

Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

Volume 31 June 30 – September 15, 1994

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METHODISTS SET EAST TIMOR POLICY

The following resolution on East Timor was adopted at the California- Nevada Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church, held last month in Sacramento, California. The California-Nevada region is comprised of all United Methodist congregations in Northern California and most of Nevada. This was the second consecutive year in which the regional body adopted a policy statement on the issue of East Timor. The 1994 resolution was sponsored by the congregation of First St. John's United Methodist Church in San Francisco.

Methodists are the second largest Protestant denomination in the United States.

Anne Treseder, July 6, 1994

RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

Adopted, June 1994. Sponsored by First St. John's, San Francisco,

WHEREAS Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975 and continuing occupation of that country have resulted in the death of approximately 200,000 Timorese (one-third of the population) according to Amnesty International estimates, making it the worst slaughter relative to population since the Holocaust; and

WHEREAS the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council have never recognized Indonesia's purported annexation of East Timor and have passed numerous resolutions calling for Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor; and

WHEREAS the Indonesian government refuses to honor these resolutions, and continues to occupy East Timor and commit gross violations of human rights there; and

WHEREAS the Indonesian government has displaced Timorese families from their ancestral homes and has moved over 100,000 Indonesians into East Timor through their policy of "transmigration" in an attempt to dilute the Timorese population and destroy their culture; and

WHEREAS many Timorese are now incarcerated in Indonesian prisons for engaging in peaceful, nonviolent protest against the occupation of their country; and

WHEREAS in October 1992, the United States Congress passed legislation eliminating military training (IMET) aid to Indonesia in response to its actions in East Timor; and

WHEREAS in March 1993, the United States government reversed its previous position and supported a strongly worded resolution passed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission criticizing Indo-

nesian human rights violations in East Timor; and

WHEREAS the United States refused to allow Jordan to sell U.S. fighter jets to Indonesia in July 1993 in reaction to Indonesia's human rights violations in East Timor; and

WHEREAS the United States government continues to sell and allow the commercial sale of U.S. weapons to Indonesia; and

WHEREAS it was revealed in December 1993 that the United States Defense Department continues to provide IMET military training to Indonesian officers despite the 1992 Congressional action aimed at ending that training; and

WHEREAS the United States government is not yet working to implement the United Nations resolutions calling for withdrawal of the Indonesian military from East Timor and for self-determination for the people of East Timor; and

WHEREAS in June 1993, the California-Nevada Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church expressed its profound concern for East Timor by adopting a resolution that called for a cut-off of all U.S. aid and arms sales to Indonesia until Indonesia complied with U.N. resolutions, withdrew its military forces from East Timor, and

allowed a U.N.-supervised plebiscite in East Timor; and

WHEREAS the Indonesian government has failed to comply with any of these conditions; and

WHEREAS in his August 1993 pastoral column in the United Methodist Review, Bishop Melvin Talbert asked UMC congregations to take up the issue of East Timor "as a priority"; and

RECOGNIZING our moral and religious duty to respond to acts of inhumanity and genocide and to rescue a people, a nation, and a culture from annihilation;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the California-Nevada Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church again calls on the President of the United States and the U.S. Congress to take immediate administrative and legislative steps to halt all United States military aid and assistance (including IMET training), economic aid, and weapons sales (both commercial and government-to-government) to Indonesia until the Indonesian government:

1. Ends all forms of inhumane treatment in East Timor, including torture, extrajudicial execution, and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment;

2. Permits unrestricted access to East Timor by international human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Asia Watch; and

3. Complies with United Nations Security Council resolutions 384 and 389, withdraws its armed forces from East Timor, and allows a United Nations supervised plebiscite in East Timor to facilitate a process of genuine decolonization and self-determination; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Conference Secretary be instructed to immediately send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the U.S. Senators from California and Nevada, to each Member of Congress from Northern California and Nevada, and to the appropriate editors of the major newspapers in both states; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the California-Nevada Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church urges its bishop, pastors, and member congregations to adopt the cause of East Timor as a social justice priority, to educate themselves about East Timor, and to communicate their individual and collective concerns regarding East Timor on a regular basis to the President of the United States and to their U.S. Senators and Members of Congress, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the California-Nevada Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church urges the General Board of Church and Society and the General Board of Global Ministries to make the

issue of East Timor a priority for social action and mission.

CARNATIONS FOR XANANA

Publico, 21 June 94. Translated, abridged.

(Lisbon) The Portuguese solidarity group, CDPM, announced yesterday that it had sent red carnations, cards and drawings as birthday presents to Xanana Gusmão in prison on his 47th birthday. The red carnations were chosen because they are seen as 'symbols of liberty' in Portugal.

"INDONESIA OUT OF PORTUGAL" PETITION

Publico, 21 June 94

Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Lisbon -- The CDPM has announced that a petition 'Indonesia out of Portugal' is currently gathering signatures around the country in a strong protest at the recent visits of Ambassador Lopes da Cruz and others on 'the pretext of a religious visit'

The complete text of the petition is as follows:

Indonesia out of Portugal

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs

On the pretext of a visit to Fatima, a delegation of "pilgrims", led by the Indonesian Ambassador Lopes da Cruz, was admitted into Portugal. According to the latter, further similar visits are planned.

Such visits are neither spontaneous or innocent. They are organized and financed by Indonesia and it is Indonesia which decides who comes. Ordinary Timorese do not have the liberty to come here. Even those who are allowed to come are forced to leave their families in Timor. There were Indonesians in the group who were responsible for organizing and controlling it. Religion was merely a pretext. The visits are political and serve the diplomatic ends of Indonesia. Today the cover is religion, tomorrow it is likely to be folklore, or sporting exchanges, but the intention is to achieve a de facto reopening of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and let East Timor be forgotten.

For these reasons we are against these visits. No real improvement in the day to day situation in East the Timor is likely to come about as a result. The Government should not allow these farcical visits, and we are vehemently opposed them.

MANILA CONFERENCE HAS OPENED A NEW PHASE IN TIMOR ISSUE

Jornal de Noticias, 19 June 94. Translated from Portuguese, unabridged

Lisbon -- The Manila conference on East Timor "has opened a new phase in this issue which Portugal must be able to exploit" according to Luisa Teotónio Pereira of the CDPM yesterday. She was one of the participants at a meeting of Timorese held in Lisbon's Space for Timor to consider the results of the conference at which the human rights activist had been present.

Ms Pereira said that she considered the success of the Manila conference a challenge to be taken up by Portugal and the Portuguese authorities, "who from now on will need to reinforce their diplomatic presence in that part of the world".

"Portugal has very little presence in that region, which appears contradictory. A greater presence there would be important because we are completely cut off from the countries which surround Timor and because that zone is experiencing a notorious economic expansion" said Luisa Pereira.

For this reason, the participants at the conference had suggested a greater degree of university-level exchange between Portugal and the Philippines and other SE Asia countries, allied to a greater contacts and exchange between their respective NGOs.

BEING DEMOCRATIC IN ASIA

By Gerry van Klinken

July 1, 1994

[The following didn't make it into the Oz press but may still be of interest to netters. In the event, Paul Keating did raise the issue with Suharto, contrary to indications before he left. GvK.]

How does a democracy relate to an authoritarian regime and remain a democracy? See here our most basic foreign policy dilemma. Nowhere does the question press harder than on our Indonesian relationship. Jakarta's banning of its most prestigious media last Tuesday on the eve of a major Australian trade fair in that city once more threw the dilemma into painful relief.

Authoritarian polities have two outstanding characteristics. One: the majority of people in the nation don't seem to matter. Landless peasants, East Timorese, or even the millions of white collar print media consumers - politically, none seem to matter. Two: political relationships are not legal and rational but, as Weber once said, 'patrimonial'. A single supreme figure invested with unlimited power demands tribute and dispenses privileges to his 'clients'.

A patrimonial regime regards its political friends either as an even greater patron, or as a client. The rest are enemies or don't matter. Since we are not in a position to patronize Indonesia, Canberra is forced to choose between being an enemy, becoming another client, or (heaven forbid) not mattering. It has chosen the middle road and presented itself as a client.

The world is a tough place, Gareth Evans tells hand-wringing liberals. When people get shot, as they will continue to be under such a system, or forbidden from exchanging news, we merely stiffen our smile. Along the way, Foreign Affairs is prepared to bear a good deal of domestic pain in the form of moralizing protest about Australia's 'weak knees' and 'bully appeasement'.

A plural world

But there are at least two reasons why this will not do. The first, most important from our point of view, is that our own identity as a democracy will eventually suffer if we continue to forget that we are one in our foreign dealings. When Indonesia intimidated neighbouring Philippines into almost cancelling a private seminar on East Timor recently, the New York Times asked: 'will Australia be next?'. How important are our freedoms to us when the chips are down? Being a democracy is worth a lot, and it should be worth it to say so, politely but firmly, throughout the region. That ought to mean at least talking openly with other democrats there - including the independent Indonesian press.

Second, no regime in a modern world can be entirely patrimonial. True, Indonesia's next president will not turn the country into a democracy, as some hopefuls suggest. But the recent period of press openness, even if now interrupted, shows that it is not a monolithic totalitarian regime either that can afford to silence all criticism, as Canberra appears to fear. Some suggest that had Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas not been in a Melbourne Hospital for heart surgery he would have argued strongly against both the Manila debacle and the current press bans. Authoritarian regimes come in many shades. There is more pluralism within them than timid observers often think, and they do respond. Indonesia is approaching regime change. It is time to think about cultivating a wider range of friends.

No free lunch

The risks from adopting a more independent stance are several. First, that it will strain our relationship with Jakarta. Second, that we are imposing our system on a neighbour's internal affairs. Third, that we are playing into the hands of domestic protectionist sentiment (as the US has been

accused of doing in its approach to Chinese human rights).

All these objections can be dealt with. 'Strain' is a product of official whim. Plenty of Indonesian officials now regret having effectively declared the Philippine-Indonesia relationship strained, in view of the bad international publicity it got them. A degree of tension that may develop in the Australia-Indonesia relationship over the fundamental issue of civil rights will simply reflect the same tension within Indonesia and throughout the region between patrimonial and modern ways of doing politics. Milton Friedman said there's no free lunch in economics. Nor is there one in politics.

Speaking out about democratic issues like press freedom is surely no cultural imperialism, nor is it a step towards declaring war, as Gareth Evans likes to hint (perhaps on the patrimonial model). We are not talking about something uniquely Australian but about the only viable system in a world that is fundamentally plural. Such a world demands legal-rational rather than patrimonial ways of relating. The growing Indonesian middle class wants that system, as does Southeast Asian business throughout the region.

Finally, we are less likely to be accused of protectionism than the US, because our economy is demonstrably more dependent on open trade with the region.

In short, Paul Keating ought to state clearly in Jakarta that Australia regrets the banning of Indonesia's premier print media, that this has damaged the commitment to legal certainty on which healthy progress in regional trade is based, and that those free media represent precisely the Indonesia on which Australian hopes of a good relationship are based.

TIMORESE KILLED BY INDONESIAN TROOPS

Jornal de Noticias, 1 July 94 Translated from Portuguese.

A young Timorese was shot to death in a hail of machine gun fire from an Indonesian patrol on the outskirts of Uelau, on 6 May, according to a report which was released by the Resistance. The report of the death of Marcelo, a youth of 17 years, was contained in a report from Konis Santana, dated 16 June, divulged yesterday by the Lusa press agency.

The death occurred when the youth was roasting a deer in the bush after it had been caught by him and his three brothers with the aid of dogs.

Having been alerted by the smoke, Indonesian troops surrounded the brothers and

on the orders of the patrol commander, opened fire.

The other three brothers succeeded in fleeing but Marcelo, in spite of having identified himself as a civilian, was hit in the belly and could not get away; the soldiers continued to fire on him and finally killed him with a hand grenade.

The Resistance account goes on to relate how the Indonesian soldiers proceeded to tie the boy's body to a tree for the commander to practice marksmanship; the latter emptied a machine gun clip into the body, blowing the heart out through the back. The soldiers next threw the body into a stream and pelted it with stones, smashing the cranium.

They then reported that they had eliminated a guerrilla, although this fact is disputed by the local people who were informed of the events by the brothers who had witnessed the events from hiding.

The report also says that between January and May of this year, the guerrilla forces killed at least 19 Indonesian soldiers in various attacks, while themselves suffering two losses.

According to Konis Santana's calculations, the active troops in East Timor at present number some 30 thousand, including both Indonesians and Timorese recruited in the territory.

The report details the areas where the various battalions are stationed with the intention of countering Indonesian propaganda claims that there has been a reduction in the number of the forces which have been occupying the territory since 1976.

U.S. SENATE VOTES TO STRIKE ARMS SALES CONDITIONS FOR EAST TIMOR

FURTHER ACTION PLANNED SOON

Report by Charles Scheiner, ETAN/US, July 1, 1994

(This report and action alert is a variation on an article in the July issue of "Network News," the newsletter of the East Timor Action Network. For a paper copy of the newsletter, send your address to ETAN at cscheiner@igc.apc.org or write to PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.)

For the first time ever, the United States Senate took a contested vote on U.S. policy towards East Timor. On June 29, Indonesia's supporters won a 59-35 roll call vote to table a provision in the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill. If the provision had stayed in, weapons to be sold by the U.S. government to Indonesia could not be used in East Timor.

Although East Timor's supporters lost this vote, the issue gained increased prominence, and all Senators are now on record. Further debate and probably legislation, will be taken up in the Senate the week of July 11. Now is the time to let your Senators know where you stand, and to encourage them to speak out and vote for East Timor.

The vote came up unexpectedly at 11 at night on Wednesday, June 29. A week earlier, the Senate Appropriations Committee approved the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill (H.R. 4426) and included a prohibition against the use in East Timor of U.S. weapons sold to Indonesia. This provision applied to future government-to-government (FMS) arms sales, and in essence restated a U.S.-Indonesia treaty signed in 1958 which restricts the use of U.S.-supplied weapons "solely for legitimate national self-defense" and strictly forbids their use for "an act of aggression against any other state." Since the treaty has been violated for two decades in East Timor, Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT) persuaded his colleagues that it was time to reaffirm it.

Leahy had negotiated with the State Department and Indonesia's Senate supporters, agreeing to limit the ban to "lethal arms" to placate those who wanted to weaken it. He was led to believe there would not be a floor fight -- but at the last minute Senator Bennett Johnston (D-LA) rose to challenge the measure. Johnston, who has been Indonesia's principal Senate booster, initially got no support from the State Department, and simply voiced his objection to the provision (his speech is appended to this report). Later that evening, Johnston received a letter from Secretary of State Warren Christopher, and made a motion to table Leahy's language. Johnston's motion was debated for half an hour, and then approved on a 59-35 roll call vote. (See tabulation following this article.)

Although Leahy thought his provision was moderate enough to pass unchallenged, Johnston saw it as much more significant, and said that "the Indonesians are outraged about this language." He seriously objected to the provision "which, in effect, puts an arms embargo on Foreign Military Sales to Indonesia."

Johnston waxed emphatic on Indonesia's importance: "I believe Indonesia deserves the support of the United States. They are the fourth largest country in the world. They are the largest Muslim country in the world. And we keep poking them in the eye." He said that Indonesia was particularly offended because "we are tipping our hat or genuflecting in the direction of those who say East Timor ought to be an independent state."

Johnston received support during the debate from the Defense and State Departments, Minority Leader Robert Dole (KS) and other Republicans, and influential Democratic Senators Sam Nunn (GA), Diane Feinstein (CA), and Charles Robb (VA).

Warren Christopher's letter was self-congratulatory about the Administration "aggressively working with Indonesians" to improve human rights, and falsely claimed (as did Johnston) that the situation in East Timor is improving. He described the State Department's "current policy is to deny license requests for sales of small and light arms and lethal crowd control items to Indonesia," but opposed bans on military training and called the Leahy proposal "unnecessary and inconsistent with our policy objectives."

Leahy defended his proposal as a modest step, and objected to giving Indonesia "carte blanche" with arms and taxpayer money. Russell Feingold (D-WI) described Indonesia's recent harsh measures against conferences in the Philippines and Malaysia and the crackdown on press freedom: "I cannot think of a worse time ... to remove a provision that says American arms should not be used to kill and torture the people of East Timor." Senators Pell (D-RI) and Simon (D-IL) also spoke up for East Timor, and Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA) gave an impassioned plea not to reward Indonesia: "Just because (the East Timorese people) are small and because they are defenseless means we have to put up with what the Indonesians have done to them? I don't think so."

But most Senators did, at least this time. Senator Leahy and his allies are now planning further, much-needed, floor debate on East Timor when the Senate returns from recess the week of July 11, when it is expected to resume consideration of HR4426. Leahy may introduce additional legislation on East Timor then, so call or write your Senators and encourage them to support it. Urge those who voted with Leahy but kept silent -- including six Republicans -- to speak up; they could sway others if they speak up.

*** House of Representatives takes a different tack

The House of Representatives passed a version of the Foreign Aid Bill on May 23, which includes a provision barring Indonesia from purchasing military training (IMET) from the United States. This closes a loophole which has been exploited by Jakarta and the Clinton Administration to continue the training after Congress banned IMET as aid in October, 1992. The Appropriations Committee reported that it was "outraged" that the Administration -- "despite its vocal embrace of human rights" -- continued to provide the same IMET training for a fee.

"It was and is the intent of Congress to prohibit United States military training for Indonesia," the report said.

The House Appropriations Report supports the State Department's small arms ban but also asks the administration to "carefully consider" human rights and other concerns before selling any arms to Indonesia. Among the issues listed are whether Indonesia has complied with UN Security Council resolutions calling for military withdrawal from East Timor and self-determination for the East Timorese, and whether Indonesia is following agreements restricting U.S.-supplied weapons to self-defense. The committee report also clearly acknowledges that there was a second massacre in the days following the November 12, 1991, Dili shootings which left hundreds dead.

The IMET ban is largely the work of Committee Chair David Obey (D-WI), and the report language was developed by Representatives Obey, Tony Hall (D-OH), Nita Lowey (D-NY) and others. Although the Senate Appropriations Committee took the IMET restrictions out of the bill, we hope to have them restored when the bill goes to House-Senate Conference later this summer. Members of both houses, especially those on the two Appropriations Committees, should be encouraged to support the IMET cutoff.

Also in the House, the Banking Committee followed the lead of Representatives Joseph Kennedy and Barney Frank (both D-MA) and enacted legislation urging the World Bank and IMF to look into countries like Indonesia with excessive military involvement in their economies. The Treasury Department must report on this as it relates to Indonesia by next May.

*** What to do now

Now that the issue is out in the open on the Senate floor, we must ensure that Members of Congress in both houses -- and candidates in this year's election -- hear from enough voters to make them pay attention. Although we lost the vote on June 29, there are numerous new opportunities for effective lobbying. With Clinton going to Jakarta for the APEC Conference in five months, now is a crucial time to increase awareness in Washington.

J. BENNETT JOHNSTON'S INITIAL SPEECH AND DIALOGUE WITH PAUL SIMON.

9:00 pm June 29, 1994

(Transcribed from tape, not from the sanitized Congressional Record.)

Johnston: Mr. President, I rise to voice serious objection to language in this bill on page 34, which in effect, puts an embargo on foreign military sales to Indonesia. Mr.

President, I think this is a very serious mistake for the United States to be doing this. The House had language continuing a ban on what we call IMET funds, that is the military training funds and this has, in effect, a sanction against Indonesia for the policy in East Timor. [Call for Senate to be in order]

Mr. President, what the Senate has done is to substitute for the ban on IMET in effect a ban on foreign military sales if those foreign military sales would be used in East Timor. Now the problem is, Mr. President, that any of these sales can be used anywhere in Indonesia. For example, the C-130, which is made in I think over 40 states in the United States, and sold in fairly large quantities to Indonesia, flies all over Indonesia. And if it can't fly to East Timor, then you probably will not be able to sell the C-130. Spare parts for the F-16; the F-16 lands all over Indonesia. There are all kinds of spare parts for all kinds of weapons, which are sold to Indonesia. So that we have in this language, Mr. President, the start of what is in effect an arms embargo on foreign military sales.

I can tell you Mr. President, the Indonesians are outraged about this language. It is much worse than the House language. Mr. President, we could debate here all night about East Timor, and about human rights in Indonesia, which I believe are greatly improving, it is an emerging country [request for order]. Mr. President, we could debate here for a long time, and I think we ought to, debate the question of Indonesia, their record on human rights, and the situation in East Timor. I believe Indonesia deserves the support of the United States. They are the fourth largest country in the world. They are the largest Muslim country in the world, and we keep poking them in the eye.

