor negotiations or peaceful demonstrations by workers to demand rights guaranteed under Indonesian law. One particularly striking case in recent months involved the efforts of the military to prevent a young woman worker from bringing her boss to court in a sexual harassment case. The following cases are illustrative:

On January 5, 1995, workers at the PT Hwasung Indonesia garment factory in East Jakarta went on strike, saying that they had not been paid their full salary since December 1994. Some 170 workers sat down in the factory courtyard, shouting their demands. Management reported the strike to the military, and police and soldiers from the sub-district commands immediately appeared on the scene, admonishing the workers to be orderly.

On January 19, several workers of the PT Walet Kencana Perkasa, a mosquito repellent factory in Surabaya, were summoned to the police station on charges of instigating workers to go on strike to demand a pay raise. Based on reports by the factory's security personnel, the local police

head (Kapolsek) of Rungkut, Lieutenant Dimoen, summoned a worker named Karno to the police station to be questioned on his alleged crime of turning off the machines in the factory. The crime is punishable under Article 335 of the Indonesian Criminal Code and carries a one-year sentence. Karno's colleagues maintained that Karno was innocent. The workers then went to the police station to protest the interrogation of Karno and sat peacefully for almost eight hours until Karno was released.

On February 3, 1995, hundreds of workers at the PT Tancho factory in Tanjung Priok, the port district of Jakarta, went on strike to protest a new company policy of equalizing wages of new workers with those who had worked up to ten years and to protest the unit of SPSI in the factory that workers said always sided with the factory's management. The workers said that the factory unit of SPSI had never given any consideration to their complaints and had even forbade them from protesting the company's policies. Negotiations to settle the strike then took place, involving the factory, the Ministry of Manpower, and security forces.

On February 15, work stopped at the PT Mega Rubber Factory, a tire factory in Semarang, to protest the company's failure to pay a holiday bonus and a production bonus at the same time. The dispute led to negotiations which were overseen by the head of South Semarang police command, Captain Sumardi.

On February 22, 1995, some 200 workers from the steel factory, PT Gunung Garuda, in Bekasi, West Java, went on strike demanding a holiday bonus, health and accident insurance, and the establishment of an SBSI unit in the plant. They also complained of unilateral pay cuts and lay-offs by management. The workers tried to meet with members of the local parliament (DPRD) but were prevented from doing so by police. After a meeting with the local Ministry of Manpower office, they were sent back to the factory by police.

On March 23, 1995, eighteen workers at the garment factory, PT Hertindo Mahamega, in West Java, including six SPSI officers, were fired. Management summoned police and military officers as well as officials from the local Ministry of Manpower office to the factory when the dismissals were announced, so that workers felt compelled to accept severance pay and leave. The personnel manager had previously warned employees who participated in a collective bargaining tutorial organized by the Asian American Free Labor Institute that they would be fired for organizing an SPSI union at the factory.

On March 29, some 800 workers went on strike at PT Sanyo in Jakarta, demanding higher wages. Although the strike was peaceful, local police forces from the district police command (Polres) and district military command (KODIM) were called in to "prevent involvement of third parties." That phrase often means non-governmental organizations or independent union organizers.

In Purbalingga, Central Java, on April 12, some 250 workers from PT Sun Star, a wig factory in the village of Kalibong, subdistrict Kalimanah, gathered at the bus terminal to demand the reinstatement of five colleagues fired for demanding the minimum wage and to march about 100 meters to the factory. They were surrounded by police and soldiers from the local district command (KODIM) during the short march. While the demonstration was taking place, a separate meeting to consider worker demands was underway, consisting of the SPSI representative in the factory; the head of SBSI for the Purbalingga district; the local office of the Ministry of Manpower; and representatives of the security forces.

Twenty-one people were detained for several days following labor rights demonstrations on May 1, 1995 in Jakarta and the central Javanese city of Semarang. The demonstrations involved some 1,500 students and workers organized by the Pusat Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia (PPBI) or Center for Indonesian Workers' Struggle and Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (Indonesian Student Solidarity for Democracy). PPBI calls itself an independent workers' union; the demonstration included workers from PT Surya Indah Garmindo; PT Kreasi Plastic Indotama; PT Queen Ceramic Setiabudi; and PT Murti Plastindo. Several of the detained workers were badly beaten in detention, and at least one had to be hospitalized. Demonstrators were demanding an increase in the minimum wage to Rp.7,000 (about \$3.50) a day.

On May 4, 1995, twenty workers from the PT Duta Busana Dinastri garment factory in south Jakarta went to the Ministry of Manpower office to protest the factory's threat to dismiss them and fifty other workers, mostly women. They were told to submit letters of resignation, and when they protested, they were forcibly evicted from the Ministry office by police officers.

The repeal of Decree No. 342 in January 1994 by Decree No. Kep-15 A/MEN/1994 obviously did not end military intervention in labor disputes. As NGO activists pointed out at the time, several laws remain on the books that permit such intervention. One of these is a decree of the internal security agency, BAKORSTANAS, No.02/Stanans/1990 which gives the military a broad mandate to intervene in strikes and

disputes in the interests of social and political stability. At the time Decree No. 342 was repealed, in fact, the then military commander of Jakarta, Major General Hendropriyono, warned that repeal “does not mean the army won’t be paying attention to labor issues.”

Imprisoned Labor Activists

Additional evidence for restrictions on the right to freedom of association comes from the arrest and detention of close to a dozen labor rights activists and organizers on charges of incitement, following the outbreak of violence after a huge workers’ rally in Medan, North Sumatra in April 1994. None of those tried and convicted for incitement took any part in the violence, and indeed, to the extent that they were involved in organizing the rally at all, had worked to ensure that it was peaceful and orderly. Muchtar Pakpahan, general chairman of SBSI, was one of those found guilty of incitement and sentenced to four years in prison, was released on a technicality in May 1995; the appeals court ruled that he could not be detained as long as an appeal to the Supreme Court was pending. That rule has rarely been invoked on behalf of other political prisoners, and many believed the release was a gesture to the International Labor Organization before it was to hold its annual meeting in Geneva, at which a report condemning Indonesia for violations of freedom of association was to be presented.