Mr. President, they are one of the world's leading emerging countries in terms of economy. They'll be buying \$130 billion in infrastructure improvements over the next decade. They are a key player in ASEAN and in APEC. Indeed, the President is going to APEC this fall. And while he's doing that, we're putting, in effect, an embargo on foreign military sales.

Now, Mr. President, what is the policy of the State Department on this? I'll be frank and tell you I don't know. They tell me they are opposed to it, but a letter from them is not forthcoming, so I don't know what the policy is. I have a letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, John M. Deutsch, who says

"I am writing to express the views of the Defense Department on a matter of some concern. A provision in the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill, as reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee,

would place significant restrictions on the use of defense equipment that Indonesia purchases from the United States. Specifically, this provision would bar Indonesia from using defense items purchased through the foreign military sales program in East Timor.

"We oppose this provision, and in coordination with the State Department are working with concerned Senators such as yourself to see if it can be revised. We are concerned that passage of this provision would disrupt our modest yet important security relationship with this strategic country and would drive the Indonesian defense establishment away from U.S. sources of equipment.

"As you certainly know, we have many important interests in Indonesia. Improved human rights, as well as solid defense ties are among the many objectives we pursue. We strongly believe that active engagement with the Indonesian military through training and FMS programs and other defense cooperation better positions us to positively influence the development of improved human rights conditions. Through our interaction with the Indonesian military at all levels, we play a role in the candid dialogue the Administration conducts on human rights and the issue of East Timor. "

"The Office of Management and Budget advises that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the presentation of this letter for the consideration of Congress.

Signed, John M. Deutsch, Deputy Secretary of Defense."

I ask unanimous consent that this letter be placed in the Record.

Now, Mr. President, I would have had an amendment on this issue, but I was led to believe that the State Department would take a position and would give us a letter. They will not give us a letter. They say "We're opposed to it, we want you to work it out." What is our position from the State Department in East Timor and Indonesia? The fourth largest country in the world. We ought to have a position! And we don't!

Consequently I don't have an amendment. But I think this is a huge mistake. I think it ought to be looked at in the conference committee. I hope they will look at it in the conference committee, and I hope the State Department will tell us one way or the other. Do they want it? Do they want to go back to the IMET ban, do they want to have Foreign Military Sales bans, what do they want to do?

This is not beanbags, Mr. President, this is important foreign policy with the largest Muslim country in the world, and the fourth largest country in the world, and one of the

fastest emerging countries, and a traditional friend of the United States. Stood by us all this while. In Vietnam and every place else. A demonstrated friend of the United States. And if we're going to poke them in the eye, it ought to be intentional, it ought to be the foreign policy of this country and not make-shift policy where nobody knows exactly what the policy of the country is. I hope that we will look at this issue in the conference committee.

[Larry Pressler made a speech on Haiti]

Paul Simon, D-IL: Mr. President, I wondered if I could have the attention of the Senator from Louisiana, Senator Johnston. I heard your remarks about Indonesia, and I am not an expert in this area. I know our colleague, Senator Feingold, has paid a great deal of attention to that. His concern about what Indonesia is doing in East Timor, and their pressure on the Philippines and on others, and then the recent crackdown on freedom of the press in Indonesia. I have to say the conduct of Indonesia just recently in this regard had not encouraged me, and again, I'm a non-expert in this field, but has not encouraged me to go along with the Senator from Louisiana's position. I would be curious as to your response on that.

Johnston: The Senator is correct that not everything that takes place in Indonesia is encouraging. They do not have freedom of press in Indonesia as we know it. And indeed, there have been some arrests or crackdown on some press who had been particularly critical of the government. No doubt about that. You know a lot of our friends around the world have adopted policies that are not consistent, do not comport, with our Bill of Rights government. And I think, we shouldn't retreat from doing what we can to be effective in trying to propagate democracy and freedom of speech, freedom of religion, etc. around the world.

My problem is that to put a ban on foreign military sales and to do so without having it a considered judgment, a foreign policy of the United States, with one of our best traditional friends, with one of the largest countries in the world, just to do it haphazardly I think is an awful way to make foreign policy.

We had debate earlier about whether the Congress should make it [on Haiti] or whatever. It seems to me that the President and the State Department ought to be at least the ones who initiate it, and should not be by-players, should not be wringing their hands on the sidelines while we make foreign policy here in the Senate. You know, a good indication of the kind of foreign policy we made was a couple of weeks ago when we adopted two Sense of the Senate amendments on Bosnia, about lifting the embargo. One said, by a 50- 49, we should

not lift the embargo unless the United Nations says so. The other one said we ought to lift the embargo with or without the United Nations. Both resolutions adopted 50-49. I just don't think we ought to make foreign policy in this way.

And I would also say that if we're going to take sanctions against every country in the world who is criticized by Amnesty International or somebody else, the list of our friends will be short indeed. Short, indeed. In fact, the United States itself has been criticized by Amnesty International on the death penalty and other things.

Having said that, I would say that I share the Senator's concern about some of the policies in Indonesia, although I think that Indonesia has made huge steps forward in human rights, in labor relations, and I think the State Department would tell us that, if they would tell us something.

Simon: I would simply say to my colleague from Louisiana that I agree we can't expect carbon copies of the United States around the world, and I think we have to be careful in micro-managing foreign policy on the floor of the United States Senate. I think that's one of the dangers when people sense a little bit of a vacuum in the executive branch, that we move in, and move in sometimes when we shouldn't. I would hope that before the Senator would maybe offer an amendment that he might discuss this with our colleague, Senator Feingold, who has spent a considerable amount of time in this area, who knows much more about it, frankly, than I do.

Johnston: One of the problems -- it was offensive, I think, counterproductive, to have a ban on IMET funds, the military training funds, because the military training funds keep the kind of incident that you had in East Timor from occurring, by having better trained people. But the House had the ban on the IMET funds. But for that, we substituted something worse, which is the FMS ban.

And one of the [reasons] that is so offensive to the Indonesians is, in mentioning East Timor, it suggests that we do not recognize East Timor as a part of Indonesia, that somehow we are tipping our hat or genuflecting in the direction of those who say East Timor ought to be an independent state. There are some people who legitimately and sincerely believe that. To say that as part of law adopted by this Senate is a very serious charge. It is as if the British Parliament adopted a resolution that said that Puerto Rico should not be part of the United States, and we have been criticized by the United Nations for that.

So I just say that this is a bad way to make foreign policy. I think it is a big mistake. And I hope the conferees will look at

this when they get in the conference committee.

[About half an hour later, Johnston got a letter from the Secretary of State opposing the FMS restriction, and introduced an amendment to strike it from the bill. There were 30 minutes of debate, and then a roll call vote, which follows. Some strictly procedural discussions have also been omitted so as not to obscure the substance.]

The discussion was on Leahy's amendment to part of Title III - Military Assistance of HR 4426:

Provided further, That any agreement for the sale or provision of any (lethal) equipment on the United States Munitions List (established pursuant to section 38 of the Arms Export Control Act) to Indonesia that is entered into by the United States during fiscal year 1995 shall expressly state the understanding that the equipment may not be used in East Timor;

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the Johnston amendment, which he has introduced, is now pending. I certainly do not want to cut him off or the Senator from Kentucky - if we could have order, Mr. President - because I think for some of those who may be planning to leave this may be of importance to them, because I suspect we are going to vote on this.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I ask unanimous consent that on the Johnston-McConnell-Nunn amendment there be a 30-minute time agreement equally divided with no second-degree amendment in order, the time to be under my control and that of the distinguished floor manager.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, this gets a little bit confusing. I realize we can do anything by unanimous consent. But is the Senator saying he wishes to move to amend an amendment that is not before us because it has not yet been adopted? Would it not be better to adopt the amendment that he wishes to amend?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I am advised that the proper motion would be a motion to table the committee amendment which is contained on page 34, line 19, beginning with the word "provided" and ending with the word "Timor" on line 25. I ask unanimous consent that there be a 30-minute time agreement on the motion to table that amendment and that it be in order to consider it at this time.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I will not object provided I have the right to offer a perfecting amendment on line 21 between the words "any" and "equipment" to be able to offer the amendment to say "lethal."

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I would restate my unanimous consent request. I ask unanimous-consent that it be in order to move to table the language on page 34, line 19, beginning with the word "provided" and ending with line 25 with the words "East Timor"; and further request that the amendment to be stricken be modified by adding the word "lethal" in front of the word "equipment" on line 21.

PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Hearing none, It is so ordered. The committee amendment is modified, as follows:

The amendment on page 34 beginning with "Provided" on line 19, is modified by inserting "lethal" before the word "equipment" on line 21."

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, since I made my statement on this matter, I am advised that the State Department has, in fact, as of 7:35 p.m. tonight, taken a position on this provision and that they do find this provision unnecessary and inconsistent with our policy. If I may now read the letter from Warren Christopher. It is a letter to Mr. LEAHY. It reads as follows:

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As you work on the FY 1995 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, we would like to provide you with a clear statement of the Administration's policy towards Indonesia and reiterate our objections to language which would place restrictions on arms sales or transfers to that country.

This Administration is steadfastly pursuing the objective, shared with Congress, of promoting an improved human rights environment in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia. We are trying to pursue our agenda aggressively, working with Indonesians both inside and outside the Government, using our assistance, information, and exchange programs to achieve results. At the same time, we have raised our human rights concerns at the highest levels in meetings with Indonesian officials. As a direct expression of our concerns, our current policy is to deny license requests for sales of small and light arms and lethal crowd control items to Indonesia. In accordance with U.S. law, we make these decisions on a case-by-case basis, applying this general guidance.

East Timor remains a high priority for our human rights efforts in Indonesia. In 1994, there was considerably greater access to East Timor on the part of international groups such as the International Commission of Jurists, Human Rights Watch, foreign and domestic journalists, parliamentarians, and diplomats. We understand that the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] is expanding its on-the-ground presence in East Timor and has, with the cooperation of government authorities, worked

out satisfactory access arrangements for visits to detainees. The expanded USAID program includes projects designed to strengthen indigenous NGOs active in agriculture, health, vocational training, and microenterprise. On the security front, the Indonesian Government has reduced its troop levels in East Timor by two battalions. In East Timor, as well as elsewhere in Indonesia, we have seen evidence of improved military accountability and self-restraint under new military leadership.

We clearly recognize that more needs to be done. We continue to push for a full accounting for those missing from the 1991 shootings in East Timor and for reductions or commutations of sentences given to civilian demonstrators. We have also urged further reductions in troop levels and efforts at reconciliation which take into account East Timor's unique culture and history. But we do not see new restrictions on sales of defense equipment warranted by any deterioration in conditions; indeed, we believe efforts to support military reform and promote military professionalism, discipline and accountability should be encouraged.

IMET restoration would be an important tool to this end. We therefore welcome the fact that the Senate appropriations Committee language for the Foreign Operations Hill for FY 1995 would remove the existing legislative prohibition regarding IMET for Indonesia.

The United States has important economic, commercial, security, human rights, and political interests in Indonesia. Our challenge is to develop a policy that advances all our interests, that obtains positive results and reduces, to the extent possible, unintended negative effects. In this regard, the provision restricting military sales or transfers to Indonesia in the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill is unnecessary and inconsistent with our policy objectives in Indonesia.

Please be assured that we will continue to work aggressively to promote better human rights observance throughout Indonesia. We are committed to doing so in what we believe is a comprehensive, effective, and results-oriented manner, and will continue to keep in close contact with you and other Members interested in these matters.

Sincerely, WARREN CHRISTOPHER.

Mr. President, in fairness to the chairman, neither of these letters, either from the Deputy Secretary of Defense or from the Secretary of State, were available to any of us on the Foreign Operations subcommittee at the time this amendment was adopted. I hope, therefore, that this language could be stricken, keeping in mind that the matter will be in conference as regards IMET.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent Senator DOLE be added as a cosponsor. I rise in support of the amendment by the Senator from Louisiana. Indonesia is a large, thriving market. In fact, it has been identified as one of the prime trade investment opportunities for U.S. companies. The language in the bill is sufficiently vague to cause both the United States and the Indonesian Government a considerable concern.

The language asks that we reach an agreement with Indonesia that equipment we sell may not be used in East Timor.

Frankly, I do not see how we could possibly monitor that. If we sell equipment to Indonesia to use with their armed forces, we do not sell it to a particular place in Indonesia. What happens, for example, if a unit is using United States equipment in one part of Indonesia and gets transferred to East Timor? There is no practical way to enforce this particular provision.

In effect, our inability to monitor the terms of any understanding could turn it into an embargo of all sales. I repeat, it could turn it into an embargo of all sales, and that is certainly not in our best interests.

This would be a serious mistake. Indonesia has been a valuable ally in regional politics and has provided support to our naval forces in the region over the years. The effect of the amendment would be damaging to our trade, political and security relationship with a country of over 190 million people. I think we can press the human rights case in a constructive fashion without damaging this important relationship.

So I commend the Senator from Louisiana for this proposal. We have been working with him to try to minimize the restrictions on Indonesia in this bill. We obviously did not get quite far enough to satisfy the Senator from Louisiana. I think his concerns are valid. I support them, and I hope the Senate will approve the Johnston amendment.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, basically my good friends from Louisiana and Kentucky are saying we should have no restrictions or no say at all on what the equipment we send to Indonesia is used for. I am not sure if there are other countries that we are willing to give that kind of carte blanche to. I know of none in this bill that we give that to. I know of no countries where we give them such an open-ended use of our equipment.

It is not a case where we have ignored Indonesia. We have given them \$4 billion of taxpayer-paid-for economic and military aid over the past 30 years - \$4 billion. We are going to give Indonesia another \$60 million in aid next year. We have not turned our back on them.

In the committee amendments we have removed the prohibitions on IMET placed in the other body. We have tried to do things to show Indonesia our continuing support. After all, \$4 billion, and \$60 million next year, is more than just a Valentine card.

The Indonesian army occupied East Timor over 20 years ago. Since 1976 we passed half a dozen non-binding resolutions in this Congress. Most of the Members of this body voted on them - asking them to stop abusing the rights of the people of East Timor.

Three years ago - one of the things that really brought this to a head - Indonesian soldiers fired on peaceful demonstrators in East Timor. They killed between 200 and 300 people. At first they said only 19 people died but then, when the truth came out, they said we have to do something about it. And what did they do? They arrested some of the demonstrators, sentenced some of them up to life imprisonment, and the soldiers went to jail for a few months. Even that would not have happened if the press had not become aware of what happened. Even the officers in charge were never charged with a crime. People are still not accounted for.

We cut off military assistance for 2 years and then we ended up selling it to the Indonesians anyway. We deleted the House language cutting off sale of military training. I moved to delete the ban on military training assistance. I believe the ban outlived its usefulness and I moved to make sure that could still go to Indonesia. But having given them \$60 million in aid, having lifted the bans on training and assistance, let us not totally turn our backs on the people of East Timor and say the resolutions we passed time and time again in the Senate were merely that. We never meant it.

We have even amended this provision so it covers only lethal equipment. Could we, insofar as we are using America's taxpayers' money, just have a little teensy-weensy bit of control? Even a little teensy-weensy bit of American taxpayers' say of where this money is going to be used? Even a little it'sy-bitsy bit of say when we tap the pockets of Americans for \$60 million more to say what it is going to be used for?

There are 8,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor. We do not affect the \$28 million sales of commercial equipment to Indonesia in 1995. That goes forward. But we can say when we are sending \$60 million of your tax dollars, my tax dollars, everybody else's tax dollars to Indonesia, we also support people who were persecuted for peacefully expressing their human rights, even if they happen to live halfway around the world and we do not see them daily.

I agree Indonesia is an important country. I joined with the Senator from Louisiana in making that statement, as he knows, on a number of occasions. But that is why we provide this money. That is why I deleted the prohibition of IMET training. That is why I supported \$60 million to them.

But I have to tell you, this is one Vermonter who does not like to give out a blank check of the taxpayers' money, and I say this action of the Senators from Louisiana and Kentucky would do that, as we put on no controls whatsoever.

Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent that an article by Philip Shenon in the New York Times on June 29, 1994, be printed in the RECORD.

[The article was not read on the Senate floor.]

INDONESIA MOVES TO STIFLE CRITICISM, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD (By PHILIP SHENON)

SINGAPORE, June 27. - The Indonesian Government, which bans most public debate among its open people over the disputed territory of East Timor, is pressing its smaller Asian neighbors to keep quiet, too.

[more on APCET, the Malaysian Conference harassment, and the closing of three news magazines. as this article has already been posted in reg.easttimor, it is not repeated here, even though it does appear in full, in the Congressional Record.]

Mr. FEINGOLD. I thank the Senator from Vermont

Mr. President, this is a heck of a time to be giving a seal of approval to the conduct of the Indonesian Government with regard to human rights and, in particular, treatment of East Timor. The Congress suspended IMET to Indonesia in response to a brutal massacre by the Indonesia forces against peaceful demonstrators in 1991, and the Indonesians have shown really very little remorse since then. Last year the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted an amendment to the foreign assistance bill that would require the administration to consult with Congress on human rights before approving the sale or transfer of arms under the Arms Export Control Act.

Among those conditions the Indonesian Government has significantly failed to respond. There are six areas. To the first three, there has been no response. One of the conditions was whether the civilians convicted in connection with the November 1991 East Timor incident have been treated in accordance with international standards of fairness, including whether the Indonesian Government has reviewed the sentences of these individuals for the purpose of their commutation, reduction or remission. No

response from the Indonesian Government on this item.

A second item, whether the Indonesian Government is taking steps to curb human rights violations by its security forces, including all military personnel who were responsible for ordering, authorizing or initiating the use of lethal force against demonstrators in East Timor in 1991 are being brought to justice. No response from the Indonesian Government.

Finally, whether there has been a full public accounting of the individuals missing after the November 1991 incident. No response.

That was the position which the administration agreed to, and the administration now certainly does not believe we should give a blank check to Indonesia.

The administration has adopted a ban on light arms sales to Indonesia after a thorough review of policy which concluded that Indonesia is an important ally but, at the same time, the administration wanted to send a strong message that Indonesia has not done enough.

So this is the worst possible approach we can take to simply strike the language in the bill. I cannot think of a worse time. In this very week, the Indonesians have cracked down on press freedoms by revoking the licenses of three major journals for "sowing discontent." This is the kind of conduct we are going to reward on this night after that conduct in Indonesia this week. I think that is very troubling.

Fifty people who were peacefully protesting the restriction were beaten by Indonesian security forces this past week and this comes. Mr. President, on the heels of bullying tactics by the Indonesian Government against the Philippines just recently for holding a conference of foreigners who are going simply talk about what was going on in East Timor. I understand that they are also now trying to keep the Malaysians from holding a similar conference as well.

Of course, the Indonesians are our allies, and I hope their country is trying to make progress in this regard and we want to have a strong friendship. But the conduct of just these past couple of weeks indicate just the opposite.

I think it would be a very serious mistake for us to remove a provision that says American arms should not be used to kill and torture the people of East Timor. And I ask the Senate to oppose this effort to table the committee language because it could not come at a more inappropriate time with regard to the human rights of the people of this world and, in particular, the human rights of the people of Indonesia and the people of East Timor.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I thank my friend and colleague from Vermont.

I wish to state general and specific reasons why the position regarding East Timor, in my view, of the Senator from Vermont is correct, and, thus, that the language in the bill, as reported by the committee, is correct.

I think we all agree that there should be some control of weapons, whether they are lethal or nonlethal, when they are turned over to other countries. We used this argument when the Turks took American weapons and misused them in the occupation of Cypress. The argument that the United States should exercise some control over its military assistance and sales to foreign countries is widely accepted.

In addition, there is the argument of human rights. It is generally recognized that Indonesia is a little blow in its march down the road toward human rights, although more and more countries throughout the world and particularly in the Far East are improving the human rights conditions of its citizens.

From a specific viewpoint, I cannot help but recall a couple of years ago when I was in Indonesia, I asked President Soeharto if I could go to East Timor. He told me emphatically, "No, that it might have an unsettling effect." He was afraid at that time that a visit by this U.S. Senator would draw too much attention to the plight of the East Timorese people.

As Senator LEAHY mentioned, I too was deeply distressed by the treatment accorded the shooters and the shootees at a riot in Dili, East Timor, in 1991 when the Indonesian military fired upon a group of peaceful demonstrators. The punishment meted out to the ones who murdered or shot the shooters was far less than the punishment handed out to the shootees, the people shot at. Clearly, Indonesian security forces continue to repress the East Timorese.

I urge my colleagues to support the committee language as written.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, one thing, this does not affect licenses of commercial sales, which is the overwhelming majority of our military sales, and having given billions of dollars to Indonesia, another \$60 million, the language sought to be stricken is simply any agreement for the sale or provision of any lethal equipment on the United States munitions list to Indonesia that is entered into by the United States during fiscal year 1995 to expressly state the understanding the equipment may not be used in East Timor.

It does not affect commercial sales, which is the overwhelming majority of military sales. It is a tiny, itty-bitsy restraint on the money we are going to give them.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I just learned of this amendment, and I noticed there was a time limit on it. I wish there was not. Had I been here, I would have objected to a time limit on this amendment.

I kept hearing all this talk on my monitor before I left to come over here that somehow because Indonesia is big and powerful and they are a market and that somehow we have to excuse their conduct in East Timor.

Look at the history. In 1975 with the use of United States arms, which we prohibited in a treaty with Indonesia in 1958, they invaded tiny East Timor, killed 200,000 people, one-third of their population and have kept them in severe repression ever since.

And now we are going to let them walk and say, "Oh, that's just fine."

It has been condemned by the United Nations and by about every human rights organization around the world. The East Timorese have pleaded with us year after year to help them out. Just last week, the Indonesian Government banned three of the top newspapers in East Timor. They will not let them publish. Three of their top newspapers they just shut down so there could not publish anymore.

Is this the kind of activity that we want to reward? They broke the treaty we had with them dating back to 1958 in using our arms to invade East Timor. I agree with the distinguished chairman we ought to have at least some control.

Mr. President, the East Timorese over the years, the Catholic population there have pleaded with us to help them out, to take their cause to the world community. Just because they are small and because they are defenseless means that we have to put up with what the Indonesians have done to them? I do not think so.

We have not banned all aid to Indonesia. We have not stopped trade with them. But at least I think we ought to do what the chairman has said, to hold them to some small standard.

The implication I think given earlier that I heard on my monitor that somehow the State Department is against all forms of control on the military equipment that we give them is wrong. They may be opposed to this amendment, or they may be opposed to one provision in the bill, but the implication that they are opposed to any restrictions at all is wrong and the amendment offered by the Senator from Louisiana strips all controls - everything - strips everything off.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired. Six minutes remain for the proponents of the amendment.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I yield myself 30 seconds simply to say that my

amendment strips only that part of the bill to which the State Department and the Department of Defense both object.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I am aware of the time limitation. I just want the Senate to be very clear what we are voting on here. This is not a vote about whether or not we are concerned about human rights violations or transgression in the region of East Timor. We are rather voting about whether or not to place an explicit prohibition on the use by the Indonesian Government of any defense items which we send to them in East Timor.

The language in the underlying bill is very troubling. I appreciate that we have been able to successfully work at the committee level to remove the restrictions on IMET, that training defense contractors would be penalized which is in the House version. But under this proposal there is a clear and disturbing indication that results from military sales language in the underlying bill. I think all of us would agree it would be inappropriate for us to restrict how other governments are able to use their defense weaponry to deal with insurgent activity within their borders. Arrogant intrusion.

I agree with Senator JOHNSTON that by drawing the line on East Timor, we are giving a kind of implicit endorsement to the principle that East Timor is not a part of Indonesia.

I fully recognize that many Members of this Senate believe in good conscience that East Timor is not and should not be a part of Indonesia. This is going much further than simply saying, as we should, that basic human rights ought to be respected there.

By including this language, we place the Senate on record on one side of a very fractious debate, and that is on a side in direct opposition to the Indonesian Government. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to be mindful of this while casting their votes.

I further echo the arguments of my colleague, Senator JOHNSTON, in noting that the language in the underlying bill contradicts the evolving administration policy toward Indonesia which is in the direction of more exchange, more involvement and more influence on human rights by the consequence of increased military and trade contacts.

I urge, if you can, go to Indonesia. See the changes made. Hear their leaders. Look at our own history, where in 1860 we had a civil war that makes that one, if it comes about, look like nothing. A country that has 300 languages - not dialects, but language - and hundreds of ethnic groups. They know what will happen to their country when the breakup takes place. I think it is very important we not judge Indonesia by our own standards and try to let Indonesia judge

itself and know that our best influence on their human rights is exchange and openness and trade and communication.

Mr. McCONNELL. There is no doubt that there is a human rights problem in East Timor. We are not here arguing about that. But the control the chairman is insisting on will not necessarily achieve the goal of improving that situation, and it may punish American companies seeking contracts and business opportunities.

Like China, I think it is a mistake to try to use commercial levers to fulfill human rights goals. While strict commercial sales are excluded, American defense contractors would be penalized under this proposal.

So I hope that the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana will be approved.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, the Senator from Wyoming stated it properly. There are human rights concerns in Indonesia. By adopting the language that is contained in the bill, we are not endorsing the human rights violations in Indonesia. What we are doing by adopting the Johnston motion to strike is recognizing that the Secretary of State believes there has been a lot of progress in Indonesia, by recognizing that the Department of Defense thinks this is a very unworkable amendment that may restrict the sales of spare parts to C-130's, of which we sell many, many to Indonesia, spare parts to F-16's, spare parts to other things, and thereby render ourselves to be unreliable as the supplier to Indonesia.

Mr. President, the President of the United States is going to Indonesia this fall. This would be a matter of severe embarrassment to him, a major blow in our relationship with Indonesia. I say follow the Secretary of State, follow the Deputy Secretary of Defense, both of whom say this would be a big mistake and we ought to strike this language.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following be added as cosponsors: The Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER]; the Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE]; the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB]; the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN]; the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON]; the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MATHEWS]; the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS]; the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND]; and the Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM].

[The following speech, by Senator Feinstein, was not given on the Senate floor, but inserted later into the Congressional Record.]

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise to speak about the pending Johnston amendment to the foreign operations appropriations bill, which strikes language prohibiting the Indonesian Government

from using United States military equipment in East Timor. This is a very complex issue that I have reviewed carefully.

On the one hand, there is no question that there are serious and continuing human rights abuses in Indonesia. While we now see the Indonesian Government opening up to visits by the International Committee of the Red Cross and withdrawing troops from East Timor, it has simultaneously moved to crack down on freedom of the press and labor activists.

On the other hand, Indonesia is an important ally of the United States in a strategic location. It is also a large and populous country that provides significant trade and investment opportunities for American companies. The entire Pacific rim is particularly important to California business and industry.

With regard to the Johnston amendment, the pertinent question to ask is whether keeping the language restricting military sales to Indonesia would accomplish the goal of improving human rights in that country and in particular in East Timor. I believe that the answer to that question has to be no.

There are also logistical concerns about whether it is practical to try to condition military sales on where the equipment will be used.

Secretary of State Christopher has stated that the administration is concerned about human rights in East Timor and will continue to engage the Indonesian Government aggressively on this important issue. I support Secretary Christopher's and the administration's efforts in this regard. In addition, as Secretary Christopher has explained, it is the State Department's current policy to deny license requests for sales of small and light arms and lethal crowd control items to Indonesia. This decision was made on the basis of concerns over Indonesia's past record in human rights, especially in East Timor.

With this in mind, I will vote for the Johnston amendment. As a general rule, I believe that trade is a force for economic liberalization and that it leads to democratization. Trade is a tool, but it must not be used as a blunt instrument to cudgel those nations that we wish to influence.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Secretary Christopher be printed in the RECORD.

[Although it is in the record twice, this posting doesn't contain a second copy. See above.]

The legislative clerk called the roll. The result was announced - yeas 59, nays 35. Rollcall Vote No. 174 Leg. was posted earlier, and is not repeated here.

ESCALATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS INSIDE EAST TIMOR

Release by the National Council of Maubere Resistance, issued in Lisbon 30 June 1994:

Letter from Nino Konis Santana, leader of the armed resistance, dated 16 June 1994. Translated from Portuguese

On 6 May 1994 in the locality of Uelau, approximately three kms west of the village of Manu Kate, a young boy named Marcelo, son of Mau Buti and Si Mau, was assassinated by the machine gun fire from an Indonesian military patrol.

Marcelo, his three brothers and other villagers, went on a food hunting expedition (sari hidup) with the permission of the local military authorities. Their dogs spotted a deer and gave chase and the brothers followed. The dogs caught the deer and killed it. The boys made a fire to cook the deer and when the smoke rose from the fire, it attracted the attention of one platoon from either battalion 745 or 717, operating in that zone.

The soldiers went in the direction of the smoke and surrounded the four boys who were unarmed civilians. In spite of knowing that, the commander of the platoon ordered his men to open fire, emptying a full magazine from AR 16 automatic rifles as if they were firing on armed guerrilla fighters in open combat.

Marcelo was shot in the stomach and could not move while the other three were able to escape. Marcelo called out identifying himself but they continued firing. The commander then ordered that they throw a hand grenade to kill Marcelo.

"As if this was not enough, the commander put Marcelo's dead body against a tree. After that the commander invited his soldiers to see what good shots they were and how they could shoot the 'GPK' ('security disturbers') and their supporters, and then proceeded to empty another magazine into the dead boy's body. Marcelo's heart was expelled from his body through his back. After this inhuman crime, they threw his dead body into the river and threw rocks at his head until it broke open, wrote Commander Nino Konis Santana, head of the CNRM armed resistance wing in his report on 16 June 1994, and smuggled out of East Timor.

Jose Ramos-Horta, CNRM special representative said in Lisbon today:

This very serious report must be investigated by the UN Special Rapporteur on summary and arbitrary executions, who will be visiting East Timor and Indonesia July 3-13 1994. Terror is pervasive in East Timor. This new crime and the worsening human

rights situation had better stop. It makes a mockery of Foreign Minister Ali Alatas' solemn commitments to the UN Secretary General to end human rights violations in East Timor.

HOUSE VS. WHITE HOUSE: CLINTON CLASHES WITH CONGRESS ON INDONESIA POLICY

Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 June 1994

By Irene Wu, in Washington

Congress tried to chart the course of United States policy towards Indonesia again this month, but this time the Clinton administration took notice. In a draft of its annual appropriations bill introduced on June 17, the Senate banned American military equipment purchased by Indonesia from being used in East Timor. The next day, a State Department official said the restrictions were "inconsistent with our policy" and vowed that the administration would press for revision of the bill. The prompt statement contrasted with the administration's weak and tardy reaction after the House of Representatives passed its own version of the appropriations bill, containing much harsher restrictions on Indonesia, several weeks earlier. The shift may indicate that the White House is determined to concentrate on building ties with Jakarta, and may work harder than expected to bat down Congressional sanctions. The House version of the bill would prohibit the Indonesian military from buying into the U.S. International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme, in line with a ban on U.S. aid to Indonesia imposed after the 1991 Dili massacre. The administration has been skirting the aid ban by letting Indonesia pay for IMET, a programme usually supplied free to developing countries. Though Indonesian participation in IMET is worth only about US\$2 million a year, access to the programme has become a highly symbolic issue for both sides. "Critics of Indonesia have seized on it and Indonesians have viewed it as one of the few remaining points of contact between the U.S. and Indonesian militaries," says Ed Masters, former U.S. ambassador to Indonesia. In drafting its bill, the House Appropriations Committee said it was "outraged" that the new administration, despite its vocal embrace of human rights, decided to provide training to the Indonesian military for a fee. "It was and is the intent of Congress to prohibit U.S. military training for Indonesia," the committee declared. As a committee staff member says, "Politically, it means that the House is on record against providing IMET to Indonesia.

Period. We don't want employees of the U.S. Government training Indonesians." The outrage is directed as much against the White House as against Indonesia. "It's a message to the American administration," said the same staff member, "and a further message to Indonesia that we're still serious." On the Senate side, language that would have similarly prohibited Indonesia from purchasing IMET was struck from the appropriations bill at a committee-level meeting on June 16 -- a move welcomed by the State Department. But inserted instead was a clause forbidding the use of U.S. military equipment in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the following year. The new draft must pass the full Senate before negotiations begin with the House on a joint version, which must be acceptable to President Clinton before he will sign it into law. The nature of IMET complicates the controversy. Caleb Rossiter, director of the Project on Demilitarisation and Democracy, the organisation that alerted members of Congress to Indonesia's continued access to IMET after the Dili massacre, says most of the training focuses on maintaining the F16 fighter-bombers Indonesia purchased from the U.S. in 1989. Barring Indonesia from IMET would "make it hard on the military forces, and show them that occupation of Timor does have a cost," Rossiter says. But Robert Driscoll of the U.S.-ASEAN Business Council believes that 70% of programmes purchased by Indonesia's military are in the area of "management training," programmes such as "relations with the civilian population." In fact, the U.S. Defense Department has incorporated some training in sensitivity to human rights into the IMET curriculum in recent years, largely in response to charges that IMET alumni often flagrantly violated human rights standards after returning to their home countries. By subsequently denying access to IMET, Washington is acting paradoxically, says Bambang Harymurti, Washington bureau chief of the Indonesian magazine Tempo. "The strange thing is that the current administration...thinks it's good to train the military to be more sensitive to human rights, but doesn't allow countries they think have human-rights problems to take the training," he says. The Clinton administration took several weeks to respond to the highly restrictive language of the House bill, a delay that worried some Asia-watchers in Washington. As Clinton prepares to visit Indonesia for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in November, the House bill "could have a deleterious effect on U.S. ability to carry through on Clinton's commitment to a real forward-looking policy towards East Asia," says

Driscoll of the U.S.-Asean Business Council. "My feeling is that the administration -- if it wants to preserve the essentials of the relationship with Indonesia -- needs to draw a line and say this is enough," says ex-ambassador Masters. Clinton may have somewhat assuaged these critics with the State Department's quick reaction to the Senate bill. But some believe the administration's initial reluctance to confront Congressional critics reflects Indonesia's weak constituency in the U.S. "My personal experience is that for any resolution against Indonesia, if you ask for support from a member of Congress or senator...even a junior staffer can put a stamp on it," says Harymurti. "The fact that Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world, non-aligned, and fairly pro-Palestine makes it less popular in Congress than other countries." But human-rights activists cite the same lack of an influential Indonesian community in the U.S. to explain why the U.S. Government rarely targets Indonesia with strong criticism. "There is a history of soft-pedaling, partly because there is not a constituency. Filipinos and Chinese have put pressure on the U.S. government to stand up for human rights in their countries," says Estrellita Jones of Amnesty International. "The level of egregious abuses in Indonesia is certainly not matched by the reaction of the U.S."

DECLARATION OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE

(PERSATUAN RAKYAT DEMOKRATIK - PRD).

July 1994, excerpt.

A. We believe that a humanistic development must be accompanied by the opportunity for citizens for political participation which must be possible through democratic political institutions.

B. We believe that there must be democratic reform whereby the state is prepared to accommodate democratic demands.

C. We believe that articulation of democratic institutions at this point will help the political process in Indonesia develop more healthily and achieve greater maturity.

D. We believe that in order to achieve this progress all democratic groups need to cooperate in order to help complement and assist each other's efforts in these difficult tasks.

So we who have now organized in the United Democratic People (PRD) recommend and put forward the following demands and invite all democratic groups to work together to fulfil them:

I Democracy in Politics

...

8. Support the peaceful revolution of the East Timor problem (without military intervention) recognizing the human rights and democratic rights of the East Timorese nation. ...

IRISH SENATOR DAVID NORRIS ON AID TO INDONESIA

Source; R.T.E. National Radio Date; 30th June 1994 Programme; To-day At Five

INTRO;

Senator David Norris to-day called for a ban on aid to Indonesia

Earlier to-day told me why he felt so strongly about the issue.

Senator Norris; I am looking for a situation where overseas development aid would be denied to the Indonesian Government because of its human rights record. Specifically its invasion and genocide in East Timor because I think that it is intolerable that taxpayers money should be sent to an undemocratic tyrannical regime that is involved in a war crime.

Noele O'Reilly; But in cutting off aid are you not in danger of the old problem of depriving people who are actually in dire poverty in Indonesia ?

Senator Norris; Well that is one possibility, but I do not accept that that is the case. I don't see why we should prop up any regime in this manner. Supposing, for example, the Nazis government, and I think the parallel is quite justified, had applied for money in order to fund programmes in impoverished areas in Bavaria that we should sympathize to such an extent that we would be prepared to prop up a criminal regime. And may I say that the World Bank makes available \$1.6 billion to Indonesia. That is precisely the amount that the Indonesian government spends on what they call defence which includes purchasing arms, aeroplanes, tanks and weapons which are used against the defenceless people of East Timor, arms that are manufactured in Europe.

Noele O'Reilly; Would you promote the idea of boycotting goods from Indonesia, it has been suggested and it did work in South Africa ?

Senator Norris; Yes I most certainly would. I would also boycott Bali for example because this is another part of the Indonesia empire. I think that it is scandalous that people would go and bask in the sunshine and the luxury of Bali and help thereby in propping up a criminal regime like the Indonesian government.

RAMOS EXPLAINS EAST TIMOR BAN TO SOARES

TODAY (Philippines), June 28, 1994

President Ramos has written Portuguese President Mario Soares to explain his actions in banning Portuguese and other foreign delegates from the recent human-rights conference here on East Timor, Malsanang said yesterday. "It is truly unfortunate that the events just transpired may have caused you some apprehension due to the actions taken by my government," Ramos said in his letter to Soares. Ramos spoke of "the primacy of maintaining our democracies in the face of myriad destabilizing forces," and expressed hope that "we can maintain this shared vision and put aside any misunderstandings between our two countries." Ramos was harshly criticized for his ban, which critics said amounted to knuckling under to Indonesian blackmail. Indonesia, which formally annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976, threatened Manila with economic sanctions if the meeting was not banned. Ramos, who said an outright ban would be unconstitutional, later barred foreign delegates from the meeting.

SON OF APCET (PHILIPPINE EDITORIAL)

Editorial, TODAY (Philippines), June 28, 1994,

From the very start of the APCET controversy last month, TODAY has always taken the position that East Timor -- for us and quite apart from its other salient aspects -- had become a free speech issue. It was also one of those issues regarding human rights about which there cannot be two sides, so far at least as journalists are concerned. There is only a side that is wholly right and another which is completely wrong. Despite a sudden rash of APCET-induced realpolitik among many of our misguided fellow editorialists, we stood firm on the principle that the conference should have been allowed to push through without any government interference whatsoever, because our own constitutional rights had come on the line and our duty as journalists had been sounded. Comes now the news that a follow-up conference on East Timor will soon be held again in Davao, which happens to be that Philippine city closest to East Timor's tormentor and occupier, Indonesia. For sheer bravado, nothing can beat that, short of holding the conference in Dili or Jakarta itself. But that, of course, would be very foolish. You wouldn't be going to a conference but to a massacre, or, in the very least, to a congress of fellow prisoners. On the other hand, we now have to wonder if

holding another APCET in Davao might be such a bright idea, after all. Sure, you'll raise hackles in Indonesia, and nervous jitters in Malacanang, plus the press coverage that will be certain to trail anything with the promise of a controversy. But what else is there to gain, for the conference organizers and for the people of Davao, by such a pointed action? Southern Mindanao is said to be standing on the brink of gaining or losing several hundreds of millions of dollars in investments from Indonesia and other Southeast Asian partners. (Of course, we don't know if this is in smuggling or in productive activities. But let that pass for now.) If the conference pushes through, and the Indonesians react the way you can safely predict them to, it won't be East Timor that will suffer, but Davao itself. We know: that sounds suspiciously like the very same arguments that we stood up for against the first time around. We can't afford to stand head to toe with Indonesia, ergo, we shut up. And whatever happened to all that highflowen rhetoric about free speech? Have the Indonesians bought us as well? Not for all the rupiahs in Manado. Let's get this clear: APCET II, or III, or IV, should have a right to be held anytime, any place, for as long as it assists the East Timorese regain their freedom and independence. If the organizers insist on pushing through with it in Davao, then let them do so. But a right is one thing and its judicious exercise is another. We'd have to ask the organizers: why Davao? And why just now? Why not the Netherlands, or Australia, or Malaysia, or New York, where the tragic pleading of the East Timorese -- the central issue, remember? -- might fall on the ears of peoples and governments in a much better position to do something about it? Granting that APCET's main function lies in its being a propaganda forum, Davao isn't exactly the center of the communications universe. The Manila meeting was good for the exposure; a Davao -- or Tuguegarao, or Cathalogan -- APCET can only bring in diminishing returns, or worse, a progressive alienation of Filipino sympathies for the East Timorese. And why just now, hot on the heels of the inadvertent success of the first APCET? A second one, so soon and so close to Indonesia, smacks of Filipino sensationalism and that quintessential Filipino flaw of overdoing everything. Less is more. A second APCET so soon and in that place smacks of insincerity and cheap thrill-seeking. Not to mention political opportunism. We predict it will fall flat in the press. It will appear as what it probably is: an attempt by self-seeking, would-be politicians to capitalize on a rousing success, but this time only for themselves. It will be ignored by the foreign press and panned by the local. It will do a

disservice to the very worthy cause of East Timorese freedom and human rights. So, was that free-speech, journalist's-first-duty business a onetime thing? Hardly. We used it well, and we made our point. There will be many other points to make that will require a similar exercise. The first APCET didn't and couldn't solve East Timor's problem, but it did better than anyone expected to bring the problem to the fore. Was that enough? Nor for East Timor, but this isn't East Timor. Free speech should belong to every man -- the genius, the mediocre and the idiot alike. He who employs it bravely and wisely, we admire and call a hero. He who squanders it on insults, we call a fool. The right to speak should carry with it a measure of self-restraint, all of which bespeak a maturity that alone deserves to be listened to. The next APCET should be held in a white country because we Filipinos, despite our vulnerabilities, hosted the first and crucial one. We have proven ourselves. Now it is the turn of the countries that were upset because they were prevented from attending the conference. Madame Mitterrand, s'il vous plait.