Another detained labor activist is Amosi Telaumbanua, aged thirty-seven, head of the Medan branch of SBSI, who was sentenced on October 20, 1994 to fifteen months in prison. The prosecution appealed the verdict, and the High Court in Medan raised the sentence to three years in January 1995. Amosi Telaumbanua should have benefited from the same legal technicality as Muchtar Pakpahan, since he also appealed the High Court’s ruling to the Supreme Court, but he remains incarcerated in Medan.

Amosi Telaumbanua was arrested on April 29, 1994 and went on trial in April charged with “publicly inciting others to engage in illegal actions,” which is punishable under Article 160 of the Indonesian Criminal Code. The evidence cited by the prosecutor to support the charges was as follows:

In February 1994, Amosi, together with fellow SBSI activists Riswan Lubis, Soniman Lafao, Hayati and Fatiwanolo Zega, put up posters and leaflets calling workers within the industrial zone in Medan to strike to demand worker rights.

Amosi invited several worker representatives from PT Otani, PT Roanindo, PT Indo Karya Tetap Cemerlang, and PT Inti Baruna to a planning meeting for a strike demanding

a wage increase from Rp.3,100 to Rp. 7,000 and freedom of association. The strike and demonstration took place on February 11, 1994. Local police and military had not given permission for the strike, and it was therefore considered illegal.

Between March and April 1994, Amosi organized meetings with representatives of workers from different factories and urged the workers to protest to the governor of North Sumatra, demanding respect for worker rights.

On April 12 and 13, 1994, Amosi, along with several representatives of worker rights NGOs (Jannes Hutahaean from Yayasan Pondok Kreatif, Parlin Manihuruk from Kelompok Pelita Sejahtera and Maiyasyak Johan from Lembaga Advokasi Anak Indonesia) had a meeting to plan and organize the April 14, 1995 demonstration in Merdeka Square, Medan. Some of the posters he and his colleagues prepared had the following statements/messages:

- Raise wages from Rp.3,100/day to Rp. 7,000/day
- Permit freedom of association
- Clarify the death of Rusli [a worker who died after a demonstration in March 1994]
- Settle the case of mass lay-offs in PT Korek Api Deli (Deli Match Company)
- Repeal Minister Of Manpower Decree No. 1/1994

On April 12, 1994 Amosi along with other officials of SBSI Medan led the demonstration in Merdeka Square, Medan where around 20,000 workers had gathered since early morning. He then led the workers to walk to the Governor’s office and demanded to have a meeting with the Governor. The demonstration was illegal because it had not received any permission from the local police/military.

In his defense, Amosi asserted that SBSI was merely informing the workers about their rights and about the existing labor laws in Indonesia. He also emphasized that if such rights were not respected by companies, the workers have the right to strike. He acknowledged the fact that he had presided over several strikes and demonstrations in Medan and had helped organize the demonstration in Merdeka Square that took place on April 14, 1994. But he denied responsibility for the ensuing violence because he had urged workers to return to their workplaces after they failed in their initial mission of meeting the governor of North Sumatra.

Another detained activist is Maiyasyak Johan, aged thirty-eight, executive director of Lembaga Advokasi Anak Indonesia (LAAI or the Indonesian Institute for Children’s Advocacy). He was accused during

his trial of taking part in a meeting on April 10, four days prior to the Medan rally, where witnesses testified that he gave a pep talk to the workers. His “incitement,” according to the prosecutor’s charge sheet, consisted of the following words:

This demonstration is fully within the rights of workers that are protected by the law. To go on strike through such a demonstration will raise the dignity of workers. This meeting already means that 70 percent of your goals have been achieved, and you have to keep going forward – don’t retreat!

The fate of workers at this moment is like a sick patient, and we are the doctors who can cure your illness, but if the patient himself doesn’t have the will to recover, the doctor cannot do anything, because government agencies like the Ministry of Manpower do not have any interest in defending workers. Don’t be afraid to take part in this action, because not only will you be supported by many others, but you are entitled to what you are demanding.

As for the military, don’t treat them as the enemy because they are only carrying out orders. Their wages are the same as workers, and there is no way that they will dare to oppose you. Their numbers are small, and there are many more of you. Don’t let this demonstration be restricted just to one area – it should spread to other places like Tanjung Morawa, Delitua, Belawan and Binjai, and if it does, the military will be overstretched, and if they bother you, resist them, because there are more of you than there are of them. The army won’t dare to shoot, because Indonesia has a huge international debt, and it would be embarrassed in the eyes of the world.

Maiyasyak denied that he had ever uttered those words, and said that he had simply announced at the meeting that he was offering his legal services to the workers. One of the witnesses who testified against him and whose testimony was used to confirm that in fact he had made the above speech was a policeman who had not been present at the April 10 meeting. He had merely heard of the alleged speech from another prisoner; nevertheless, his testimony was accepted as evidence. Another witness, whose interrogation deposition cited the above speech, recanted in court, saying he had been tortured into giving the first deposition.

Maiyasyak himself took no part in the April 14 rally. He was arrested on September 18, 1994, five months after the incident, by police who were not in uniform at the time and who did not present a warrant. He had been interrogated earlier by police in June 1994. On June 18, questioning had centered on his relationship with a number of SBSI activists who had already been ar-

rested on charges of incitement, including Mochtar Pakpahan, Amosi Talaumbanua, Soniman Lafao, Riswan Lubis, Fatiwolo Zega and Hayati. All but Riswan Lubis and Mochtar Pakpahan were clients of Maiyasyak, and he said publicly that the reason he was being interrogated – and later arrested – was that the police in Medan sought to violate the principle of lawyer-client confidentiality by forcing Maiyasyak to reveal what the SBSI officials had told him as their defense counsel. Maiyasyak was sentenced to nine months in prison in October 1994.

Military Response to a Complaint of Sexual Harassment

The degree of military involvement in labor disputes is illustrated starkly by a case involving a young woman worker at a garment factory near Karanganyar, a town outside Solo, Central Java, who tried to complain about her boss. When she decided to bring a case against him to court in 1995, the local military arrested the non-governmental activists who had tried to help her.

On August 1, 1990, Zainab became an administrative assistant in the marketing department of PT Surakarta Sentosa Sejahtera, a factory on the road between Solo and Sragen in Karanganyar. The head of the marketing division, Tan Kim Seng, began to pay her unwelcome attention, she said, pinching and patting her buttocks and fondling her breasts. She protested, but he told her if he wanted to do so, it was his prerogative. Her work forced her into daily contact with Tan, but she needed the money and did not feel able to resign. There were apparently several confrontations between Zainab and Tan.

On August 25, 1994, Zainab felt ill and wanted to lie down, she said, but a co-worker named Dewi would not give her the key to the rest room. They had a heated argument, and the next day, Zainab was fired on the grounds that she was unable to get along with her colleagues. As she had no formal dismissal, however, she continued to work until October 3, when she had to leave the factory on a personal errand. When she returned, she found a delegation consisting of the factory-level unit of SPSI, the government union; a military officer; and the head of the personnel department waiting to tell her she was formally fired. The letter of dismissal, signed by Samsono, head of personnel, was given to her the next day, and it cited her continuing clashes with fellow workers as the reason for her firing. (Dewi, the woman with whom she had had the argument over the rest room, was not dismissed.)

On October 17, Zainab went to the local Ministry of Manpower office and to the district police command (Polres) to complain about her firing and about the constant sexual harassment from Tan. The Ministry of Manpower told her they agreed it had been unfair to fire her, but sexual harassment was beyond their mandate. She then sent letters to local newspapers, detailing her experiences. On October 21, Zainab received a letter from Tan, saying he was suing her for defamation. Representatives of SPSI came to see her shortly thereafter and tried to persuade her to make a public apology to Tan, saying he would drop the charges if she did so. She refused.

In the meantime, a non-governmental organization called Kelompok Studi Gender Surakarta (KSGS) or the Surakarta Study Group on Gender heard of Zainab's case and offered their support, which she accepted. The first hearing in the court case was scheduled for April 26, 1995. The night before, on April 25, Zainab met with activists from KSGS at the offices of Gita Pertiwi, a women's organization, and formed a new group called Forum Solidaritas Untuk Hak-Hak Buruh Perempuan or Solidarity Forum for the Rights of Working Women. As they were meeting, two carloads of military intelligence agents came to the office and arrested four of the KSGS activists. They were taken to Colomadu police station where they were interrogated separately until midnight. Zainab went home but was later taken from her house for questioning at the district police command of Karanganyar by the police commander himself.

At the hearing the next day at Karanganyar district court, police took thirteen students into custody; they are believed to have been released shortly afterwards. On May 2, the head of Gita Pertiwi, at whose offices Zainab had met with KSGS, was summoned by police for interrogation. The second hearing in the case took place on May 8, and women's rights activists distributed leaflets supporting Zainab. A young woman active in the new Solidarity Forum, Dyah Karyati, received a summons from the police at the hearing and was told to appear at the local police station on May 16. The next day, police told the local newspaper, Suara Merdeka, that they were questioning two members of the Solidarity Forum in connection with the distribution of leaflets criticizing the government, an apparent reference to the flyers given out at the court hearing. When Dyah Karyati appeared before police on May 16, she was told that she was suspected of violating Article 155 of the Criminal Code, spreading hatred against the government of Indonesia. As of this writing, she has not been formally detained but is still undergoing investigation.

Human Rights Watch/Asia has not been able to ascertain the current situation of Zainab.

The case is a vivid illustration of the failure of SPSI to act in the interests of workers, of police interference in a labor dispute and of the determination of local government officials to prevent both freedom of association and freedom of expression.

Forced Labor

Human Rights Watch/Asia has received an increasing number of reports of forced labor and debt bondage on government-run plantations. Although it has not been able to conduct independent fact-finding to ascertain the accuracy of the reports, the allegations are serious enough to warrant a thorough investigation.

In one report from March 25, 1995, workers on a rubber plantation, PTP-IV Bandarbetsy, North Sumatra, told a journalist they and their entire families, some of whom were not employees of the plantation, had been working for six months on Sundays without pay because the company told them the production quotas had not been met. They were told they would receive Rp.3,500 (\$1.70) for the Sunday work, but at the end of the month, the promised Sunday payments never came. When asked if they had complained to anyone, they indicated they had been told that if they wanted to continue to work, they had better remain silent.

Developments in the Marsinah Case

The single most publicized case in recent memory involving labor rights abuses in Indonesia involved a young labor organizer named Marsinah who was found murdered in early May 1993 after having tried to intervene on behalf of colleagues arrested after a strike at the factory where they worked, the Catur Putra Surya watch factory in Sidoarjo, East Java. New developments in the case have resulted in the freeing of all those convicted in 1994 of the murder and a new investigation into possible military involvement. These developments are welcome, but the USTR's office should not conclude that the case has been satisfactorily resolved until the full facts have come to light and those responsible have been prosecuted.

To review the case, many NGOs suspected at the time Marsinah's body was found that the district military command had been involved in some way in her murder. For many months, however, there were no arrests in the case. Then, in October 1993, eight executives and employees of the watch company were secretly abducted, tortured and detained incommunicado for almost three weeks by military intelligence before being moved to a police station and formally charged with the murder. The eight argued during their trials that they had been

coerced into accepting a version of events manufactured by their military interrogators, but all were found guilty and sentenced to heavy prison terms. In November 1994, the East Java High Court overturned the conviction of the factory owner, Judi Susanto, who had received a seventeen-year sentence for masterminding the killing. In early May 1995, the convictions of all eight were overturned by the Indonesian Supreme Court, as the National Human Rights Commission announced that it had evidence that persons other than the original defendants were involved in the murder; the Commission then recommended that the police reopen the case to find the real culprits.

In early June 1995, security authorities, led by Indonesian armed forces commander Gen. Feisal Tanjung and army chief of staff Gen. Hartono, announced that they had set up a new inquiry into the Marsinah case and that four soldiers from the district military command of Sidoarjo, including an officer from the intelligence section, would be investigated. According to Maj. Gen. Imam Utomo, the commander of the army's East Java Brawijaya Division, the four are Lieutenant Max Salaki, Captain Sugeng, Sergeant Karnadi and Corporal Busaeri. Gen. Utomo acknowledged that a "procedural error" had been committed by the intelligence section during the initial investigation of the eight original defendants but denied that torture had been used to extract information from the defendants.

While the overturning of the original convictions and the new investigation into military involvement are welcome, scrutiny of the Marsinah case should be continued by USTR until it is clear that a full and impartial inquiry has been concluded and those responsible for the labor organizer's death have been brought to justice.