RESPONSE TO ABOVE EDITORIAL BY ONE OF APCET'S ORGANIZERS.

HAD

Editorial, TODAY (Philippines), June 29, 1994,

It looks like we were had by psywar experts in the administration. Yesterday we editorialized against the holding of what we termed -- we thought ever so cleverly -- as "Son of APCET". It turns out that we were lashing out at a straw man. Who set it -- and the public -- up?

Read below the response of the first APCET organizers.

"THE PITS OF PARANOIA"

It does not matter whether a second Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) will indeed be held or not in Davao City. "What riles us is the knee-jerk reaction (again!) of our highest government leaders which smack of the darkest paranoia. "They have not learned. "They even have the tenacity to publicly announce that they will again ignominiously surrender to the bullying of Indonesian strongman General Suharto by barring aliens to an APCET II if this is in fact held to coincide with the East Asia Business Growth conference. "For what is at stake here? The much-touted P160 billion worth of potential investments from Indonesia? 200,000 nonexistent jobs? Or the human rights, er, lost profits of the business elite of Manado, Jakarta and Davao? "We have said it before and reiterate:

that one human life sacrificed at the altar of greed whenever and wherever, deserve the strongest condemnation from all civilized peoples of the world. More so if over 200,000 East Timorese lives buried in their country's bleeding earth cry out for justice and vindication. "Now they blame the APCET organizers for being at it again and doing an overkill for allegedly planning APCET II. "For the record, there are no plans for this so-called APCET II. APCET was a historical watershed not only for bringing the East Timor issue to the fore but also for the Filipino people's unmitigated passion for human rights. "We do not intend to squander these gains. But we cannot stop so-called psywar experts of this administration in trying to wean public opinion away from this victory in their foolish games. Or from being "pikon". "Blame Suharto instead for forcing open the lid on Indonesia's darkest, bloodiest secret. Blame Suharto and his minions for being the "originals" in the business of creating "killing fields" and Bosnias even before it was in vogue. "Blame the Suharto regime instead for the more than 200,000 deaths and the still prevailing terror it has wreaked in East Timor since it forcibly annexed this tiny but oil-rich Catholic country in 1975. "And blame the tottering Suharto regime for clamping down on Indonesia's stirring democratic movement. (It would make good sense for our leaders to pay close attention to this.) "For the truth is that East Timor will never again be swept under the Asean solidarity rug. "The Philipines led the way by hosting APCET a month ago. Malaysia followed suit and hosted a one-day forum on East Timor, ignoring Indonesia's tantrums. Thailand was the site of a people's tribunal finding Indonesia guilty of genocide in East Timor. Sooner than later, the voice of all peoples from the Asean states and the world over will reverberate in unison, upholding not only the human rights of the East Timorese but of all -- including their own citizens. "Soon East Timor will be free. Soon Jakarta will likewise be free. "And perhaps, soon we shall be freer.

EAST TIMORESE FACE TRIAL

Green Left #148, June 22, 1994

By Jon Land

Five East Timorese independence activists are about to go on trial for peaceful protests they carried out during the visit of foreign journalists to Dili in April. They face up to seven years' imprisonment under Indonesian law.

Grave concerns are held for their well-being, as well as of six other prisoners who were hurriedly moved from the Comarca

Prison in Dili to one in Semarang in East Java. It is believed the six are suffering ill-treatment and torture for staging a demonstration and shouting independence slogans during the "guided" tour of foreign journalists to their prison.

All six were arrested for taking part in the peaceful demonstration in Dili on November 12, 1991, which was attacked by the Indonesian military, who killed some 270 civilians.

Indonesian authorities are extremely sensitive about East Timor following the bungled attempts to block the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor in Manila earlier this month. An Indonesian parliamentary committee report released on June 14 urged "a fundamental improvement and repair" of the human rights situation in East Timor.

"What this shows is concern amongst sections of the Suharto regime over international attention to the human rights situation on East Timor, which has worsened over the last few years", said Max Lane, spokesperson for AKSI - Indonesia Solidarity Action. "It also reveals the growing influence that the pro-democracy movement and outspoken social commentators such as George Aditjondro have on Indonesian politics."

The UN is sending a special rapporteur on torture and extrajudicial execution to Indonesia and East Timor in early July, to investigate human rights abuses and those still missing following the Dili massacre of 1991.

INDONESIAN WARSHIP FIASCO

Green Left #148, June 22, 1994

By Jon Land

A controversy has erupted in Indonesia over the refitting of 39 German warships purchased last year by the Suharto government. Technology and research minister Jusuf Habibie arranged the deal without consulting either the navy or the finance department. The refitting cost is estimated at US\$1.1 billion - about three quarters of the official defence budget.

The purchase of the 15-year-old former East German corvettes, minesweepers and tank landing craft, each costing between US\$10 and \$12.7 million, has been plagued with difficulties.

To date, only 12 of the 39 vessels have been delivered. One vessel almost sank off the coast of France en route to Indonesia on June 2. At least nine others remain in dry dock in Surabaya awaiting completion.

Concerned that the vessels' weapons systems could be used against the East Timorese, German human rights and solidarity groups launched a successful campaign

to have them removed before the vessels left for Indonesia. Technical equipment on several of the vessels was also damaged during a protest against the deal by German peace demonstrators.

Sections of the Indonesian military are increasingly concerned that there may be a delay in new weapon and electronics systems coming from the United States. On May 25, Congress passed draft legislation prohibiting the Indonesian armed forces from using US military facilities. This follows an earlier bill banning the sale of small arms.

However, the sale of major weapons systems continues. Bills such as the Feingold Amendment (debated in Congress over a year ago), which calls for an end to military training programs with Indonesia, have been repeatedly blocked.

Firms owned and controlled by Habibie, a close friend and possible successor to Suharto, are the main tenderers for the refurbishment program. In early June, funding for the refurbishment was suspended by the Finance Ministry, and Habibie has been publicly criticised by the finance minister.

Embarrassed at the escalating public row between ministers, Suharto's information minister, Harmoko, reports the June 13 Kompas, has banned the press from further "unfavourable" comments on the matter.

U.S. ARMY HANDBOOK: INDONESIA

March 8, 1994

[Excerpts relating to East Timor]

Ch 4.07 - Foreign Policy

FOREIGN POLICY

Political Considerations

The internal dynamics of Indonesian politics in the last half of the twentieth century was linked to an external environment that both the Old Order and the New Order perceived as inherently dangerous. Foreign policy had as its most important goals security of the state and territorial integrity. The jurisdictional boundaries of the state were greatly expanded with the incorporation of the "archipelago principle" into the new international law of the sea regime. This new regime was codified as the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea in 1982. The "archipelago principle" effectively territorialized all ocean space inside straight baselines drawn from the farthest points of the most distant islands of Indonesia, thus giving new sanction to the Indonesian doctrine of the political and security unity of archipelagic land and sea space (wawasan nusantara), first promulgated in the 1950s (see National Territory: Rights and Responsibilities, ch. 2). Sukarno's response to challenge was to

attack the status quo--to "live dangerously," to cite his 1964 National Day address, "A Year of Living Dangerously." The Suharto government's approach, on the other hand, was one of cooperation and accommodation in order to gain international support for Indonesia's political stability and economic development while, at the same time, maintaining its freedom of action. Whereas Sukarno relished leading the New Emerging Forces against the Old Established Forces, the Suharto government turned to the Western developed economies for assistance. These countries were consortionally organized in the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI--see Glossary), and along with the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (see Glossary), gave massive economic assistance, amounting in the 1992 budget to more than US\$4 billion a year. Although Suharto's pragmatic, low-profile style was a far cry from the radical internationalism and confrontational anti-imperialism of Sukarno's foreign policy, there was continuity in a nationalism that colored Indonesia's perceptions of its role in the region. The promotion of Islamic international political interests was not high on the Indonesian foreign policy agenda, despite Indonesia being the world's largest Muslim nation. Indonesia was a member of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) but as of 1992, unlike Malaysia, had not aspired to a major role in that organization.

Following two decades of post-Sukarno "low profile" foreign policy, by Suharto's fourth term (1983-88), a more assertive Indonesian foreign policy voice was heard as Jakarta began to reaffirm its claim to a leadership position, both regionally and worldwide, corresponding to its geographical vastness, resource endowment, population, and political stability. After an international rehabilitative period, Indonesia rejoined the community of nations, broke the Jakarta-Hanoi-Beijing-Pyongyang axis, ended the Indonesian-Malaysian Confrontation (Konfrontasi--see Glossary), worked to establish ASEAN, forged cooperative nonthreatening links with its neighbors, and became a moderating voice in Third World forums. By the early 1990s, Indonesia, which American scholar Donald K. Emmerson could still describe as "invisible" in 1987, had become more visible both as a regional power and a major Third World voice in the global political and economic arenas. In 1992 Indonesian foreign policy reflected a proud national identity and what British scholar Michael Leifer called its "sense of regional entitlement."

Indonesia's full reemergence on the world stage was signalled in April 1985 when it hosted a gathering of eighty nations to

commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung and to reaffirm the relevance of the Bandung principles (see Independence: The First Phases, 1950-65, ch. 1). This conference projected Indonesia as a leading voice in the nonaligned world and provided it with an extra-regional platform from which to assert its new self-confidence and claim to proper international standing. Suharto, secure domestically in an environment of political stability and economic growth, and backed by his energetic and clever Minister of Foreign Affairs Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, prepared to assume the mantle of statesman.

In October 1985, Suharto represented the developing nations of the southern hemisphere (French president Francois Mitterrand spoke for the developed nations of the northern hemisphere) at a Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO--see Glossary) of the UN meeting in Rome. This meeting recognized Indonesia's considerable accomplishment in achieving rice self-sufficiency (see Agriculture, ch. 3). Suharto also undertook an East European tour to balance the close economic ties that had been established with the West and the general anti-communist orientation of Indonesia's foreign policy.

A major foreign policy initiative begun in 1985 sought for Indonesia the chairmanship of the Nonaligned Movement, a position that would acknowledge Indonesia's credentials to speak authoritatively in the Third World. Indonesia had been a founding member of the Nonaligned Movement and its adherence to and promotion of the ideals of nonalignment had been one of the few consistencies between the foreign policies of the Old Order and New Order governments. At the same time, Indonesia was the only founding member that had not hosted a Nonaligned Movement summit. At summits in Harare, Zimbabwe, in 1986, and in Belgrade, Yugoslavia (later Serbia), in 1989, Indonesia lobbied hard but without success for the chair. A number of factors seemed to be working against it in an organization marked by geographic and ideological differences. Radical socialist regimes were not sympathetic to Indonesia's domestic anti-communism. African nationalist regimes mobilized in the former Portuguese colonies in Africa rejected Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor. Indonesia's solidarity with ASEAN on the Cambodian issue lost favor with friends of Vietnam. Finally, the absence of normal relations with the Non-aligned Movement's largest member, China, weakened Indonesia's position substantially. By the end of the 1980s, however, many of the objections no longer seemed as relevant in the changing global political economy as

adroit Indonesian diplomats continued to pursue their country's goal.

At the Nonaligned Movement's thirtieth anniversary meeting in Accra, Ghana, in September 1991, Indonesia finally won its coveted role as chair of the movement and host of the September 1992 Jakarta summit. But as Indonesia grasped the prize, its political worth was questionable in a post-Cold War world without superpower rivalries. To set the scene for the Jakarta summit, as incoming chair, Suharto undertook the longest foreign tour of his career--a twenty-three-day trip to two Latin American and three African countries--in November and December 1991. At meetings of the Group of Fifteen (see Glossary) in Caracas, Venezuela, and the OIC in Dakar, Senegal, as well as bilateral meetings in Latin America and Africa, he began the effort of shifting the Nonaligned Movement agenda from its traditional concerns to the economic and social issues confronting the developing world. This changed agenda was the focus of Suharto's address to the May 1992 Bali ministerial meeting of the Nonaligned Movement Coordinating Bureau, setting the agenda for the Nonaligned Movement summit. At the same time, however, Indonesia rejected suggestions that the Nonaligned Movement and the Group of Seventy-seven (see Glossary) should be merged because the goals of the two groups differed. Whereas the Nonaligned Movement had a "special commitment" to the eradication of colonialism, racism, and apartheid as well as a duty to prevent the UN from being dominated by any one country, the Group of Seventy-seven fostered economic cooperation among its members.

The summit took place on schedule and without disruption the first week of September 1992. The Jakarta Message, the summit's final communiqué, reflected Suharto's call in his opening speech for a constructive dialogue between the developed and developing nations, warning that North-South polarization loomed as "the central unresolved issue of our time." In an expression of Indonesia's pride in its own development, Suharto offered Indonesian technical assistance to countries with food and population problems. As chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, Suharto brought the Jakarta Message to the 1992 session of the UN General Assembly.

Human Rights and Foreign Policy

The luster of Suharto's Nonaligned Movement chairmanship was somewhat diminished by persistent questioning of Indonesia's human rights practices. The November 1991 Dili Massacre reopened the nagging problem of East Timor, forcing Suharto to break off his foreign tour (see Local Government, this ch.; National Defense and

Internal Security, ch. 5). Indonesia's problem in East Timor was only one part of a human- and political-rights record that was repeatedly criticized by a number of human rights monitoring agencies such as Asia Watch, Amnesty International, and the International Commission of Jurists. Over the years of the New Order's life, the International Commission of Jurists had provided copious documentation of rights violations that paralleled the congressionally mandated United States Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices around the world, including data on Indonesia. Indonesia had the unenviable distinction of being one of the twenty-two nations criticized by the 1992 meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission.

The catalog of problem areas was lengthy. Indonesia's violations ran the gamut from lack of respect for the integrity of the individual to torture and disappearance; lack of respect for civil liberties including freedom of speech, press, and assembly; lack of respect for political rights; racial, religious, and other forms of discrimination; and inadequate labor rights. Of particular concern to the human rights monitoring agencies was the use of the judicial system to suppress political opposition.

Indonesia's reactions to external criticism of its human rights record ranged from militant intransigence to reasoned defense. ABRI chief Try Sutrisno reacted angrily to foreign expressions of concern over the human rights situation in East Timor. "This is an internal affair and there should be no meddling," he said. "If anyone wants to talk about human rights, Indonesia has had them since time immemorial. That's why you should study Pancasila." Furthermore, he added, "We will not accept any foreign interference." Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas took a more centrist position. He placed the issue in the context of balancing individual rights with the rights of a society, and political rights and economic, social, and cultural rights. Alatas argued that certain characteristic problems of developing countries must be acknowledged in the application of human rights criteria. Moreover, Indonesia furiously resisted the linking of the rights issues to other areas of international relations, particularly economic relations. The human rights issue complicated the renegotiation of an ASEAN-European Community treaty on economic cooperation because the European Community insisted on the inclusion of a "human rights clause." The issue of human rights and East Timor was placed on the European Community's agenda by Portugal. In the European Community and other international forums, Lisbon pressured an unresponsive Indonesia to

allow a UN-supervised act of self-determination in the province.

In March 1992, angered at Dutch prodding on human rights, Indonesia cut its aid relationship with the Netherlands and disbanded the twenty-four-year-old IGGI, the multinational group of lenders, which was chaired by the Dutch. A new group, minus the Dutch, called the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI--see Glossary), met in Paris rather than The Hague, after being established under World Bank aegis to continue IGGI functions. Jakarta was forcing a choice: participation in a liberalized Indonesian economy or insistence on the priority of human rights.

Also in March 1992, the DPR passed a new immigration law that was criticized by human rights groups. The law effectively barred from returning to Indonesia residents whom the government decided had been disloyal. Targets of the new law were seen as elements that ABRI would naturally want to ban: secessionist movement members and alleged communists.

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Relations with the United States

Indonesian relations with the United States were generally warm and cordial after the establishment of Suharto's New Order government. In many respects, the United States during the Cold War was the least threatening superpower, assisting the economic recovery of the country both bilaterally and through the IGGI. In 1991 United States trade with Indonesia was greater than its trade with all of Eastern Europe. Despite its professed nonalignment, Indonesia also recognized the importance of the United States military and political presence in Southeast Asia in maintaining the regional balance of power. There were issues, however, which divided the two countries in the early 1990s. The United States rejected Indonesia's archipelagic claims to jurisdiction over the vital deepwater straits linking the Pacific and Indian oceans. During this period, the United States also vigorously opposed Indonesia's efforts to promote the NFZ through ASEAN. On the other hand, Indonesia, like other developing countries in the region, was troubled by what it saw as creeping protectionism in United States trade policy. This concern led to a bruising diplomatic contest over the issue of the protection of intellectual property. Ultimately, Jakarta bent to the implied threat of sanctions specified in United States trade law.

The human rights and East Timor issues continued to irritate political communication between Jakarta and Washington. Indonesia resented the attention given to this issue by the United States Congress, which in turn was roused to action by human rights advo-

cacy groups. For Indonesia, the persistent allegations belied the sincerity of United States protestations about Indonesia's contributions to regional peace and security. Efforts to sanction Indonesia by cutting off military assistance or threatening its Generalized System of Preferences status were viewed in Jakarta as anti-Indonesian. The official United States government position, as stated in March 1992 by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Kenneth M. Quinn, was that cutting ties, "would not produce the desired results which we all seek and could have negative consequences: for United States Indonesia relations; for our limited influence in Indonesia; and most importantly, for the people of East Timor." While the United States government wished to work cooperatively with the Indonesian government to promote development and respect for human rights in East Timor, it also had to be able to work productively with the Indonesian government on a broad range of issues because it was an important regional power and one with a growing extra-regional voice.

The United States Congress seemed more reluctant than the executive branch to separate the issue of broader interests with Indonesia from the problem of human rights. Congressional and NGO critics argued that United States policy rested on an out-of-date view of Indonesia's strategic importance now that the Cold War that had ended. Furthermore, these groups asserted that the United States should use its influence to push a democratic agenda. Later in 1992, United States legislation was discussed that would have terminated all of Washington's aid and trade concessions to Jakarta and required the United States to oppose World Bank loans to the country. In reality, only Indonesian participation in the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program was cut--a relatively insignificant sanction in terms of its functional impact on Indonesia's military, but one fraught with negative symbolic value as an expression of United States interests in the bilateral relationship (see Foreign Military Relations, ch. 5).

In 1996 Indonesia will have ended the third decade of New Order government. By that time, more than halfway through the 1993-98 presidential term of office, the issue of presidential succession might be resolved. This could unblock the political logjam that in the early 1990s seemed to stall the process of domestic political change--keterbukaan--set in motion by the government's development policies. A May 1992 World Bank report stated that by the end of the decade Indonesia would be a middle-income country. This prediction seemed to be on target. Indonesia was beginning to

play a middle-power role regionally and even globally in some interest areas. More and more Indonesians were likely to be socialized to the country's modern political culture, which increasingly resembled the newly industrialized economies. The trends seemed to indicate that the stability deemed so necessary for development will depend upon a government more responsive to diversified public interests than simply to those of the ABRI-bureaucracy-presidential palace elite.

Ch 4 - Bibliography

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CHAPTER 5.03: THE ARMED FORCES IN THE NATIONAL LIFE

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East Timor

The East Timor conflict that began in the mid-1970s represented a somewhat different case. East Timor--then the colony of Portuguese Timor--was not claimed as a natural part of Indonesia after independence, as Irian Jaya had been. Upon its departure in early December 1975, the Portuguese colonial administration turned over its arms to the leftist, anti-Indonesian Fretilin faction. After fighting had broken out among various political factions in the colony and Fretilin had declared East Timor's independence, Indonesian military forces, comprising ten battalions, invaded East Timor on December 7. The Indonesian government took the

position that because Portugal was unable to reestablish effective control over its colony, it was necessary for Indonesian forces to restore order at the request of local political leaders. A provisional government petitioned Indonesia for incorporation, and East Timor became the nation's twenty-seventh province--Timor Timur--in July 1976. Thereafter, ABRI's military campaign against Fretilin guerrillas in the province was treated as an internal security operation to subdue armed insurgents. It should be noted, however, that many foreign observers believe that the majority of East Timorese did not truly support integration. A succession of United States government administrations have maintained a continuous policy that the United States accepted the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, although not recognizing that the referendum that took place on the issue was legitimate.

By 1988 the situation in East Timor had changed dramatically, with emphasis on rural development, civic action, and improvement of the economic infrastructure. Over half of the military forces in the province were involved in civic action missions, including infrastructure construction, teaching, and agricultural training. Although incidents of unrest sometimes occurred in Dili, they generally reflected economic grievances and social conflict brought about by high expectations for employment and social infrastructures that had not had sufficient time to develop. Ironically, after hundreds of years under a colonial regime that left a legacy of 5 percent literacy, the greatly improved level of education of Timorese youth brought a classic example of unfulfilled rising expectations. Coupled with economic domination by non-Timorese migrants, discontent made exploitation of the situation by the small number of remaining Fretilin supporters inevitable. Periodic heavy-handed army security operations also fueled opposition.

Tragically, a major incident occurred in Dili in November 1991 in which at least 50 and perhaps more than 100 civilians were killed or wounded by army troops reacting to a political demonstration. Unprecedented national and international attention as well as a changing view of ABRI's role in society prompted Suharto to take the extraordinary step in his supreme commander's role to appoint the first-ever National Investigation Commission to look into the incident, identify those at fault, and take corrective action. In its preliminary report in December 1991, the commission found that the army had overreacted to provocation and had used "excessive force" contrary to established procedures. Based on the findings of a separate Military Honor Council, in February 1992, the army chief of staff directed that

five officers be censured, at least eight soldiers and officers be court-martialed for major offenses, and six senior officers in the chain of command be relieved of their posts. To its credit, the army itself reacted with anger and dismay to the incident and supported the subsequent disciplinary actions taken against army personnel. Within six months of the incident, three senior officers were dismissed, two others were relieved from active duty, another was suspended, and four junior officers were sentenced to jail terms of between eight and fourteen months.

The army and the government, both subjected to intense international as well as domestic scrutiny (the incident was extensively and openly covered in the press), realized their higher responsibilities and responded in a mature and conciliatory manner to their critics at home and abroad. It may well be that this incident, which provoked the most significant controversy since the 1965 coup attempt, will prove to have been a watershed in the way ABRI viewed its role in society and was in turn viewed by the populace. Suharto's initiative in directing investigative efforts, which emphasized his role as supreme commander of the armed forces, was a dramatic assertion of his continuing authority over the armed forces leadership, most of whom were twenty years younger than he. His public apologies for the incident also emphasized the embarrassment it had caused Indonesia.

CHAPTER 5.05: FOREIGN MILITARY RELATIONS

Consistent with its foreign policy of nonalignment, Indonesia maintained no defense pacts with foreign nations. It did, however, have military aid agreements with the United States and various other nations and participated in combined military exercises with several other countries. Over the years, Indonesia also supplied troop contingents--some involving either military or police personnel or both--to United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces sent to the Suez Canal-Sinai Peninsula area (1957 and 1973-79), Congo (the former name for Zaire, 1960-64), the Iran-Iraq border (1988-90), Namibia (1989-90), and the Kuwait-Iraq border (1991). In 1991 new UN support missions were sent to Cambodia and Somalia (see Indonesia, ASEAN, and the Third Indochina War, ch. 4).

Indonesia is a member of ASEAN, and although the organization is not a defense alliance, military cooperation existed between Indonesia and its ASEAN partners. This cooperation was conducted on a frequent and bilateral basis and included exchanges of military representatives at national defense institutions, periodic security consultations, and a series of separate bilat-

eral combined military exercises. Following the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1979, ASEAN foreign ministers meeting in Bali pledged their nations' support for the security of each of the other ASEAN nations, but stopped short of discussing the creation of a military alliance. The Cambodian peace accords of 1991 reduced tensions considerably. Moreover, there was a feeling of admiration for Vietnam's armed forces on the part of senior Indonesian military officers, particularly the powerful General Murdani. Murdani and others found much in common between the Vietnamese and Indonesian armed forces. They alone in Southeast Asia had fought against colonial powers for their independence, and both had based much of their military doctrine on the tenets of guerrilla warfare. It was this perceived relationship between Indonesian and Vietnamese military leaders that gave Indonesia the impetus to assume an influential role in the Cambodian peace settlement process. The Indonesian government continued to stress that defense cooperation among ASEAN nations was a function of each nation's right to protect itself and that bilateral cooperation would not lead to any bilateral or ASEAN-wide defense pact. Indonesia continued to support normalization of Vietnam's relationship with Western nations, particularly the United States.

Indonesia has also held combined military exercises with non-ASEAN nations, including Australia, Britain, France, India, New Zealand, and the United States. During the 1980s, defense officials suggested that joint border patrols might be set up with Papua New Guinea, and the two countries signed a status-of-forces agreement in January 1992. Indonesian troops sometimes crossed the border from Irian Jaya Province into Papua New Guinea in pursuit of armed insurgents.

Indonesia has maintained military assistance agreements with several countries. It received funded security assistance from the United States every year since 1950 except 1965 and 1966 when relations were at a low ebb. Grant aid of military equipment, which ended in 1978, averaged US\$13 million per year and was used mainly for logistics equipment, communications systems, and combat materiel for internal security. The United States also provided grant aid training under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program between 1950 and 1992, when the United States Congress cut the aid as a reaction to the human rights situation in East Timor. In that forty-two-year period, more than 4,000 Indonesian military personnel received IMET training in the United States. United States Foreign Military Sales credits were made available periodically to Indonesia starting in 1974, and have helped defray the

expenses of purchases of United States-made military equipment. As of the early 1990s, Indonesia had also received military aid from Australia, Britain, France, the Netherlands, and West Germany, among others. Indonesia also acquired equipment from the Soviet Union in the early 1960s and, although most of it was inoperative by the 1970s, Jakarta continued to make payments to Moscow after the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991.

THE BRUTAL TRAGEDY WE WONT FACE UP TO

Sunday World July 3 1994.

The Sunday World is Ireland's largest selling Sunday newspaper.

BY BRIAN D'ARCY

OVER 200,000 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN MURDERED IN EAST TIMOR WHILE THE WORLD LOOKS THE OTHER WAY.

Comment; The Sunday World carried a full page on East Timor. Because of time constraints we are unable to put the full article on E-Mail. The full text is available from ETISC. The page carried two photographs. One of Fatima Gusmão, the other of the East Timorese resistance. The issues dealt with are as follows; the invasion, the murder of Roger East, the murders of East Timorese and Chinese during the invasion, the role of Australia in the Timor Gap, the role of the U.K. in supplying arms, the role of the UN, Kissinger and Death of a Nation.

INTERVIEW WITH MARI ALKATIRI

Diario de Noticias, Lisbon, 6-29-94. Translated from Portuguese

In the last few weeks a lot has been written about debate over [the participation of ET in] the meeting to formalize the legal establishment of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP). Regretfully, little has been written about the CPLP itself, its importance, its role in the international political scene, and its objectives as a agreement within a community of countries. Some time ago there were constant references to the common language as the base upon which the CPLP would be built. It is not our intention here to question the concept of "lusofonia" in itself, but only our reservations: we believe that "lusofonia" does not solely have language implications but also refers to the cultural expression of a People. "Lusofonia" is not just the use of a language as a means to communicate -- it is also an instrument of resistance in the mountains, in the occupied cities and villages in East Timor; in the cemeteries com-

municating with the soul of the martyrs; in the "uma luliks" [sacred house/temple] communicating with our ancestors; in the Indonesian courts and prisons, accusing the repressive regime. What we regret in all this debate is that there has been concentration in questioning the board representing East Timor. Questions were raised about who would represent East Timor, and what statute should be given to the Territory. Those who have raised such questions, be it with the best or worse of intentions, have mistaken the structures created outside ET and acknowledged by the leaders inside ET, with the Timorese community at large, or rather, with the small Timorese community living in Portugal. They added and subtracted numbers, but reached the wrong result because they missed the fact that the data provided by some Timorese were affected by BAIS (Indonesian counter-intelligence). They also mistook a clear determination of legitimate representation of ET on the national and international level, with a simple counting of votes -- as they were concerned with having all (in)"sensitivities" represented in the ET board. Meanwhile in the Indonesian prisons, the Timorese are struggling for that their Country will become another Portuguese-Speaking Country. But their will is ignored -- perhaps because a census has not yet been conducted aimed at registering voters from the Timorese community in Portugal. Only this makes it possible for the Timorese community in Portugal to vote for those "salesmen" who are backed up by Jakarta. And it may be that the best potential candidates [in the Timorese community in Portugal] avoid participating in the democratic game [elections], as they were disillusioned by past experiences.

THE STATUTE FOR EAST TIMOR

The experience of 18 years of struggle marked by the changes undergone by the Timorese political organizations, have dictated the decision by the Representatives of the Timorese Resistance to battle for the participation of ET in the CPLP with observer status. The ET proposal was based on pragmatism. First, it concerned itself with the consensus by the CPLP members in full right. If the ET proposal were based solely in arithmetic, we could point out that of the 7 countries, 5 have recognized the Democratic Republic of East Timor; and 4 have signed with RDTL the protocol of Diplomatic Relations between Embassies. The relationship between ET and these countries has developed at two levels -- on the Party level and on the State level. Therefore, ET has been treated as a State by the majority of the CPLP countries, a State whose Independence was proclaimed on November 28, 1975. Thus, the observer

status required by the ET Leadership is based on the realistic attitude that has marked the ET Resistance. And we do not see where there could be a contradiction between the being a "non-autonomous territory under Portuguese legal administration" and benefiting from observer status in CPLP. In our modest view, a "territory under Portuguese legal administration" is not the same as a "Portuguese territory". While ET is not Portuguese, it speaks the language of Camões [a Portuguese poet and a national symbol], and is therefore meritorious of being acknowledged and having a statute in CPLP compatible with its legal statute -- in a community defined by a shared language and History. Opponent voices have been raised against the concession of observer status to ET. If this opposition bases itself in the fact that ET is a "non-autonomous territory", we can only recommend more thorough readings of Ian Brownlie, Yilma Makonnen, etc.; and a more careful reference to the United Nations and Non-Aligned countries documents about the observer status conceded to different entities of various natures. It is precisely because ET is not yet a State as recognized by the UN, that an observer status is perfectly appropriate.

THE PARTICIPATION OF EAST TIMOR IN THE CPLP MEETING

Inside East Timor, during these last 18 years, two existing administrations have opposed each other: the one directed by FRETILIN and, later on, by the CNRM, and the Indonesian illegal administration. The Resistance administration has always been operative (in one way or another) independently from any other nation, thanks to the Resistance Leadership. Therefore, there has been continuity of a national Timorese administration throughout these difficult eighteen years, despite the enormous pressure by the illegal occupying forces. If there is a "de facto" administration whose deliberations are accepted by the East Timorese population (and we are not referring here to an administration in its formal and modern sense), which has established relations with other States and governments, and directs a struggle that is recognized as legitimate by the UN -- then we do not hesitate in classifying this, given the current situation, as a legitimate administration. As a legitimate administration, it is competent to name and depose its diplomatic representatives, and to establish specific and general mandates. Perhaps the implication is not entirely clear that a legitimate administration should have the right, and the duty, to exercise its power -- within the established political and legal limits. But no one can deny that, in exercising its power the Resistance Leadership has sought to defend the most fundamental right of its

People, which is violated by the illegal Indonesian occupation -- the Right to self-determination and independence. To speak today of "representation of all sensitivities" is, at best, to attempt to reduce the Resistance to a situation of dangerous indefiniteness, and would ultimately benefit only Indonesia. Those who defend the "sensitivities" thesis only reveal how far removed they are from the situation in ET, allowing themselves to get involved in secondary concerns that were raised by people whose participation in the ET struggle has not gone much farther than discussions in the Lisbon cafes. Taken to its ultimate consequences, the "sensitivities" thesis by which the only legitimate representation of a people is one that includes all "sensitivities", classifies every single government in the world as illegitimate. (This is because every government has an opposition, and there are always people who are not involved in politics and do not see themselves represented by their government.) Imagine what would happen if Portugal started conditioning the participation of other Portuguese-speaking countries (its ex-colonies), or vice-versa, on the integration in their delegations of all national sensitivities!? To the joy of those who are not thrilled with the emergence of the CPLP, this would be the most efficient way to frustrate its creation. The process of liberation of the People of East Timor is exceedingly dynamic and creative of new situations. To understand it, it is necessary first of all to learn to respect it. To treat the Resistance Leadership as a simple "sensitivity" among many only proves the existence of a real insensitivity for the drama of the East Timor people. Being a fundamentally political problem, it is not always possible to frame it in the "rigor" of a ministerial bureaucracy, or of a statistical exercise of normative reductionism. In East Timor, the Struggle Administration is an authority. An authority who issues norms that are accepted by the people. It is the formal source of a larger body of norms and orientations. And these norms have proven efficient because they are issued by an authority which has the support and recognition of the people. It is this authority that must be represented in the CPLP meeting, and other international fora, by its diplomatic delegates. All "sensitivities" which are not represented will have all legitimacy in the world to form an opposition to the legitimate authority and organize themselves in Parties when in the future East Timor is independent. This is because only when ET is independent will there be enough physical, social, political, and legal space to frame all these issues. Already in 1983 did the Central Committee of the FRETILIN deliberate to embrace a multi-party democracy. This decision re-

flected the weight of endogenous factors. This decision was made with the clear understanding of the need to respect the voice and to represent all segments of the Timorese society, but not to promote the proliferation of small groups demanding representation. For this reason, the question of "sensitivities" belongs exclusively to the Timorese themselves, and in its solution no weight should be given to factors of exogenous interests.

Maputo [Mozambique], June 29, 1994.

LETTER TO ALL PARTICIPANTS OF THE ASIA-PACIFIC CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR IN MANILA

By George Junus Aditjondro

Salatiga, 1 June 1994

First of all, let me convey to all of you, brothers and sisters, the greetings and blessings from Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili, passed on to me via telephone by Mgr Belo himself very recently. He also wishes to relay his gratitude to Jaime Cardinal Sin, on behalf of the people of East Timor, for the letter sent by Cardinal Sin to Mgr. Belo. Unfortunately, Mgr. Belo himself has not received the letter personally, and only heard about the letter in the news broadcast. Last but not least, in his phone message to me he appealed to the conference to support the idea of carrying out a UN-supervised referendum in the territory, which he had already appealed to the former UN Secretary General in his letter of February 6, 1989. Myself and the Indonesian organisations which sent their delegation to protest at the Philippine embassy on May 27, 1994, fully support the idea of having the East Timorese people themselves determine their own future through a UN-supervised referendum.

Next, from the deepest of my heart I salute all my Filipino and Filipina brothers and sisters for your determination in carrying out this conference, in spite of all the concerted efforts of the Indonesian and Philippine governments to abort the conference. I also wish to congratulate all the participants, who are attending this conference in person, through videotape, or otherwise.

On this very precious and historical occasion, I have to apologise to all the organisers and participants for my physical absence in this conference, which I had promised to attend. There are two reasons for my physical absence, namely, first, it is high time for my younger Indonesian colleagues to come to the conference, so that they may also experience the "baptism of fire and

blood" into the heroic independence struggle of the Maubere people.

The second and fundamentally more important reason for my physical absence in this conference is to express my solidarity with my East Timorese brothers and sisters who do not enjoy the freedom of movement in their own country nor their freedom to leave and re-enter their country. These universal human rights, which I have enjoyed so far, are still a luxury for my brothers and sisters in the occupied territory. Especially in the wake of the Manila conference, more and more of East Timorese brothers and sisters have been and are being deprived of these universal human rights, which I will elaborate still further in this open letter.

Hence, I have decided to cancel my trip to Manila, so that I may still lend a listening ear and provide some consoling words to my East Timorese friends, who so often contact me in person or by phone during these days. At the same time, during these days my phone is ringing off the hook from my press colleagues, who rely on me for information to "balance" the disinformation operation launched by the Indonesian government and their cronies to discredit the Manila conference. In addition to responding to all those live and telephone interviews and teleconferences, I have also responded to press interviews in Yogyakarta and Jakarta, where I joined a protest demonstration at the Philippine Embassy in Jakarta last Friday. In fact, during the last month my family and myself have rarely enjoyed a day of peace, without the press, fellow activists or military intelligence agents asking me _whether_ and _why_ I wanted to go to Manila.

Nevertheless, as a result of all those attempts to counter the "official" line concerning the Manila conference, to a certain extent I have been able to debunk the two most important lies splashed around about the conference, namely that the lot of the Maubere people could be traded for the well-being of the Moro people, and that all the 27 international and national organisations supporting the Manila conference are all merely puppets manipulated by one single person, Jose Ramos-Horta. (Without realising it, probably, the latter lie is also a disgrace to the Indonesian people, as if independence was not something desired by most if not all of the Indonesian people, and that we were all manipulated by one single person, Soekarno, who, together with Mohammad Hatta, proclaimed Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945).

As far as my own ideas about East Timor are concerned, my 65 page booklet published by the Australian East Timor Talks Campaign will speak for itself. So, let me dwell on the second reason for my physical

absence in this conference, by describing the recent human rights violations exerted on the East Timorese in their occupied territory as well as in Java.

First of all, beginning in early May 1994, a series of detentions have occurred in East Timor. The detainees have two things in common: they all strive for an independent East Timor, and they all expressed that political opinion publicly in front of foreign journalists who stayed at Mahkota Timor Hotel in Dili in the previous month. Eleven persons have been detained so far, namely Nuno de Andrade Sarmento Corvelho, Anibal, and Isaac of Santa Cruz, Dili; Rui Fernandes of Bemori, Dili; Octaviano, Pedro Fatima Tilman, Pantaleo, Miguel, Rosalino, and Marcos, all of Kuluhun, Dili; and Lucas Tilman does Santos of Bairro-Pite, Dili. However, only four undisclosed names have been forwarded to be taken to court, so far.

The detentions in Dili have been followed by detentions in the city of Malang in East Java. On May 14, 1994, an East Timorese student at Universitas Merdeka, Antonio Soares Araújo, was detained by the security apparatus in the city. His boarding room was ransacked and his documents confiscated. This, probably, led to the detention on May 19, 1994, of another East Timorese student, Jose Antonio Neves, who is still studying at the Catholic seminary in Malang, after leaving the seminary's convent, three years ago.

The latter's detention may lead to another series of detentions, since Neves is a leader of the Maubere students' resistance movement and regularly travelled back and forth between his homeland and Java. Currently, rumours are circulating among the East Timorese students in Surabaya, the capital of East Java, that six East Timorese students in the city are going to be "picked up" by the Indonesian police or military in their city, just as their two colleagues in Malang.

So, in solidarity with companhero Nino Konis Santana and all the freedom fighters who can rarely leave their hiding places in the bush, in solidarity with companhero Jose Antonio Neves and all the East Timorese students who have repeatedly suffered various forms of discrimination and human rights violations from the civilian and military arms of the Indonesian government, in solidarity with companhero Xanana Gusmão and all other East Timorese political prisoners in Dili, Kupang and Jakarta, and in solidarity with companhera Emilia Gusmão as well as companheros Mari Alkatiri, Jose Luis Guterres, Jose Manuel Ramos-Horta, Joao Carrascalão and all other East Timorese refugees and exiles who have not been able to see their homeland for many many years, I voluntarily turn down

the invitation and airline ticket to attend the Manila conference.

Turning down this invitation is personally not an easy thing for me, since it also means turning down the chance to re-visit the places which I visited about 15 years ago, to learn about the numerous urban- and rural-based struggles against the Marcos regime in Luzon. Turning down this invitation deprives me of the chance of re-visiting the Cordillera peoples, whose homeland's status has been raised constitutionally to an autonomous region, which, together with the homeland of the Bangsa Moro, was a major constitutional change supported by the same democratic forces which currently organise this conference to uphold the right of the Maubere people to self-determination.

Hopefully, dear Filipino and Filipina brothers and sisters, I will come to visit the Philippines in another more peaceful time. Because, right now, my main battleground is right here, among my own people, where I have to explore for ways to persuade my fellow Indonesians to listen to the song of the loricos in the shadow of Mount Ramelau. In this my battleground I have to fight the rising "big brother syndrome" among my fellow compatriots, who feel that -- as a big nation -- they have the right to "teach" the lesson to all (smaller) ASEAN nations to "hands-off" from East Timor, in the name of "ASEAN solidarity". In this battleground, too, I have to face the "double standards" of some of my fellow Indonesian intellectuals, who often express their solidarity with minorities discriminated against in Indonesia's neighbour countries, or in the Balkans, or in the Middle East, while simultaneously ridiculing a minority fighting for its independence within what has now been proclaimed as Indonesia's legal borders.