Collective Bargaining Agreements at the Plant Level

Human Rights Watch/Asia has received evidence to suggest that many plant-level collective bargaining agreements, allowed by virtue of a 1994 Ministry of Manpower decree, are in fact overly influenced by company management. Because we have just received this evidence, it will be analyzed and sent on to the GSP subcommittee at the earliest possible opportunity as an addendum to this petition.

Conclusion

Labor rights in Indonesia continue to far fall short of international standards. The Kantor- Latief agreement in November 1994 on a program to achieve "comprehensive industrial relations" did not directly tackle the fundamental issue of freedom of association and the right of workers to organize themselves into independent trade unions,

free of government control. That right continues to be violated, and no amount of restructuring of SPSI or stepped-up prosecution of companies that violate the minimum wage laws will change the nature of government restrictions on the labor movement. Without substantial, verifiable progress on the core issues of freedom of association and military intervention in labor disputes, Indonesia cannot be seen as "taking steps" to afford worker rights, and should be placed under active review by the U.S. Trade Representative's office.

AUSSIES ATTACK US OVER EAST TIMOR

By Tom Anderson

Sydney, June 14, UPI – The Australian government has accused the United States of being partly responsible for Timor.

Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs Senator Gareth Evans said Wednesday, that U.S. President Bill Clinton's tough approach to human rights in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor had proved counterproductive.

The Australian government has repeatedly argued that softer representations are more effective in persuading Indonesia to improve its record in East Timor, analysts said.

Evans said on Australian radio that Clinton's blunt representations to Indonesia's President Suharto in November on the issue of autonomy in East Timor had failed.

"When President Clinton raised very publicly with President Suharto the possibility of some political autonomy for East Timor, which had been very much on the agenda up until then, Suharto said "well I'm not going to be pushed around in this particular fashion, political autonomy's now off the agenda," Evans said.

Analysts said Evans comments would be welcome in Jakarta as further evidence of Australia's commitment to stronger ties.

Evans said later his comments were not intended to be a personal criticism of Clinton.

"He was responsible to pressure from Congress, media pressure and he was widely applauded for having done so, and I'm not going to be critical of him for having done so," Evans said.

"I was just saying that that is one of the problems that you have when you, in a very high-profile, public way, try to get some result.

"I was responding to the suggestion that why can't Australia be more noisy, why can't it demand this, that and the other, but the trouble is, other countries do tend to be resistant over pressure of that kind."

Analysts said Australia has been pressuring Indonesia for years to grant greater political autonomy to East Timor.

As recently as Nov. 14 last year, Evans said he believed the issue of autonomy was "very much still on the political agenda."

However, two days later, Clinton raised the issue with Suharto in what were described as "firm and forceful terms."

And Indonesian spokesman later said Suharto "expressed clearly to Clinton there will be no special autonomy accorded to East Timor."

AN IRISHMAN'S DAIRY

The Irish Times. 20th June 1995. By David Shanks

Shortly after we had introduced ourselves over sunny outdoors lunch during a Lisbon conference on East Timor, Peter Dale Scott nudged me amicably and asked "What sort of person do you suppose it is that gets involved in an issue like East Timor?"

He had a theory. Had I noticed that many of the people there had some sort of personal cross-border history?

His border crossings seem to have started with privileged summer play by Māsawippi Lake whose northern coast is in Quebec and its southern environs in Vermont, where the names on the mailboxes/along the American side/were of a compact so invisible/and seamless as to exclude mere wealth/except when duly arrived/and so mistrustful of too high culture/as to exclude Wallace Stevens/or Eliot himself/yet admit those whom/I remember as/red faced tennis players/slamming their angry racquets/at the Club.

"I'm a poet," he had said brightly at the outset and the above is from his autobiographical 141-page work *Coming to Jakarta: A Poem About Terror*, which he has worked on over about 10 years. Its title from the 1965 massacre of an estimated one million "communists" that brought the still ruling General Suharto to power.

"And look," he said, at Professor Benedict Anderson of Cornell, the academic star of the Lisbon event. "He's from Waterford" (of Anglo Irish stock). Professor of English at Berkeley, California, Peter Dale Scott feels himself thankfully delivered from an uncomfortable role as a former Canadian diplomat in which his, now disarmingly told, feelings of complicity with malign foreign policies grew.

Border crossers

(I gave as corroboration my own background-born, bred and living in Dublin of Northern Irish Presbyterian parents.)

At the conference too was another border-crosser and East Timor authority: Dr.

Peter Carey, modern history fellow and tutor at Oxford, born in Burma.

Scott's poem is informed by insider knowledge of the 'movers and shakers' of the US political/banking dynasties and academic 'analysts' and their roles in events including the second World War, that in Vietnam, the CIA's management of the coup to protect the United Fruit Company's fiefdom in Guatemala in 1954 the Chile coup of 1973 and Indonesia in 1965.

A stiletto thrust goes to the New York Times entries for East Timor/dropped from six columns/to five lines. He told the conference that the 'sleeping giant' in the "present day Indonesian struggle against suppression of a democracy movement, was the people of the US-but it was difficult to convey how uninformed they were," he said.

In Ezra Pound-style

Later, I was able to finish Coming to Jakarta, written in the technical style of Ezra Pound's Cantos, during what seemed like an appropriate border-crossing, 17-hour return train journey to Madrid.

The comparison with Pound, who ended up as a Nazi sympathizer and mentally ill, can't be sustained much beyond technique – three line stanzas which, from now on, I have to compress for space reasons.

Concluding Part of An Irishman's Diary by David Shanks

Scott- I still almost tremble/ when I think of those unexpected nights/ in the darkest corner/ of my fathers study/ reading his Sexual Life of the Savages/ my introduction to the third world,- went in the opposite direction to Pound. But Scott does allow: EP however nuts/ you may have been/ in your Wagnerian way/ you were right about banks.

Drawing from sources from the Hindu Bhagavad Gita to US Congressional hearing records, he ruminates on the powerlessness of living in the 20th century—"possessing enough access to information and power to feel guilty about human global human oppression, but not enough to deal with it."

Since the poem is published in New York and is not available in Dublin through any publishing super-highway that I know of this cannot be a review. No, this diary is more of an Irish "outing" for a poem, published in 1989, about the disturbing reality of the way the world wags. A Times Literary Supplement review which called it "a work of great richness and complexity" seems to have been about it over here.

Scott's hearty purpose

This seems a pity since Scott hearty purpose is to marry the poetic, the personal and the polemic. One of its strong themes is the difficulty of airing controversial views.

Scott writes of paranoia: I remember my own father from the thirties/ when my father was away/ at so many hopeful conferences/ on economic recovery/ for which the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police)/ to my amazement/ began to tap our phone.

Scott was out of the diplomatic service, which had taken him to the UN headquarters and to Poland, by 1965: I am writing this poem about the 1965 massacre/ of Indonesian by Indonesians which in an article 10 years later/ I could not publish/ except in Nottingham England with a friend Malcolm Caldwell who has since/ himself been murdered/ no one will say by whom but I will guess as seeing this is/ precisely poetry/ the CIA's and how Peking's Cambodian/ assassins the Khmer Serai. ... But none of us experienced/ the pervasive smell of death/ those impassable rivers/ clogged with corpses/ Robert Lowell is that why/ even you as a pacifist/ had so little to say about it ?/ Or you gentle reader / let us examine carefully/ the good reasons/ you and I/ don't enjoy reading this."

Born in 1929, Peter Dale Scott is author or co-author of several books on the JFK assassination, escalation in Vietnam, Iran-Contra, as well as five books of poems. This one is a call to "bring forth what is within you" which has the power to save or destroy us, he writes, ranging to the Gospel of Thomas... If you want this elegant polemic-heavily implying Western policy makers creative complicity with execution, death threats, massacres, media censorship and a world become afraid of imagination or vision the publisher is New Directions Publishing Corporation, 80 Eighth Avenue, New York 10011.

COMMENT FROM REV. MAX SURJADINATA

As an Indonesian-American, I was living near the Massawippi Lake when I learned about the Invasion of East Timor in 1975. Since then, I have tried to inform my neighbors and urged them to speak out on behalf of the People of East Timor. Although it is a struggle, I am glad that almost twenty years later, there are more and more people who now participate in calling for a just resolution and an end to injustices and violations of human rights in that region. We need to uncover what is hidden, restore what is defaced, and continue to speak on behalf of those who have no voice. As the late Dr. King used to say, "The arc of the universe is long, but it is bent toward justice."

So, if the people of East Timor, who continue to struggle for rights and self-determination, how can we not support them and offer them our solidarity? They are our sisters and brothers.

The Rev. Max B. Surjadinata, East Timor Religious Outreach, Northeast Region, New York, NY

ROBERT BARRY STATEMENTS

Translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Jakarta, June 24 (LUSA) - U.S. Ambassador Robert Barry stated that the integration of ET into Indonesia is the best option for the former Portuguese colony, according to a report today from the official Indonesian news agency Antara.

This statement was reportedly made on Friday to Vice-governor J. Haribowo during a visit by the ambassador to ET, in which Barry inspected U.S. sponsored projects, including schools and farms.

Barry reportedly also said that Indonesia has achieved progress in the development of ET since the annexation in 1976, which were not achieved in the over 400 years of Portuguese colonization, however the United Nations do not recognize the Indonesian regime in ET.

RESOURCES

DEATH OF A NATION ON BBC WORLD SERVICE TV

From TAPOL, May 10.

The John Pilger film, Death of a Nation, is to be shown on BBC World Service TV four times during the coming week. The first showing is on Sunday, 14 May at 19.05 GMT, then on Wednesday 17 May at 15.05 GMT and then on Thursday 18 May at 07.05 GMT. The details of the fourth showing are not yet available.

Reception throughout Asia, the Far East and elsewhere is assured.

It will appear on a regular programme entitled BBC World Debate: East Timor.

The presentation includes a ten-minute update on the situation in East Timor and a debate on the issues raised in the film. Those taking part in the debate are: José Ramos-Horta, co-chair of CNRM, John Pilger and Dino Patti Jalal, second secretary at the Indonesian embassy in London

NEW SERVICE PROFILES US/INDON TRADE

May 18, 1995.

I am pleased to announce the launching of a new service to the world, the INTERNATIONAL TRADE INFORMATION SERVICE, and its first

publication, a snapshot of trade as it happened on November 15, 1994, titled, **A DAY IN THE LIFE OF U.S. -INDONESIA TRADE.**

ITIS is a global non-profit (status pending) organization which monitors and exposes the real impacts of world trade. ITIS is designed to supply information about trade's existing social and environmental impacts (both good and bad) to the world's citizens.

Targets of ITIS investigations include cargoes which are produced, consumed, or disposed of in manners which:

- * violate labor and political rights;
- * encourage armed conflict;
- * or, otherwise harm human life and the environment.

ITIS also promotes practical environmentally-sound and socially-just trade alternatives. ITIS thus strives to provide a global service, accessible to all, which ensures that our common understanding matches our global economic bonds.

To this aim, ITIS regularly produces **REAL TRADE PROFILES** – snapshots of trade, as it exists today, on the ground. These profiles provide the reader with a blend of original investigations combined with artwork, rare photos, and hard-to-find data from a wide variety of sources.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF U.S. - INDONESIA TRADE is the first of these profiles, produced with the hope that it will be a useful tool in the pursuit of human needs, human rights and a clean environment in both countries.

On November 15, 1994, in Jakarta, Indonesia, U.S. President Bill Clinton joined 17 other leaders from the Asia-Pacific region in a pledge "to achieve free and fair trade and investment between our nations by the year 2020." His visit and pledge appeared against the backdrop of ongoing and often-controversial trade between the United States and Indonesia.

As Clinton spoke, shoes, garments, coal and wood manufactured and extracted from Indonesia, loaded aboard ships, were making their way across the waters of the Pacific, headed for the U.S.; at the same time, ships were leaving U.S. ports carrying waste paper, red oak logs, and mining equipment on their way to Indonesia.

These shipments carried with them the dreams of economic development. But they also carried the realities of political and corporate repression.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF U.S. - INDONESIA reveals the involvement of powerful U.S. officials and corporations, such as Henry Kissinger, Freeport McMoran, Nike, and Smith & Wesson in Indonesia's trade and economy – involvement which many charge helps to fuel environ-

mental destruction, exploitation of factory workers, and violent suppression of political dissidents.

Included in the 52-page print edition of **A DAY IN THE LIFE** are informative charts, rare government photographs and artwork by people who have been tortured and harassed by Indonesia's police.