INDOC BACK IN ENGLISH !!

The Indonesian Documentation and Information Centre (INDOC) at Leiden, the Netherlands, is publishing in English again. IN THE SHADOW OF MOUNT RAMELAU The Impact of the Occupation of East Timor by Dr. George J. Aditjondro ISBN 90 70494 02 7 This book offers a comprehensive survey of the various impacts of the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor. In doing so it not only focusses on the cultural, economic and political alterations brought about by the enforced integration, but it also elaborates the extent to which the Indonesian occupational policy has a detrimental effect on the environment of East Timor. This aspect of ecocide is a comparatively new point of view raised by Dr. G.J. Aditjondro. INDOC took the initiative to publish this edited and updated compilation of three articles written

by this eminent Indonesian scholar. INDOC also added a clarifying historical survey. 96 pages. Price: Netherlands Guilders (NLG) 20.-- (approximately US\$ 11.--, A\$ 15.--) Introduction offer until July 31, 1994: NLG 17.-- Postage and handling (airmail) per copy: Europe NLG 2.--; Outside Europe NLG 5.-- * Within the Netherlands no charge. * ORDER NOW !!

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The book is also available from ETAN/US for \$13 plus postage.

US NGO LETTER ON PRESS BAN IN INDONESIA

July 1, 1994

To: Lewis Preston, President, the World Bank

1818 H Street NW
Washington DC 20433

Dear Mr Preston;

On June 21, the Government of Indonesia shut down three influential magazines, including the country's most prominent newsweekly, and issued a warning that other publications could share a similar fate. On June 27, Indonesian security forces used force to break a non-violent protest against this censorship and detained dozens of civic leaders.

These actions not only will have a chilling effect upon the reporting of other publications in Indonesia, but will also undermine and further limit the political space for Indonesian citizens and non-governmental organizations attempting to express their views on issues related to sustainable development, human rights and the environment.

As US environmental, human rights and development organizations, we are writing to urge you to convey to Indonesian President Suharto that the World Bank and other members of the Consultative Group on Indonesia are deeply disturbed by the current crackdown on the Indonesian press and that you urge President Suharto to restore publishing permits to the publications re-

cently shut down so that they may continue their operations without further interruption.

We further urge the World Bank and the members of the Consultative Group, scheduled to meet in Paris on July 7 and 8, to postpone that meeting until these news magazines have been allowed to resume publication unhindered.

According to the New York Times, "Diplomats and human rights advocates said the closing of the magazines was the most serious blow to freedom of the press in Indonesia in decades ..." (NYT, 6/23/94). The publications in question are Tempo, which began publication in 1971 and was considered the nation's pre-eminent news magazine; DeTik, a year-old magazine praised by readers for its daring investigative reporting; and Editor, another newsweekly.

The recent actions of the Indonesian government directly count World Bank's lending objectives to promote environmentally sustainable development and better governance. As World Bank policies, documents and practices continue to stress, public participation and open discourse are essential elements of successful and sustainable development. The current situation in Indonesia significantly limits public discourse, including on World Bank and other international development programs, and further closes the political space within which Indonesian citizens and NGOs are forced to function.

The World Bank needs to convey to President Suharto and his government in the strongest possible terms that this crackdown against the press and civil expression could jeopardize international support and lending to his regime.

In light of the fact that the World Bank will be chairing this year's meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia in Paris, we urgently request that you personally convey to President Suharto and other members of the Consultative Group that the Group's work would be severely compromised if it met under the current circumstances. Unless and until freedom of the press has been restored in Indonesia, the meeting of the Consultative Group should be postponed.

Respectfully,

Jim Barnes, Director, International Programs, Friends of the Earth

David Beckman, President, Bread for the World

Barbara Bramble, Director of International Programs, National Wildlife Federation

Kerry Kennedy Cuomo, Executive Director, Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights

Chad Dobson, Secretary, Bank Information Centre

Cameron Duncan, MDB Advisor, Greenpeace US

Joe Eldridge, Director, Washington Office, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights
Jo Marie Griesgraber, Research Associate, Center of Concern

Doug Hellinger, Managing Director, Development GAP

Sidney Jones, Executive Director, Human Rights Watch/Asia

Bruce Rich, Director of International Programs, Environmental Defense Fund

Caleb Rossiter, Director, Project on Demilitarization and Democracy

Lori Udall, Washington Director, International Rivers Network

Larry Williams, Director, International Program, Sierra Club

CC: members of the Consultative Group on Indonesia

Mr. Gautam Kaji, World Bank Vice-President for Asia

Ms. Marianne Haug, Director, World Bank Country Director, Dept III

Mr. Matthew McHugh, Counsel, The World Bank

Amb. Jan Piercy, US Executive Director, The World Bank

Ms. Susan Levine, Deputy Assistant Director of Treasury

Mr. Matt Hennessey, Director, Office of Multilateral Development Banks, Department of Treasury

Mr. Mitsuo Sato, President, Asian Development Bank

Mr. R. Swaminathan, Programs Manager, Programs Department (East), Asian Development Bank

Mr. R.M. Bradley, Chief, Indonesia Resident Office, Asian Development Bank

Amb. Linda Tsao Yang, US Executive Director, Asian Development Bank

TIMORESE JAILED FOR RAISING FLAG

Green Left 150, July 6, 1994

By Jon Land

Two East Timorese were sentenced to prison for three years on June 27 for raising the flag of Fretilin in Dili on July 17 of last year. The peaceful protest marked the date that Suharto signed a bill declaring East Timor part of Indonesia.

Three Timorese youth were also sentenced for their involvement in peaceful demonstrations on April 14 in Dili. All received sentences of 20 months for "planning actions of hostility and hatred against the Indonesian government".

It is believed that they will be moved from prison in Dili to elsewhere in Indonesia, as have at least a dozen other prisoners in recent weeks.

Security activity has increased in preparation for the July 15 arrival of the UN special rapporteur on torture and extrajudicial killings. Indonesian authorities do not want a repeat of the protests that took place in April, during a tightly controlled visit by foreign journalists.

In Malaysia on June 24, a special forum on East Timor organised by the Front of Malaysia Action, an umbrella group for 30 NGOs, criticised the ASEAN countries for allowing human rights violations such as those in East Timor to go unquestioned. "Every thing is done in the name of the solidarity between ASEAN members, but ASEAN should not be used to conceal human rights violations and genocide", stated Hussein Ali, president of the opposition Malaysian Popular Party.

A film on the Dili massacre and other atrocities of the Indonesian military was shown at the forum, which received strong criticism from the Indonesian government. Malaysian minister for foreign affairs Abdullah Ahmad Badawi declared on June 26 that he wanted a ban on any future meetings and discussions of East Timor by Malaysian NGOs.

A petition campaign, "Indonesia out of Maubere", has been launched in Portugal. East Timorese representatives were granted observer status at the summit of Portuguese-speaking states, which met in Lisbon on June 28.

In Canada, pressure from the East Timor Alert Network and other human rights groups has forced the Canadian government to cancel the Sulawesi Regional Development Program.

NEWSLETTER FROM THE INDONESIAN DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (SELECTED NEWSBRIEFS)

June 1994

THE APCET IN MANILA WOULD NOT AFFECT EAST TIMORESE SENSE OF BEING PART OF INDONESIA

Governor Abilio Jose Osorio Soares said in Dili that he was sure the ongoing Manila Conference would not affect East Timorese's sense of being part of Indonesia.

He stated that East Timorese have a strong commitment to holding on to reality and won't let any propaganda trumpeted by those opposing integration with Indonesia sweep them off their feet.

Abilio said East Timor's integration into Indonesia in 1976 is no longer an issue and anything related to the province is strictly the country's domestic affairs.

Abilio praised Philippine President Fidel Ramos for banning foreign participants from

the four-day private Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET).

The Governor ridiculed foreign NGOs' calls for international efforts to liberate East Timor. "East Timor was liberated from the Portuguese colonial administration in 1976. From whom else will it be liberated?", he stressed.

He challenged foreign observers to visit East Timor and see what it has achieved after 18 years of integration with Indonesia before they speak in a Seminar.

In Jakarta, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs called on APCET participants to maintain their objectivity in discussing East Timor and to be careful about propaganda.

It said in statement that Conference would be more worthwhile if it focuses on how to develop East Timor which had been colonized and exploited for centuries by Portugal. The province has enjoyed a much higher degree of prosperity since it integrated with Indonesia. (KC-123-60294)

ECONOMIC AGREEMENT BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA

Australian and Indonesian Businessmen signed an economic agreement boosting the growth of Indonesia's eastern regions of East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) and East Timor along with Australia's Northern Territory. Called the "Kupang Agreement", the signing was attended by East Nusa Tenggara Governor Herman Musakabe and Australian Northern Territory Minister for Industry and Development Shane Stone. The Agreement is an economic cooperation that is forged ahead following the Memorandum of Understanding recently signed in Jakarta by Indonesia's Minister for Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas and his Australian counterpart Gareth Evans. Ferdinand Tanoni, Chairman of a Northern Australian Territory - NTT - East Timor Business's Forum, disclosed that some of the Forum's members intended to invest in NTT and East Timor, particularly in the fields of research and marketing of farm products. The Northern Territory, on the other hand, expressed readiness to provide training on human resource development to help improve labour skills. According to Governor Musakabe, Minister Stone has also made clear of Australia's intention of making Kupang as the southern gate for Australia's access to the Asia-Pacific Region. Meanwhile in his visit to East Timor, Minister Shane Stone said his country would increase economic cooperation with several regions in the eastern part of Indonesia. "In this case we will have a cooperation with East Timor Province and East Nusa Tenggara", he said after meeting with East Timor Governor Abilio Jose Osorio Soares. Minister Stones saw the two regions as the right places for the cooperation, considering

the relatively short distance between the two countries and the potentials of the regions which could be developed for mutual benefit such as animal husbandry, the Timor Gap, agriculture and tourism. (KC-08441494).

NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENTARIANS TO BE INVITED TO EAST TIMOR

President Soeharto invited New Zealand Parliamentarians to visit East Timor to clear up some misgivings they might have about Indonesia's policy in the former Portuguese colony. The invitation was extended through New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger during his meeting with President Soeharto in Jakarta. According to State Secretary Moerdiono, President Soeharto explained to Prime Minister Bolger that "Indonesia never had any intentions of annexing East Timor. We simply accepted the wishes of the East Timor People who wished to join with the Republic. We had to respect the strong desire of the East Timorese people in choosing their own fate". Moerdiono also said that "the President explained to the New Zealand Prime Minister that there appeared to be some misunderstanding among the New Zealand people on East Timor, which is likely caused by inaccurate information". President Soeharto's invitation was intended "to allow the Parliamentarian to see for themselves the achievements made by the province since its integration". In a Joint Statement, Prime Minister Bolger said he was encouraged by steps Indonesia had taken in the implementation of agreed confidence building measures during the talks with Lisbon on East Timor in Geneva. Prime Minister Bolger expressed the hope that the Jakarta-Lisbon dialog would lead to a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of East Timor. (KC-111-51794)

XANANA VISITED BY FAMILY

Sydney Morning Herald, 4 July 1994.

(Reuter, Jakarta) The jailed East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão saw his family for the first time almost 20 years when they visited him at Jakarta's Cipinang jail over the last few days, a Red Cross official said yesterday.

Mr Henri Fournier, the head of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegation in Jakarta, told Reuters that Xanana's wife, Emilia, and their two children, Nito and Zeni, began their two-day visit on Thursday.

East Timor exiles said it was the first time Xanana had seen his family since 1975, when he joined a guerilla group to fight for the independence of East Timor. Xanana's

family flew back to their home in Melbourne yesterday.

Xanana led the band of guerillas until his capture in 1992. He was sentenced to life in prison but this later reduced to 20 years.

Mr Fournier, who requested the visit, said it showed better co-operation between Jakarta and the ICRC.

INDONESIA KILLS CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Canadian Press wire moved the following story on July 4, 1994. It appeared in the July 6 Toronto Star and other newspapers.

Comment: Guelph's project was the largest Canadian university project in Indonesia. Its cancellation is apparently a decision taken solely in Jakarta, a further sign that the Indonesian government will not take aid from anyone who seriously criticizes it. The news has badly upset Guelph University officials (who were trying to discredit an external peer review that the university itself called for) and Canadian government foreign affairs officials. Lawrence Dickinson, the Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia, is currently touring Canada to try to shore up the appalling image the Jakarta regime has acquired here in the last couple of years.

GUELPH, Ont. (CP) -- Indonesia cancelled a \$38 million development project with the University of Guelph after the school released a report that criticized the country's human rights record, school officials say.

The decision to kill the 10-year old project was purely political, said Jack MacDonald, Guelph's academic vice-president.

"We have been given no reason in writing."

The Sulawesi Regional Development Project was shut down last May, only nine months before it was scheduled to end.

The university has been told to pull out of Sulawesi by July 20.

The report, which was never endorsed by the university, was commissioned to respond to critics who said Canada should not be supporting repressive regimes in Southeast Asia.

Human rights groups have denounced Indonesia for its brutal invasion of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in 1975.

Canada contributed \$38 million to the project through the Canadian International Development Agency. Most of the money was spent in Indonesia, while the Indonesian government contributed up to \$40 million.

The project promoted community-level development in health, education, agriculture, livestock management and co-operatives.

DEMONSTRATION AND PRESS CONFERENCE AT CGI MEETING

Re[p]rt from Bruno Kahn, Agir Pour Timor July 7, 1994

A small demonstration followed by a press conference was held today in front of the World Bank office in Paris, protesting public development aid to Indonesia.

About 40 people were present at the two events, organised by Tribal Act, an organisation devoted to the defence of the rights of indigenous peoples.

Participants to the press conference were: Erms Suripathy and Nico Souisa for Homeland Mission 1950 (Moluccas), Leonie Tanggharma and Maria Kaisiepo for the West Papua People Front, Antonio Dias for Agir pour Timor, Louis Weber for FSU and the "50 years is enough" campaign, and Rene Dumont, a well-known ecology scholar and activist.

Two days ago, the campaign "4 months for East Timor" had staged a press conference on East Timor and public development aid to Indonesia, with the participation of Martine Gargar (France Libertés), Jose Antonio Amorim Dias (CNRM), Jusfiq Hadjar (Movement of Indonesians Abroad for Human Rights and Democracy), Claude Katz (FIDH) and Eric Mennaert (Tribal Act).

UN SENDS ENVOY TO EAST TIMOR

The Guardian (London), July 7, 1994

A United Nations official left for East Timor yesterday, continuing an investigation into the massacre of unarmed civilians by Indonesian troops three years ago.

Meanwhile the Indonesian parliament was told that controversy over East Timor threatens to bedevil Indonesia's reputation. A foreign ministry official told a parliamentary commission on Tuesday that the filming of troops shooting unarmed demonstrators in 1991 "totally changed the direction of Indonesia's diplomacy," which has since been almost totally devoted to reacting to international criticism.

CANADA SHOULD WITHHOLD AID

ASIA: RIGHTS CRACKDOWN

NOW Magazine, Toronto, July 7-13 issue

Canada should withhold financial aid to Indonesia until it allows three newsweeklies to reopen, say Toronto activists.

The licences were yanked last month after they exposed internal dissension within

Indonesia's government over the country's recent purchase of weathered East German frigate warships. The weekly Tempo -- Indonesia's equivalent to Time -- and others had been testing the waters recently with highly critical reporting of officials.

"Until the publication licences are restored and the papers are allowed to publish freely, we'd like Canada not to release its aid pledge," says David Webster of the East Timor Alert Network, a support group for the former Portuguese colony.

However, Canadian foreign affairs spokesperson Jeanette Martin told NOW that Canada has just gone ahead with pledging \$37 million in aid to Indonesia. "The ban is a setback, but it doesn't appear to be a signaling of a crackdown on what has been relatively open reporting in Indonesia," says Martin. She adds that the Canadian ambassador to Indonesia will "express some concern" to that country's officials.

According to government stats, Canadian exports to Indonesia totaled \$442 million in 1993, and have been swelling by 10 per cent every year.

Officials from Indonesian embassies in Ottawa and Indonesia were not available for comment.

-- Kim Champion

INDONESIAN ARMY APOLOGISES TO EAST TIMOR CATHOLICS

AFP 7 July 1994 Dateline: Jakarta Abridged

Indonesia faced new controversy over East Timor on Thursday after two Muslim soldiers committed sacrilege in a Roman Catholic church.

An Indonesian garrison commander apologised after the church accused Muslim troops of entering a church and stamping on sacred communion wafers.

Colonel J. Lumintang, in an apology published Thursday in the Suara Timor Timur newspaper, said: "The chiefs and all members of the armed forces have never wanted to deliberately commit such an action and deeply regrets the Remexio incident. It is understandable that this affair has caused anger and deeply hurt the Catholics," he said, adding that orders had been handed down to avoid more incidents.

The Bishop of Dili, Monseigneur Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, said in a phone interview from Dili that the incident happened during a mass on 28 June in St Joseph's church, Remexio. A group of soldiers, pretending to be Christians, asked to receive communion, then seized the communion wafers, threw them on the ground and stamped on them, he said.

Security forces broke up an angry crowd that gathered outside the church and the soldiers were arrested, he said. Belo said the church's report was unable to find out why the soldiers had behaved in this way. He called on East Timor's Catholic population to offer expiatory prayers for the soldiers

DONORS EXPRESS CONCERN OVER INDONESIA'S MEDIA BAN

*Reuter 7 July 1994 Dateline: Jakarta
Abridged*

Indonesia's international donors have expressed concern over the country's ban on three outspoken magazines but there is no indication they will link the issue to aid, an Indonesian minister said on Thursday.

"There was a lot of concern. They are concerned about the matter," Saleh Afiff, head of the local delegation to the third Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) conference in Paris, was quoted as saying by the official agency, Antara,

Afiff is coordinating minister for economics, finance and development.

He was speaking after meeting CGI delegations from the US, Japan, the Asian Development Bank, the IMF and the World Bank. He declined to disclose which of them had expressed concern over last month's ban. The US and Australia have said they regretted the banning of DeTik, Tempo, and Editor.

The CGI began its annual meeting on Thursday to determine how much development aid Indonesia should receive this year. It obtained \$5.1 billion last year and expects to get about the same amount this year.

BELO PROTESTS PRESS BANS

Jakarta Post

2 July 1994

Dateline: Jakarta Extract from a long report on responses to press ban

A number of journalists, community leaders and common people from East Timor, among them Bishop Carlos Belo, expressed their deep concern over the press bans in a statement yesterday, a copy of which was made available to the Jakarta Post

43 PROTESTERS ARRESTED IN JAKARTA

AP 7 July 1994 Dateline: Jakarta Abridged

Note: A statement and chronology of the incident provided by the LBH makes it clear that the incident occurred on its premises.

The chronology also states that the police, including a Mobile Brigade unit, entered the premises nearly two hours after the meeting and hunger strike started and ordered the participants to disperse within ten minutes or be forced to do so. The participants refused to disperse so they were dragged off and beaten. Although several were injured and bleeding as they were loaded onto trucks, they continued to yell slogans supporting democratisation. The list of 43 names of the people arrested includes students from Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Solo, Semarang and Jember.

Police clashed Thursday with students denouncing the government's ban on three publications and arrested at least 43 protesters. Police beat and dragged students into police trucks to break up a gathering of about 150 in front of the Legal Aid Institute, where three fellow students were staging a hunger strike. The hunger strikers and Wilson, an institute lawyer, were among those arrested.

"The government has warned local mass media not to report actions against the publication ban. This is tantamount to trampling on democracy and freedom to express opinions," the students said in a statement.

Bambang Wijanarka, an official of the institute, said Police Lt Col Dadang Garinda threatened to close the institute.

In a statement later, the institute said: "The incident went against the constitutional rights of the students as Indonesian people to express their aspirations peaceful in our own compound."

Earlier Thursday, a group of 40 women met MPs to protest "cruel" military actions against demonstrations and demand an investigation by the armed forces faction in Parliament. Wardah Hafiz of the group, Human Rights Defenders, said at least five people were severely injured and one was crippled when troops beat them as they were protesting the publication ban last week.

Major-General Suparman, who led the armed forces faction in the talks, promised to take up the complaint at a hearing later with armed forces leaders or the defence minister. He said the armed forces has asked the government not to rush decisions to ban a publication.

[According to UPI, two of the arrested students said they will stage a hunger strike as long as they remain in custody.]