For more information about the new International Trade Information Service, and to obtain a **FREE BROCHURE**, including a subscription form, please send a message to itis@igc.apc.org. Please specify whether you would like to obtain your brochure by mail, e-mail, or fax, and be sure to include your relevant addresses. You can also contact ITIS at:

International Trade Information Service
P.O. Box 73866, Washington, D.C. 20009.
Phone: 1-202-234-2847. Fax: 1-202-462-1177. E-mail: itis@igc.apc.org.

You can also find the table of contents and abstract to **A DAY IN THE LIFE** in EcoNet's haz.trade conference.

Thanks for your interest, and all the best!
Jim Vallette

Director, ITIS. (Formerly co-director of Greenpeace International's Toxic Trade Campaign, 1988-1994.)

NEW INDONESIAN INFORMATION RESOURCE: INTEL

Indonesia Intelligence Daily & Indonesia Intelligence Weekly

What's missing from current choices among the print and online news media relating to Indonesia?

It's best to be brief, blunt, and candid in answering this question.

There is no source which provides a daily supply of translations into English, accompanied by informed commentary in English, on the most sensitive issues facing Indonesia today. No one has wanted to work hard enough and assume the financial and personal risks needed to do this job as it should be done.

This is one very serious gap. It is no wonder that some still consider Indonesia a 'mystery' and others dub it 'invisible.'

But come June 1995 – next month – this gap will be filled. Indonesia Publications' new periodical **INTEL** debuts in June in a choice of daily email or weekly print formats.

INTEL will complement and go far beyond what is available in the other specialized Indonesian Publications periodicals. You will still want to have the steady flow from resident correspondents available in **INDONESIA NEWS SERVICE** (daily) or

INDONESIA REPORTS - LOG (weekly). You may also need the extensive documentation in our other periodicals and in our set of 10 Briefing Books.

But if you really want to understand what is happening in contemporary Indonesia, you simply **must** read **INTEL**. There is nowhere else to go for such depth, breadth, and analysis delivered so regularly, so frequently, and in such quantity.

There are many reasons why the present gap will only be filled by **INTEL**.

- Much raw, untranslated material is often very hard to get. Bits and pieces available do not even come close to the vast amount of information available.
 - To purchase an adequate, reliable supply of original Indonesian print sources requires a very substantial budget dedicated to this purpose – plus a solid knowledge of the very diverse and quickly changing Indonesian press.
 - Translations from Indonesian-language media are not a trivial task. It's not hard to learn to speak simple Indonesian. It is another matter altogether to comprehend – and then take the added step of putting into good English – the sophisticated formal Indonesian of the indigenous press with its very large lexicon and ever-changing ubiquitous acronyms.
 - Accurate translations on which you can rely are very scarce. Misinformation about Indonesia spread by faulty translations is often repeated in an endless cycle.
 - Press digests skim on or deliberately omit often vital details available in the original Indonesian-language sources. This holds particularly true for Indonesia's small, self-censored English-language press.
 - Those who can translate well are not necessarily those who can provide sensible, informed commentary.
 - Those who might otherwise provide this commentary are not keen to do it. Too much frankness could cost them their jobs, perks, or assignments.
- INTEL** will do things differently. From its abundant, carefully selected sources, only the best materials will be translated. These translations will be scrupulously done. Organizational names and acronyms will be rendered in side-by-side Indonesian and English. Above all, **INTEL** will not pull its punches in choice of material or in its own commentary.
- We aim to make **INTEL** into such a pervasive and critical presence that even highly informed Indonesians living in Indonesia will not want to do without it.

We aim to make INTEL an abiding conscience for today's Indonesia.

In email format, INTEL will come to your mailbox daily. This email edition hence is formally called Indonesia Intelligence Daily. So that even those with bulging mailboxes won't miss anything, each INTEL translation sent via email will have the identifying world 'INTEL' in the subject line along with the translation's number in serial order. If you begin your subscription from day one, your first translation will have the subject line: INTEL #1. Translations are emailed literally minutes after completion.

All the week's translations will be compiled into a print edition and mailed each weekend. This print edition hence is formally called Indonesia Intelligence Weekly and comes to you via first class mail in the U.S. and airmail elsewhere. There will be 48 weekly issues per year.

It is to your financial advantage to purchase INTEL in email rather than print format. You will also then be able to use INTEL in a much more timely way. You may subscribe for a full year or for only 3 months at a time. These are the subscription rates:

INTEL (email) - Indonesia Intelligence Daily

1 year - Anywhere: US\$452

3 months - Anywhere: US\$120

INTEL (print) - Indonesia Intelligence Weekly

1 year - U.S./Canada: US\$640

Elsewhere: US\$992

3 months - U.S./Canada: US\$170

Elsewhere: US\$264

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A free sample of the email INTEL will be made available on request once publication

starts in June. A sample print INTEL must be prepaid based on the pro-rated annual cost. Back issues of INTEL will be available in disk or print format at the respective pro-rated annual email and print costs. New subscriptions will begin with the current issue unless back issues are specifically requested as well.

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IPJET BOOK ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND EAST TIMOR

As it was announced in our Newsletter, IPJET and CIIR would publish a book on International Law and East Timor. The book has been entirely written by IPJET members, and CIIR has edited all the material. After a long wait (the last information we gave was that the book was due to be available on middle March), the book was finally delivered on middle May. It became a nice-looking, voluminous (352 pages) book.

'International Law and the question of East Timor'

Its contents:

Preface by James Dunn Introduction by Pedro Pinto Leite

I- Historical and socio-economic background

Prof. George Winius (Brown University, Providence, RI, USA) - Historical reality and the case of East Timor

Prof. John Taylor (South Bank University, London, UK) - Decolonisation, independence and invasion

Prof. George Aditjondro (Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, Indonesia) - Prospects for development in East Timor after the capture of Xanana Gusmão

II- Overview in International Law

Prof. Roger Clark (Rutgers Law School, Camden, NJ, USA) - The 'decolonisation' of East Timor and the United Nations norms on self-determination and aggression

Dr. Lauri Hannikainen (University of Lapland, Rovaniemi, Finland) - The case of East Timor from the perspective of jus cogens

III- The right to self-determination

Prof. Paula Escarameia (Instituto Superior de Ciencias Sociais e Políticas, Lisbon, Portugal) - The meaning of self-determination and the case of East Timor

Dr. Bill Bowring (University of East London, UK) - Self-determination and the jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice

Prof. Francois Rigaux (Universite de Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium) - East Timor and Western Sahara: a comparative view

Dr. Susan Marks (University of Cambridge, UK) - Kuwait and East Timor: a brief study in contrast

IV- Human Rights

Prof. Garth Nettheim (University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia) - International Law and International Politics

Dr. Daniel Machover (Solicitor, London, UK) - International Humanitarian Law and the Indonesian occupation of East Timor

V- The East Timor Case at the ICJ

Dr. Iain Scobbie (University of Dundee, Scotland, UK) - The presence of an absent third: procedural aspects of the East Timor Case

Prof. Roger Clark (Rutgers Law School, Camden, NJ, USA) - The substance of the East Timor Case in the ICJ

Dr. Gerry Simpson (University of Melbourne, Australia) - The politics of self-determination in the case concerning East Timor

VI- The international political context

Prof. Christine Chinkin (University of Southampton, UK) - Australia and East Timor in international law

Prof. Adriano Moreira (Member of Parliament, Portugal) - The invasion of East Timor by Indonesia

Dr. Michael van Walt (General Secretary, UNPO, The Hague, Netherlands) - East Timor and the International Legal Order: role of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation

Conclusion by Prof. Christine Chinkin

The cover price is GBP 15.95 (around 4000\$00, HFL 40.00 or US\$ 27.00) for the

paperback and GBP 45.00 for the hardback, but, as promised, IPJET members and Solidarity Groups can obtain paperback copies at special prices, for activist purposes:

a) in Portugal:

1 copy - 2000\$00
 3 copies - 4000\$00
 5 copies - 5500\$00 contact Dr. Jorge Teixeira Lapa
 R. Pascoal de Melo, 134, Cave Esq.
 1000 Lisboa
 Tel: (01) 52 43 76 / 52 96 74
 Fax: (01) 315 68 36
 E-mail: jtlapa@individual.puug.pt
 payment (added with postage and packing costs, when necessary) to Plataforma Internacional de Juristas por Timor Leste, conta 047/575/000.4 do Banco Espirito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa.

b) in Holland: (in HFL)

1 copy - 20.00 (+ postage and packing 7.50)
 3 copies - 40.00 (+ postage and packing 10.00)
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 2317WK Leiden
 Tel and fax: (071) 221065
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 payment (added with postage and packing costs, when necessary; posted by SAL - Surface mail Air Lifted - wherever possible and by Surface Mail in the other cases) by cheque payable to Pedro Pinto Leite, International Platform of Jurists for East Timor, Leiden, Netherlands.

In solidarity,
 Pedro Pinto Leite Sec.-gen. IPJET

THE AUSTRALIAN: TWO BOOK LAUNCHES AND A LECTURE

From ACFOA, June 7

A book entitled *Prisoners of Progress* jointly published by the Dutch Trade Unions, INDOC, and Indonesia research organisation, and INFID, an international NGO Forum concerned with development in Indonesia. was launched yesterday in Melbourne by Community Aid Abroad's Executive Director Jeremy Hobbs.

Prisoners of Progress documents the exploitation of women, child and migrant workers and the denial of basic rights to organise and to strike. "The overwhelming majority of strikes continue to be broken up by the military," states the book. The book has been It also draws attention to Indonesia's overseas workers, an issue that has recently been brought under the spotlight with the Filipino Flor Contemplacion case. According to the book 'hundred of thousand of workers have flocked overseas. in Malaysia alone, no less than 900,000 Indonesian men and women are involved in work considered dirty, dangerous and difficult.'

The launch included a panel discussion including Indonesianist Prof. Herb Feith, founding member of the Yogyakarta based NGO Yasanti Sri Kusyuniati currently writing a thesis on women and labour at Swinburne University in Melbourne and Maureen Murphy, coordinator of Australia Asia Worker Links who in February this year led an Australian delegation of trade unionists to Indonesia to meet with labour both labour activists, and Australian and Indonesian government officials. While *Prisoners of Progress* was being launched, in another part of Melbourne Clive Hamilton delivered a lecture to the Australian Institute for International Affairs. Hamilton is an Australian who has worked in the past as an advisor to the Indonesian government became known to many Indonesianists last year when his criticisms of the Indonesian government's nuclear policy was written up in *The Australian*.

Copies of the book are available for \$10.00 from ACFOA Human Rights Office, 124 Napier St, Fitzroy, 3065. AUSTRALIA Tel. (03) 9417 7505 Fax. (03) 9416 2746

Last week the Australian also carried news of quite a different launch, Greg Sheridan, the Foreign Editor of the daily, has edited a book called *Living with Dragons* which was launched by Senator Gareth Evans last Friday at Mobil House at a tightly guarded function at Mobil House (Mobil Oil sponsored the publication of the book) in St Kilda Road. Attended also by outgoing In-

donesian Ambassador Sabam Siagian, guests to the function were greeted first by a noisy picket of East Timorese people and supporters of East Timor. Journalists were told at the door that the Minister 'would not be taking questions' (but at least two managed to interview him at some length after the launch), and those who had forgotten to RSVP the invitation they had received by post, including the Australian correspondent of a major Indonesian English language daily, were told at the door that they 'were not on the list' and escorted into the cold and windy foyer by well-built men in dark suits.

The Australian combined the news of the launch of the book and Hamilton's criticisms of Australian foreign policy in the following article, placed below a large photograph captioned: "Indonesian trade unionist Sri Kusyuniati... factory workers told 'only prostitutes organise strikes'

EVANS ACCUSED OF LETTING ECONOMICS DICTATE FOREIGN POLICY

The Australian, Wednesday 7 June 1995

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, was "at times a fawning apologist" for autocratic governments in Asia, an Australian academic and former advisor to the Indonesian government said yesterday.

The director of the Canberra-based Australia Institute research centre, Dr. Clive Hamilton, said Australia's policy on Indonesia was driven solely by economic goals and ethical considerations had been "pushed into the background."

"Senator Evans appears to have allowed his record of moral commitment to the defence of civil rights and social justice to have been swamped by the arguments of the economic rationalisers," Dr. Hamilton said.

"There is a blinding contrast between Gareth Evans attorney general and noble defender of civil liberties and Gareth Evans, Foreign Minister and fawning apologist for dictatorships," he said.