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL DEPLORES ARRESTS AND BEATINGS OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS

*News Release from Amnesty International,
28 JUNE 1994*

AI INDEX: ASA 21/WU 08/94

Amnesty International has condemned the beatings of peaceful demonstrators and arrest of more than 50 people by Indonesian security forces in Jakarta yesterday, during a peaceful protest against government restrictions on press freedom.

"This incident is symptomatic of the government's contemptuous attitude toward civil and political liberties," Amnesty International said. "We deplore the heavy-handed tactics used to suppress the demonstrations, and are calling for the immediate and unconditional release of those arrested."

The people who were arrested and beaten were among some 300 protesters who had tried to march to the Ministry of Information in one of a series of peaceful protests against the recent banning of three of the country's major news magazines late last week.

The protesters, who included well-known Indonesian cultural figures, journalists, members of non-governmental organizations, human rights activists and university students, were calling for the news magazines Tempo, Editor and Detik to have their publishing licences reinstated, the repeal of the country's press licensing system, and an end to government restrictions on freedom of expression.

According to eyewitnesses, the protesters gathered at the Sarinah Jaya Department store in the heart of Jakarta at about 9am. An hour later, the group began to walk down Jalan Thamrin (street) toward the Ministry of Information building to present their demands.

The protesters stopped about 200 metres from the Ministry offices when organizers noticed that the building was surrounded by government forces. At about 10:30, riot police and troops wearing black T-shirts with the insignia Opsih - short for Operasi Bersih or "Operation Cleansing" - attacked the protesters with batons causing them to flee for safety. The troops followed the fleeing demonstrators down Jalan Thamrin and nearby side streets, causing serious injury to some of them.

At about 11am some 200 people, including the well-known Indonesian poet, Rendra, managed to reach the Ministry of Information building, where they planned to stage a peaceful poetry-reading protest. They were also attacked by government

troops and some of them were arrested. The total number reported to have been arrested by mid-day on 27 June was 56.

Despite its stated commitment to political "openness", and the explicit guarantees of freedom of speech contained in Article 28 of the country's 1945 Constitution, Indonesia's New Order government continues to impose heavy restrictions on a wide range of internationally-recognized civil and political liberties including freedom of speech, assembly, conscience, and movement.

Such restrictions have helped to create an atmosphere of generalized fear within which dissent is seldom openly expressed. They have also served to justify and provide the political and legal framework for further violations, such as political imprisonment, torture and arbitrary killing.

The Press Law of 1982 stipulates that there shall be no press censorship, but adds that the press must also be "responsible", leaving considerable leeway for interpretation by the authorities. Executive discretion is further enhanced by a 1984 decree, which gives the Minister of Information the power to revoke the licence of any publication which, in his judgment, does not conform to this ideal. In effect, the decree gives the Minister the power to censor at will. In the decade prior to the recent bannings, this power had been used to close down three major newspapers.

The heavy-handed government actions toward the press in the past week have come in response to a number of mass-circulation papers, including the three recently banned, becoming increasingly critical of the government. There are indications that Tempo, Editor and Detik may also have been singled out because, in their recent coverage of the Indonesian Government's controversial purchase of 39 naval vessels from Germany, they had touched too closely on possible corruption amongst the country's leadership.

WORLD BANK PRESS CONFERENCE

Report from Bruno Kahn, Agir Pour Timor
July 8, 1994, Excerpts

A press conference was held by the World Bank at its Europe office in Paris on Friday, July 8 for the closure of the CGI meeting on development aid to Indonesia. The meeting was attended by representatives from Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. Also attending were representatives from the Asian Development Bank, the Commission of

European Communities, the International Finance Corporation, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the International Monetary Fund, the Islamic Development Bank, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, the Nordic Investment Bank, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, the Saudi Fund for Development, the United Nations Children's Fund, and the United Nations Development Programme. The European Development Bank joined the CGI meeting as a new member. Bruno Kahn, correspondent of Hong Kong's Asian Review, reports.

The press conference was chaired by Gautam Kaji, the Bank's vice-president for Asia. Also present were: Saleh Afiff (Minister of Economy), Widjojo Nitisastro (Economic advisor), Ginandjar Kartasasmita (Minister for Development, BAPPENAS) and Soedradjad Djiwandono (Governor, Bank Indonesia). Unfortunately I am new in the field and not familiar with Indonesian faces, so I'll have to simply mention "Indonesian official" when one answered.

- To a question on guarantees on human rights, especially in East Timor, Mr Kaji replied this topic had not been discussed during the conference.

- To a question whether Indonesia would allow foreign investment in East Timor, it was responded by an Indonesian official that their participation is encouraged: they are welcome. And some, from Australia for example, already are there.

- To a question on the impact of regional development on indigenous peoples, an Indonesian official answered that, although the government does not want to leave its populations in the stone age, good only for anthropologists, if they want so "we respect them".

- The liveliest part of the conference certainly was when a journalist asked what part of the budget was devoted to the Army. Visibly pleased, one of the Indonesian officials said they had prepared the question and wanted to give a very precise answer. Immediately 3 or 4 other officials busily ran everywhere, hunting for the file containing these data. After they found it fairly rapidly, the first official explained that Indonesia's army budget is the lowest of the region, 1.5% of the GSP, against an average of 2%, and has been decreasing at each Repelita plan. He then smiled at the audience.

DEMONSTRATION IN PARIS FOR EAST TIMOR

Le Monde, July 8, 1994 Translated from French

[Note: This remarkable title highlights the fact that when some people are aware of

human rights violations by Indonesia, they first think of East Timor. Other issues are less understood or ignored. The demonstration was organised by Tribal Act and focused on West Papua and the Moluccas, although East Timor was also discussed (see previous posting). On the other hand, this is the first time Le Monde covers such a protest on Indonesia.

Bruno -- Agir pour Timor]

Several human rights organizations took the opportunity of the meeting in Paris, Thursday 7 and Friday 8 July, of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI, a gathering of donors to this country, including the IMF, the World Bank and the members of G7), to attract attention on the situation of certain minorities of the archipelago. CGI had granted Jakarta US\$ 5.1 billion in 1993.

A policy of "systematic depopulation"

In a press conference called in Paris, a dozen non governmental organizations, associations and trade unions protested in particular the repression by Indonesia in East Timor, which reportedly caused 200,000 deaths since the territory's invasion in 1975. The organizers, among others, denounced a policy of "systematic depopulation" practiced by Indonesia, which uses, they say "forced sterilization", as well as "transmigration of Indonesian citizens" with the aim to eventually make the East Timorese a minority at home.

In the spring, it was recalled, a campaign "4 months for East Timor" was launched under the auspices of France Libertes, the association [sic: foundation] Mrs Mitterrand presides, to demand donors that they condition their aid to the "respect of the right of the East Timorese to self-determination".

On its part, the association Tribal Act, which defends the "rights of indigenous peoples" worldwide, announced for July 7 a demonstration of support to the populations of East Timor and West Papua, as well as the Aceh from Sumatra [sic: in fact, the Moluccans], in front of the World Bank in Paris.

TIMORESE BISHOP CONDEMNS JAKARTA

The Times (London), July 8 1994. By David Watts

Bishop Carlos Belo, the leader of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, has broken a decade of silence to denounce the "routine nightmare" suffered under Indonesian occupation.

The bishop's condemnation is the latest embarrassment for Jakarta as it faces a crucial World Court decision on its right to exploit massive oil resources off the dis-

puted territory in cooperation with Australia.

Mgr Belo, speaking to journalist John Pilger, accused Western governments of deliberately covering up the "number and scale of massacres".

"They are lying about what has happened to us," the bishop said, referring to the killing of survivors of the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991. Mgr Belo said Indonesian troops killed witnesses of a military operation against civilians in which several hundred people died or were wounded.

Gareth Evans, the Australian Foreign Minister, is among those who have cast doubt on the veracity of those speaking of this second massacre. The bishop said: "I know the witnesses. They have spoken the truth. It is they (foreign officials) who are lying. This is more hypocrisy and attempts to cover the truth for economic reasons."

Mgr Belo also revealed for the first time two attempts to kill him. One was in 1989 shortly after he sent a secret letter to Javier Perez de Cuellar, then the United Nations Secretary General, and the second in 1991 when he escaped from an attempted ambush.

Waly Bacre Ndiaye, of the UN Human Rights Commission, is on his way to East Timor to investigate the killings.

Indonesia's increasing agitation at the world's refusal to recognise its annexation of the former Portuguese territory is prompted by the approach of any findings by Mr Ndiaye and a World Court ruling on the validity of the Timor Gap Treaty with Australia, which covers exploration for oil under the Timor Sea between Australia and the island. Some estimates predict that this will be the third richest oil find in the world, approaching seven billion barrels. Jakarta does not recognise the World Court but Australia would be seriously embarrassed by a rejection of the treaty.

In a journey through East Timor, Pilger, posing as a tourist, found villages under military guard like the "strategic hamlets" pioneered by America in Vietnam, and evidence of many deaths when the Indonesian army invaded in 1975.

Malcolm Rennie and Brian Peters, two British journalists, were killed by the invading Indonesians in 1975 after holding up hands in surrender, but Maureen Tolfree, Peters's sister, said this week that she was never even notified of her brother's death. The first her mother [actually her father] knew of his demise was when she read it in the press. When Mrs Tolfree flew to Jakarta to try to recover her brother's body she was warned by a Western diplomat, believed to be either British or Australian, to leave the

country for her own safety. Pilger's account is contained in *Distant Voices*, Vintage. 7.99

EAST TIMOR'S CHURCH STILL UNDER SIEGE, SAYS BISHOP

5 Jul 94

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuter) - East Timor's Catholic Church, experiencing a revival under Indonesia's sometimes brutal rule, remains under siege, its bishop said Tuesday ahead of a United Nations visit to the troubled territory. Bishop Carlos de Belo told Reuters by telephone from his Dili diocese that despite some improvements in human rights conditions, members of his church had been harassed, assaulted and sometimes killed by Indonesian soldiers. "We have been 28 years at war, so we are not (separatist guerrillas), we are the Catholic Church ... but in front of the military we remain black," he said. The U.N.'s special reporter on summary executions, Bacre Waly Ndiaye, is to arrive in East Timor Thursday after current talks with Indonesian officials outside the territory during a 10-day tour. Belo said he was not scheduled to meet him. Since invading East Timor in 1975, Indonesia has faced a guerrilla movement and widespread resentment against its rule. It has been blamed for the deaths of more than 200,000 people, many of whom starved in the early years of its control. From forming only a fraction of the population during 300 years of Portuguese colonialism, up to 95 percent of the territory's 750,000 people are now registered Catholics. Diplomats said that in recent months the local military had tried to reduce its presence and punish internal breaches of discipline. Two soldiers were court-martialled for murder this year after they shot and killed East Timorese civilians in separate incidents. Belo, a popular figure for many East Timorese for his outspoken attacks on aspects of Indonesia's role in East Timor, said despite signs of restraint, soldiers continued to harass, detain and sometimes kill civilians. He cited one incident late last month where two soldiers were attacked by churchgoers in Remexio, a Dili sub-district, after spitting out the sacrament during communion. The local commander restored order after firing into the air, he said. More than 10 people were questioned and now fear detention over the incident, he said. "We feel this is real dishonor for the sacrament and the faith of the Catholic Church community in East Timor," he said. "We see this as part of a campaign against the Catholic Church in East Timor, so I must take a critical position," Belo said. In March Indonesia, seeking to counter claims

of widespread human rights abuses, invited the U.N. reporter at the annual U.N. Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva to visit East Timor. The United Nations, which does not recognize Indonesian rule in the territory, is currently mediating a dialogue between

HUMAN RIGHTS RETREAT

by Mary McGrory, *Washington Post*, July 7, 1994

In ways both great and small, the Clinton administration is signaling its retreat from human rights. When our "putting people first" president renewed most favored nation standing for China and practically apologized to Beijing for ever tying trade to human rights, he all but announced that the Republicans were right about human rights: It is a drag, it is inconvenient, it costs money. Last week the Senate gave human rights the death of a thousand cuts, or to be more precise, a vote of 59 to 35 against a practical application in East Timor. The case is minuscule compared to China. Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) offered a modest proposal that the U.S. specifically prohibit the use of U.S.-provided arms in East Timor, the wretched island where Indonesia is diligently practicing ethnic cleansing in the hope of eliminating local resistance to an Indonesian takeover. It figured that an administration that had swallowed the China camel was not about to strain over the gnat of East Timor. Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.) led the victory against human rights. He got a notable assist from Deputy Secretary of Defense John M. Deutch and a last-minute letter from Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who called the Leahy initiative "unnecessary and inconsistent." "We have raised our human rights concerns at the highest levels in meetings with Indonesia," wrote Christopher. Does it sound familiar? Yes, it is the "quiet diplomacy" that was so popular, and so ineffectual, during the Reagan-Bush years. Johnston made the also familiar argument about size. Indonesia is big. It is the fourth-largest nation on Earth, he pointed out, the largest Muslim nation in the world. It has a correspondingly large market. Its feelings would be hurt if we indicated we disapproved of its bloody suppression of an island people. Sen. Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.), the Republican whip, called Leahy's suggestion "arrogant intrusion." Of course, any attempts at behavior modification are invasions of sovereignty, and advocates of human rights don't deny it. The point of the policy was that the world's leading democracy feels that "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," as it says in the Declaration of Independence, is a

transcendent foreign policy consideration. As the senators were busy proving the opposite, the Indonesian government was demonstrating the shortcomings of quiet diplomacy. Three periodicals were closed, and in the wake of the action, peaceful demonstrators were attacked by riot police and more than 50 people were arrested. Johnston conceded that "not everything taking place in Indonesia is encouraging ... but Indonesia has made huge steps forward in human rights" without saying what they were. He also said that "if we are going to take sanctions against every country in the world that is criticized by Amnesty International ... the list of our friends will be short indeed." Another country severely criticized by Amnesty International as an egregious violator of human rights is being smiled upon by the Clinton administration. Turkey, which is abusing Kurds within its borders and building up an appalling record of death-by-torture - 24 last year - is being reprimanded only by human rights groups. "The bottom lines are very similar to the Reagan and Bush years," says James O'Dea, director of Amnesty International's Washington office. "What Clinton is doing with Turkey is what Ronald Reagan did when he stepped up security assistance to El Salvador in the face of death squad killings." In a five-page letter to Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, the president devoted one-half sentence to human rights. The House suggested cutting security assistance to Turkey by 25 percent; the president called the prime minister and bade her not to worry. Turkey, like Indonesia, is considered in Clinton realpolitik a valuable ally in a strategic location. Kerry Kennedy Cuomo, director of the Kennedy Human Rights Foundation, calls the action on Indonesia "a disaster - I don't see how it promotes democracy." The president seems determined to exhibit hardheadedness in foreign policy, to put trade and "democracy-building" as top priorities. He rarely discusses human rights and with good reason. The evidence is building that if you don't put human rights at the top, it slides right off the screen. Yet, when challenged, the administration people say they do too advocate human rights and a source on the National Security Council suggests that the decision on Indonesia, at least, will be revisited. If it isn't, the cynicism the president so deeply deplores will be on the rise again.

EAST TIMORESE DISSIDENT SENTENCED

UPI, 7 July 94, Abridged Jakarta -- An East Timorese dissident has been sentenced to 20 months in prison on charges of

spreading hostility during an anti-government demonstration last April, news reports said Thursday. East Timor's Dili district court on Wednesday found Rosalino dos Santos, 20, guilty of creating public disorder and fueling separatist sentiments through his actions in front of a hotel where foreign journalists were staying. Rosalino, a trader with only an elementary school education, said he could not accept the verdict. "I am not guilty, so I reject the sentence," Rosalino said. Presiding Judge Yusna Maitysia said Rosalino helped plan the demonstration during a meeting at the house of friend the day before the April 14 demonstration. The defendant was also found guilty of urging friends to unfurl anti-government posters in front of foreign journalists at Hotel Mahkota in Dili, the capital of East Timor, in an effort to attract support for the independence of East Timor. The defendant also admitted he was a member of Juventude das Estudantes de Timor Leste, a clandestine organization under the Fretilin separatist movement, the Jakarta Post reported. On June 13, the same court sentenced three of Rosalino's companions to 20-month jail terms on charges of spreading hostility and insulting the Indonesian government during the protest. Meanwhile, Maj. Gen. Adang Ruchiatna, commander of the Bali-based Udayana military region which oversees East Timor, assured a visiting United Nations Human Rights Commission envoy that he would be free to report whatever he sees....

THE COMPLICITY OF THE WEST IN THE RAPE OF TIMOR

The Age, 7 July 1994.

By Noam Chomsky

[The same article appeared in *The Canberra Times* with the headline: HOW THE WEST BETRAYED TIMOR. It was originally in *The Guardian*.]

In the annals of crimes this terrible century, Indonesia's assault against East Timor ranks high, not only because of its scale - perhaps the greatest death toll relative to the population since the Holocaust - but because it would have been so easy to prevent, and to bring to an end at any time.

There is no need for threats to bomb Jakarta, or even to impose sanctions on the aggressor. It would suffice for the great powers to refrain from their eager participation in Indonesia's crimes - to stop putting guns into the hands of the killers and torturers while joining them in the robbery of Timor Gap offshore oil.

There is no excuse for any ignorance about these matters with the appearance of

the 1994 edition of John Pilger's book 'Distant Voices' with its powerful and revealing chapters on East Timor.

Two years ago, the Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, said that his Government faced an important choice on East Timor, which had become "like a sharp piece of gravel in our shoes". Benedict Anderson, a leading specialist on Indonesia, took this to be one of many signs of second thoughts. "Alatas doesn't spell out what the choice is," Anderson commented, "but he's implying you should take your shoe off and get rid of the gravel."

The gravel was not shapened by Western power. Quite the contrary: the West and Japan have been partners in Indonesia's conquest and annexation of the former Portuguese colony.

As Pilger documents, it was well before Indonesia began its campaign of subversion and terror in 1975, followed by direct invasion on 7 December, that the British embassy in Jakarta reported: "Certainly as seen from here it is Britain's interest that Indonesia should absorb the territory as soon as and as unobtrusively as possible; and that if it comes to the crunch and there is a row in the United Nations we should keep our heads down and avoid siding against the Indonesian Government."

Australia shared this judgment. Pilger describes how, in August 1975, the ambassador to Jakarta, Richard Woolcott, advised in secret cables that Australia take "a pragmatic rather than a principled stand" with regard to the forthcoming invasion because "that is what national interest and foreign policy in all about".

Along with the ritual reference to "the Australian defence interest", Woolcott suggested that a favorable treaty on the Timor Gap "could be much more readily negotiated with Indonesia... than with Portugal or independent Portuguese Timor".

The reasons for support for Indonesia's crimes went well beyond oil and "defence interests", including control of a deep-water passage for nuclear submarines. Indonesia has been an honored ally since General Suharto came to power in 1965 with a "boiling blood bath" that was "the West's best news for years n Asia" (*'Time'*), a "staggering mass slaughter of communists and pro-communists", mostly landless peasants, that provided a "gleam of light in Asia" (*'New York Times'*).

Euphoria knew no bounds, along with praise for the "Indonesian moderates" who prevailed (*'New York Times'*) and their leader, who is "at heart benign" (*'Economist'*).

Not only did the welcome blood bath destroy the only mass-based political party in Indonesia, but it opened the rich resources

of the country to Western exploitation and even justified the American war in Vietnam, which "provided a shield for the sharp reversal of Indonesia's shift toward communism", as Freedom House soberly explained with no reservations. Such favors are not quickly forgotten.

The US ambassador, David Newsom, informed Woolcott that if Indonesia were to invade, the US hoped it would do so "effectively, quickly, and not use our equipment" - 90 per cent of its weapons supply.

Another lesson in realism was given by the UN ambassador, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, celebrated for his courageous defence of international law and human rights. "The United States wished things to turn out as they did," he writes in his memoirs, "and to bring this about. The Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures in undertook. This task was given to me, and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success."

Moynihan cites figures of 60,000 killed in the first few months, "almost the proportion of casualties experienced by the Soviet Union during the Second World War", a foretaste of still greater successes soon to come.

Western governments were fully aware of what was happening throughout, contrary to subsequent pretence. As revealed in leaked internal records, Henry Kissinger's worst fear was that his complicity in the aggression might become public, and "used against me by real or imagined political enemies."

Cable traffic shows that after "Suharto was given the green light" the main concern of the US embassy and State Department was "about the problems that would be created for us if the public and Congress became aware" of the American role, according to Philip Liechty, then a senior CIA officer in Jakarta, in an interview with Pilger.

An independent East Timor would be "communist" by the usual criteria: it might not follow orders in a sprightly enough manner, interfering with the "national interest". New arms were sent, including counter-insurgency equipment; "everything that you need to fight a major war against somebody who doesn't have any guns," Liechty comments, adding that the advanced military equipment proved decisive, as other sources confirm.