Dr. Hamilton, an academic and economist who spent two years in Jakarta as an advisor to the Indonesian government, described the Short administration as corrupt, repressive and cruel.

A former member of the United Nations Group of Experts on Least Developed Countries, Dr. Hamilton claimed Jakarta considered Australia's commitment to a human rights 'pushover.'

A spokeswoman for Senator Evans said that while strident human rights campaigning might appease domestic critics, it was often counterproductive as a tool for foreign policy. She said Australia's Indonesian human rights policy was geared towards en-

couraging positive change in Jakarta through low-key, direct discussion.

Dr. Hamilton also criticised a recent article in *The Weekend Australian* in which Greg Sheriden wrote "Indonesia is an overwhelmingly free society."

"Anyone who lives in Indonesia with their eyes open soon becomes aware that life is conducted in the shadow of a low-level but unmistakable state of police and military terror," Dr. Hamilton said.

The attack came as Community Aid Abroad launched a book accusing the Indonesian Government, employers and the military of systematic abuse of workers' rights.

Launching *Prisoners of Progress* yesterday, the aid body's executive director, Mr. Jeremy Hobbs, said that while economic growth in Indonesian was rapid, real wages had dropped.

A visiting trade unionist, Ms Sri Kusyuniati, said after the launch that the female factory workers she represented were told 'only prostitutes organised strikes.'

She said it was common for the military to force workers back on the job, despite the recent changes to the law banning army involvement.

NEW WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES PUBLICATION

East Timor: Prospects for Peace. Published by Commission on Int'l Affairs, Unite on Justice, Peace and Creation, World Council of Churches as part of their Background Information series.

Contents

Report of the Recommendations of The Hong Kong Consultation 1994

"The Contemporary Roots of East Timorese Resistance and Prospects for Peace," Dr. Gerry van Klinken

"Socio-Economic, Political and Cultural Development in East Timor," Dr. Daniel D. Kameo

"Is the Integration of East Timor a Realization of Self-Determination of its People?" Rev. Arlindo Marcal

"Information on the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (PGI) Executive Board about East Timor Issue," Rev. Dr. Joseph Pattiasina

"From the Visible Church to the Invisible Ekklesia: The Role of the Church in the Areas of Justice, Peace and Human Rights," Bishop Poulouse Mar Poulouse

"Catholic Institute on International Relations' Work on East Timor," Catherine Scott

Appendices

Report of April 1992 WCC/CCA Visit to East Timor

Minutes of the WCC/CCA Task Group Meeting, December 1993

UN General Assembly Resolutions on East Timor

UN Security Council Resolutions on East Timor

Letters of Bishop Belo Spelling Out the Dili Roman Catholic Diocese Position on East Timor

Statement of the CNRM to the Human Rights Sub-Committee of the European Parliament

On the back it says single copies "are sent on the basis of voluntary contributions." Bulk copies are billed based on length "at an average of Swiss Francs 5.00 per copy."

WCC, 150, route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland. Tel.: (022) 791 61 11. Fax: (022) 791 03 6

Copies are also available for U.S. \$7 from the East Timor Action Network/US.

MANUFACTURING CONSENT TO BE ON 27 US PUBLIC TV STATIONS

Report from Jonothan Logan, ETAN/US

27 PBS stations are now committed to broadcast the film. The Timor-Cambodia segment is substantially intact in the two-hour TV version. No dates available yet (except that Denver, with special permission, showed it already). Contractually, stations can broadcast it anytime after August 1st.

This is good news; but it is also a very small fraction of the 345 PBS stations around the country. It is still possible for stations to book the film, and efforts by members of ETAN chapters to encourage their local stations could have effect. I am appending a current announcement from the filmmakers and also sending as a separate email a list of PBS stations. People should contact either the station manager or program manager. The full Internet press release is on the WWW at

<http://www.well.com/www/srhodes/cho-msky.html>

Mark Achbar's book, *Manufacturing Consent*, has in addition to the movie text a resource section with a list of books, films and other material about East Timor, including ETAN's address. Unfortunately the book is not handled by any of the few giant distributors that feed the major bookstores, as a result of which the chain stores won't order individual copies at customers' request. However, many of the big stores around New York with which I've spoken,

including the chains, did carry the book when it came out. They might be interested in to ordering it again when they learn that PBS is going to air the film to which it relates. People might like to let their local stores know about this, and again when we have specific broadcast dates.

Soon, people may be able to order the book by calling 800 626-8266, though presently only the video or video plus book seem to be available that way (MA will be checking into this).

(212) 564-3730, fax (212) 971-7200.

The following Public TV stations have committed to air "Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media":

- WNET (New York)
- KCET (Los Angeles)
- WTTW (Chicago)
- WQEX (Pittsburgh)
- KVPT (Fresno)
- WXXI (Rochester)
- KCSM (San Mateo)
- WTVS (Detroit)
- WMVS, WMVT (Milwaukee)
- KBTC (Tacoma)
- KOAC, KTVR, KOAP, KOAB (Oregon Public TV)
- WEDH, WEDY, WEDN, WEDH, WEDW (Connecticut Public TV)
- WHWC, WPNE, WHLA, WHRM, WLEF (Wisconsin Public TV)
- KBDI (Denver) Aired on June 7th
- KQED (San Francisco—in negotiation to show the full-length version)

Thanks to all of you who helped make this happen. There's still time left for people in other cities to encourage their Public TV station to make the acquisition. If your station is not on this list, consider asking them why.

Most program managers now have a preview copy of the film and now have till sometime late in July to make up their minds. Letters of encouragement and support should be addressed to the station manager.

A list of addresses and phone numbers of Public TV stations can be found at: <http://www.actwin.com:80/ITVS/PTV1.html>, which follows:

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT TO PUBLISH BOOK ON EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post, June 20, 1995

DILI, East Timor: The provincial administration plans to publish a book on development progress in the territory to mark Indonesia's 50th anniversary of independence in August.

Spokesman Rajakarina Brahmana told the Antara news agency yesterday that the book, to be called *East Timor, 19 Years of*

Development, would consist of complete data on development in the youngest province.

“The book is expected to provide information on what the government has achieved in 19 years, since the territory’s integration into Indonesia,” he said.

The project is being sponsored by the provincial civil service corps and is currently at the stage of “data compilation,” he said.