By 1977 Indonesia found itself short of weapons, an indication of the scale of its attack. The Carter administration accelerated the arms flow. Britain joined in as atrocities peaked in 1978, while France announced that it would sell arms to Indonesia and protect it from any public "embarrassment".

Others, too, sought to gain what profit they could from the slaughter and tortured of Timorese.

The press added its contribution. Coverage of East Timor in the US had been high in 1974-57, amid concerns about the break-up of the Portuguese empire. As another "boiling blood bath" proceeded, coverage declined, keeping largely to the lies and apologetics of the State Department and Indonesian generals. By 1978, as the slaughter reached genocidal levels, coverage reached flat zero.

In 1990, the issue of Timor received some attention when Iraq invaded Kuwait, eliciting a response from the West rather unlike its reaction to Indonesia's vastly more bloody invasion and annexation of a small oil-rich country next door. Much ingenuity was displayed in explaining that the distinction did not lie in the locus of power and profit, but in some more subtle quality that preserves Anglo-American virtue.

Similar gyrations had been undertaken a decade earlier to justify the radically different reaction to atrocities in Cambodia and Timor; crucially different, to be sure, in that the latter could have been readily terminated.

Some commentators were forthright. The Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, explained in 1990: "The world is a pretty unfair place, littered with examples of acquisition by force." Since "there is no binding legal obligation not to recognise the acquisition of territory that was acquired by force", Australia may proceed to share Timor's oil with the conqueror. The dispensation would presumably not have extended to a Libya-Iraq treaty on Kuwait oil.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Hawke declared that "big countries cannot invade small neighbors and get away with it" (referring to Iraq Kuwait); "would-be aggressors will think twice before invading smaller neighbors", secure in the lesson that "the rule of law must prevail over the rule of force in international relations" - at least, when the "national interest" so dictates.

The Timor issue reached threshold again in November 1991, when Indonesian troops attacked a graveyard commemoration of an earlier assassination, massacring hundreds of people and severely beating two US reports. The tactical error called for the standard cover-up, deemed satisfactory by Western leaders.

Oil exploration proceeded on course; contracts with Australian, British, Japanese, Dutch and American companies were reported in the six months after the massacre. "To the capitalist governors," a Timorese priest wrote, "Timor's petroleum smells better than Timorese blood and tears."

The primary reason why Indonesia might consider "taking the shoe off" is given in the final words of Pilger's chapters on East Timor. The reason, he writes, is "the enduring heroism of the people of East Timor, who continue to resist the invaders even as the crosses multiply on the hillsides", a constant "reminder of the fallibility of brute power and of the cynicism of others".

However courageous they may be, the people of East Timor have no hope without outside support. No amount of courage and unity will prevent Indonesian transmigration, atrocities and destruction of the indigenous culture, activities funded and supported by the great powers.

Support for Timorese rights has finally reached a significant level in the US, although the pace has been glacial. The truth began to seep into the public domain, compelling the media to take some notice and raising impediments to the "pragmatic course".

Congress has imposed barriers on military aid and training, which the White House has had to evade in ever more devious ways, particularly in recent months. Sensing the opportunity, Britain moved effectively under Thatcher's guiding hand to take first place in the highly profitable enterprise of war crimes.

The significance of Pilger's recent work on East Timor is attested by the angry response it has evoked from high government officials. To draw aside the veils of deceit that conceal the real world is no small achievement. But it will join other failed efforts unless the public response goes beyond mere awareness, to actions to end shameful complicity in crime.

(Author, activist and linguist Noam Chomsky is institute professor in the department of linguists and philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology).

POLITICIAN TELLS THE TRUTH! SHOCK HORROR AS CLARK BARES HIS SOUL!

The Sunday Business Post July 10th 1994

N.B. The Sunday Business Post is Ireland's financial, political and economic newspaper.

The following article also had with it a photograph of Alan Clark with the caption "Alan Clark on East Timor; I don't fill my head much with what one set of foreigners is doing to another".

By Emily O'Reilly Political Editor

Given most politicians inclination to claim that all their actions are based on nothing but the most altruistic and humanitarian of motives, it was rather refreshing to read extracts from a recent interview between

investigative journalist John Pilger and former British defence procurement minister Alan Clark.

The interview was reprinted in the East Timor/Ireland Solidarity Campaign newsletter.

Instead of defending the sale of weapons to the oppressive Indonesian regime, Clark all but gloried in it.

The man's attitude was that Pilger's heart could bleed as much as it wanted; he still wasn't to beat his breast in remorse for what he had done as minister:

John Pilger: Isn't all this, in broad terms, about the right of a small country not to be invaded?

Alan Clark: Yeah, but they weren't British, were they?

Pilger: That makes a difference?

Clark: Of course it makes a difference.

Pilger: The Indonesian regime has perhaps one of the bloodiest records of the 20th century.

Clark: Well, that's a very competitive sphere.

Pilger: This regime has competed well in the league.

Clark: Has it? There's Pol Pot, Stalin and others.

Pilger: In East Timor it has killed more people proportionately than Pol Pot killed in Cambodia. Isn't that ever a consideration for the British government?

Clark: It's not something that often enters my thinking, I must admit.

Pilger: Why is that?

Clark: My responsibility is to my own people. I don't really fill my mind much with what one set of foreigners is doing to another.

Pilger: Did it bother you personally, when you were the minister responsible, that British equipment was causing such suffering, albeit to a set of foreigners?

Clark: No, not in the slightest. It never entered my head.

LETTER TO MINISTERS RE. CGI

From Agir Pour Timor, July 5.

Nine organisations wrote on July 5 a letter to 3 French ministers about the CGI meeting, to express their concern on various points concerning Indonesia. The organisations are:

Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture (ACAT), a Christian human rights group

Agir pour Timor

Association de Solidarité avec Timor Oriental (ASTO)

Comité Catholique contre la Faim et pour le Développement (CCFD), a major development NGO

CERI, a collective of NGOs

Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (CFTC), a trade union

CRID, another collective of 37 NGOs

Force Ouvrière (FO), another trade union

Peuples Solidaires

The ministers are:

Alain Juppe, Foreign minister

Nicolas Sarkozy, Budget minister

Edmond Alphandery, Economy minister.

This initiative is from a different group than the "4 months for East Timor" campaign, even though there is an overlap in signatories.

The text of the letter follows (original: French; translation Agir pour Timor).

Paris, July 5, 1994.

Dear Minister,

At the occasion of the forthcoming CGI (Consultative Group on Indonesia) meeting in Paris, the French organisations listed below met to discuss Indonesia, especially questions related to development and co-operation with France.

Every year, a meeting parallel to CGI takes place: that of INFID (International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development), which aims to show aid donors that there exists alternative views to the development policy favoured by the Indonesian government [currently] in charge.

We have been associated to the IXth INFID Conference, which took place in Paris in April. The attending Indonesian NGOs and their international partners participating this framework of non-governmental co-operation, often with the support of their ministers, tackled crucial issues for Indonesia: good governance in public administration and regionalisation, energy and environment, workers rights. These debates and discussions gave rise to conclusions which have been made public during a press conference in Paris on April 25. They were then forwarded to the Indonesian authorities and Foreign ministries of the various countries represented, among them the Quai d'Orsay. We take the liberty to send them to you separately.

We have the firm will to increase co-operation between Indonesian and French organisations.

France plays an important role in the CGI, which grants important aid every year (US\$ 5.1 billion in 1993). It ranks third among donors after Japan and Germany. Indeed Paris took the follow-up after La Haye when Jakarta rejected Dutch aid because it was increasingly linked to a demand for respect of human rights.

As NGOs and trade unions, we remain deeply concerned by the following:

-- non-respect and violations of human rights: assassination of a young worker -- Marsinah -- after the repression of a strike in May 93, repression of a peasant demonstration in Madura in September 93, repression of the workers demonstrations in Medan in April 94, "cleaning-up" operations aiming to eliminate petty criminals in Jakarta, ban of 6 [sic] weeklies and dailies on June 21, 94, this at the eve of the CGI meeting;

-- a continuing obstruction to the trade union actions of SBSI and the refusal to recognise this free organisation;

-- the non-respect of the right to self-determination in East Timor.

Moreover, we must mention the [State bank] BAPINDO case, in which the Indonesian State was crooked of about half a billion dollars, or one tenth of the aid granted to Indonesia in 1993, by a businessman enjoying high level support, since he is an associate to the son of President Suharto.

These are only some examples among others which, we think, demand much vigilance, and we hope the French delegation in the CGI will ask the Indonesian authorities the necessary questions, in order to avoid that the funds allocated by France help caution a policy contrary to the fundamental Rights.

In view of these various elements, we wish to know the affectation of the aid allocated by France in 1993 and 1994.

We thank you in advance for all the attention you will attach to the present letter, as well as the answers you will accept to provide us.

With highest esteem,

Sergio Regazzoni

responsible for the Asia/Pacific service, CCFD, in the name of

ACAT - AGIR POUR TIMOR - ASTO - CCFD - CERI - CFTC - CRID - FO - PEUPLES SOLIDAIRES

UN SPECIAL ENVOY SPEAKS AT PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER VISITING ET.

Translated from LUSA, July 12.

UN special envoy Bacre Waly N'Diaye, a lawyer from Senegal who is a specialist in extra-judicial and arbitrary executions, spoke at a press conference in Jakarta today, after a visit to ET in July 7-11. N'Diaye stated that Indonesia has promised him all requested documents relative to the Santa Cruz massacre. N'Diaye recalled that the UN Human Rights commission had considered in March that the information so far provided by the Indonesian government relative to the number of dead and missing was insufficient. He stated he was in Jakarta

not to conduct an inquiry about the Dili incidents but to evaluate the manner in which the inquiry is being conducted by the Indonesian authorities. N'Diaye stated he had heard from East Timorese that there had been a second massacre closely following the Santa Cruz massacre in 1991, which had been alleged also in a report by private British television station ITV. N'Diaye refused to reveal who had provided him information about a second massacre, and said only that his mission was to investigate all related facts. "I posed the Indonesians very precise questions about what autopsies had been performed, who had conducted the inquiry, what methods had been used, and what results had been obtained; and, of course, whether that inquiry was in conformance with international standards." said N'Diaye. N'Diaye revealed he had met with Xanana Gusmão, who was imprisoned in the Cipinang jail. N'Diaye told journalists that any further disclosures would be premature at this time and that his report would be available in three months.

Also today, the East Timor chief of police, Sudioanto Andreas, stated that the transfer of six Timorese prisoners from the Dili jail to Java was unrelated to the UN envoy's visit. "We had no intention of hiding them from the UN envoy." Andreas stated that the prisoner transfer was motivated by the better conditions in the new prison. The six prisoners in question were jailed in 1992 for their involvement in the Santa Cruz demonstration in 1991.

MAX STAHL ON INDONESIAN TV

Report from Aki Matsuno, Japan. July 14, 1994

According to Max Stahl himself, on July 14, Thursday, an Indonesian satellite TV will broadcast a 7-8 minutes news featuring Max Stahl's interview with Konis Santana and his report on the second massacre. The news was originally released by the Australian ABC and the Indonesian TV will broadcast it according to the contract it has with ABC. But the time of the broadcasting is not known. The Japanese country-wide satellite channel, BS-1 (NHK), will also air the same item on July 14.

INDONESIAN SOLDIERS COMMIT SACRILEGE

Report from TAPOL, Jul 13, 1994

There has been an outbreak of protest in East Timor after two Indonesian soldiers committed sacrilege in a Catholic church in the village of Remexio. Apparently the soldiers attended a mass on June 28 in St. Jo-

seph's Church, and asked to receive communion. After receiving the communion wafers, according to Bishop Belo in a phone interview with Pascal Mallet of AFP, the soldiers threw them to the ground and trampled on them. He also said that security forces broke up the angry crowd that gathered outside the church and that the two soldiers were arrested.

This profound insult to the mostly Catholic people of East Timor has created sufficient public outrage that Col. Johny Lumintang published an apology in Suara Timor Timur, the Indonesian-language daily. According to Lumintang, the soldiers, who had been "helping to build a road near Remexio" went into the church "out of curiosity" and after unwittingly taking the communion wafers, dropped them on the floor and walked on them without realising what they were doing. He also said that the two would be punished.

The Timorese were not satisfied with this rather unlikely story. On Monday, July 11, there was a demonstration of some 350 people in Dili, demanding a public trial for the two soldiers. Protestors, according to an AP report, carried rosaries and pictures of Mary, mother of Jesus. Some of the protestors met with Deputy Governor Johannes Hari Wibowo, and demanded that high government positions in East Timor should be given to Catholics and that people found guilty of desecration and insulting religion must be openly punished.

Fretilin spokesman Mari Alkatiri is concerned that the incident was a deliberate provocation and that the demonstrations may play into Indonesia's hands, however. "I believe the attitude of the Indonesian forces is aimed at causing new demonstrations in Dili," he said in an interview with Portuguese radio RDP, "because their latest objective is to continue to arrest people, continue to persecute people suspected of having links with the resistance. They know the Catholic church is a refuge for the clandestine resistance ... So the provocations are directly targeted at the Catholic Church."

Bishop Belo has called on Timorese Catholics to offer expiatory prayers for the soldiers.

CANADA'S STATEMENTS AT CGI

CANADA'S OPENING STATEMENT BY HEAD OF CANADIAN DELEGATION MEETING OF THE INDONESIAN CONSORTIUM -- PARIS, JULY 6-8, 1994

Mr. Chairman, Minister Affif, Minister Ginandjar, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Minister Affif, you and your delegation represent a country that has deservedly been recognized as having one of the finest records for economic performance and poverty reduction among developing countries. This is the backdrop against which I make my comments this morning.

Looking back over the past 25 years, one cannot help but be impressed by Indonesia's accomplishments: the multi-fold increase in per capita income; the drop from 60 to 14 percent in the number of Indonesians living below the poverty line; the restructuring of the economy to one increasingly grounded on industry and non oil exports; and significant improvements in literacy and health.

Recalling these accomplishments, places the new and difficult challenges that lie ahead in proper context. We can be reasonably confident, that given the political resolve, the difficult issues facing Indonesia today and in the future will be successfully met.

On the economic front, we share the view that the key issues facing Indonesia include: the need to strengthen the financial sector; the need to strengthen fiscal discipline; prudent debt management, including rational resource allocation; sustained and well targeted investment in social infrastructure and services; and the encouragement of greater competition and competitiveness.

Confidence in the banking system is an important element in the international community's overall perception of Indonesia's economic management. Recent legal actions taken by Indonesia to deal with alleged abuses are a welcome signal to this community. Mr. Chairman, we hope that Indonesia shows the same resolve in dealing with serious problems that exist elsewhere in the banking system. In addition to dealing with abuses as they come to light, we would urge appropriate action that would signal to banking officials that probity is both expected and rewarded, and that individuals will be supported when they carry out their responsibilities with due diligence.

In a somewhat similar vein, I want to stress the importance that must be attached to tighter fiscal policy and public savings, to debt management, to close scrutiny of public borrowing and to resource allocation issues. We have been pleased to observe strong efforts on the part of the Minister of Finance to carry out these responsibilities and contain both budget and off budget expenditures. We think these efforts should be strongly endorsed by the CGI. There are far too many examples that we could cite of the consequences of other governments' less prudent actions in these areas.

Mr. Chairman, there are two other issues I would like to refer to in my opening statement. Canada considers both to be

critical to sustainable development, and both receive considerable attention and high priority in Canada. The first relates to the environment.

Canada has worked with Indonesia for 10 years to help build its institutional capacity, to develop appropriate policies and regulations, and to put in place successful programs such as Prokasi -- the clean rivers program. We believe Indonesia has accomplished a great deal in this area, and we are proud to have played at least a small part. But, much more remains to be done. More effective implementation and enforcement of policies is required. Fundamental changes in awareness and attitude are needed, in government, across the private sector and at the community level. Failure to change and to mitigate effectively the impacts of industrialization, urbanization and poverty will surely undermine Indonesia's long term development.

Mr. Chairman, Canada remains committed to working with Indonesia in this area. We see the environment as one of the key areas of mutual interest for our two countries.

Many other donors here today have similar interests. With this growing interest comes the need to better coordinate our activities in support of the environment. We believe this is essential if we are to avoid duplication, overburdening Indonesia's institutions and absorptive capacity, and at worst, working at cross purposes. We hope, Mr. Chairman, that we can agree to increase our efforts to share information, and better coordinate our efforts.

The final issue I would like to raise relates to the Repelita VI themes of poverty reduction and equity. That Indonesia would give such prominence to these issues after the dramatic success of the past 25 years is very much to its credit. A number of factors affecting poverty and equity are identified in this report. However, equity, and the perception of equity, goes well beyond income distribution and other economic indicators. It relates equally to the social and political dimensions of development.

We believe efforts must continue to involve Indonesians more widely in the development process. Just as centrally planned economies have fallen into virtually universal disrepute, we must recognize the limitations that all governments face in planning from the centre, and in relying on command and control approaches. The INPRES DESA TERTINGAL, or the poor villages program, is one that we believe must be largely driven from the community level if it is to be successful. We believe that in programs such as these, non governmental or local community organizations can and

should play a meaningful role in representing and mobilizing community interests.

Equity and broad participation in development is also central to the priority we place on gender issue, and on women being full participants in, and beneficiaries of, the development process. We noted with pleasure the stronger emphasis placed on gender issues in Repelita VI. By contrast, we were disappointed that greater attention to gender issues was not as fully reflected in the documentation prepared for this meeting. We believe gender considerations go well beyond issues of poverty, and to the heart of economic and social development.

Stability, growth and equity are indeed very much linked. In Canada, we believe that respect for the rule of law and human rights are very important conditions for successful, sustainable development. These issues are of particular concern to Canadians and therefore are an essential part of our foreign policy. The Canadian government is very interested in promoting dialogue on human rights, and in working constructively with its partners in these areas. We are particularly pleased to note some very positive measures taken by the Government of Indonesia over the past year to address these issues. One such measure was the establishment of the National Commission on Human Rights. We also hope that there will be a continuing trend toward increasing openness in the freedom of expression and of the press despite recent decisions announced by the Government.

Mr. Chairman, 1994 marks the 40th anniversary of Canada's uninterrupted program of development cooperation with Indonesia. Our relationship is broad, deep and multifaceted. We look forward to working closely with Indonesia in the years ahead, to building on this strong relationship, and developing together a cooperation program that responds effectively to the priorities of Repelita VI, and the second 25 year development plan.

Thank you.

REVIEW OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE -- STATEMENT BY CANADIAN DELEGATION

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

The allocation of Canada's development cooperation resources takes into account a number of factors. Among the most important, are the recipient countries' commitment to development; their economic and social policies; their governance systems and trends; and their record of development performance.

Although Canada's ODA flows to Indonesia remain modest relative to overall need

and pledges made by the largest donors, our program of cooperation with Indonesia has consistently been amongst Canada's largest. This very much reflects the effective use made of such assistance by Indonesia, and the improvements achieved over the years in the economic wellbeing of so many Indonesians.

I am pleased to say that Canada's program of cooperation with Indonesia continues to be one of our largest. Perhaps more importantly, our support will continue to be provided on an all grant basis.

Mr. Chairman, for 1994/95, Canada expects to disburse \$35 million (Canadian) in bilateral assistance to Indonesia. This will be entirely in the form of project assistance. However, within these projects, heavy emphasis is placed on technical assistance, training and institution building. Program priorities will include: the environment; human resource development; community level and participatory development; the role of women in development; and promotion of private sector development. There also remains a focus on Eastern Indonesia, with considerable assistance being targeted to provincial and district levels of government.

In addition to the bilateral assistance noted above, Canada also provides assistance through other mechanisms such as direct support to private sector projects, educational institutions and NGOs. The estimated value of this additional grant assistance is almost \$7 million (Canadian) for 1994/95.

None of these amounts take into account the commitment of substantial Canadian funding to the international development banks and other multilateral organizations that are active in Indonesia.

Thank-you, Mr. Chairman.

AID DONORS PLEDGE JAKARTA FIVE BILLION DOLLARS

By Angeline Oyog

PARIS, Jul 8 (IPS) - Donor countries pledged Indonesia Friday five billion dollars in new assistance -- unperturbed by reports of continuing repression in East Timor and other island territories and the clampdown on critical press reports in Jakarta.

Donor countries met Indonesian government officials Thursday and Friday to discuss new loans to Jakarta, and according to World Bank vice president for East Asia and Pacific region Gautham Kaji, they did not discuss the reported human rights abuse in East Timor.

Rather, Kaji said donors commended the Indonesian government's "remarkable" eco-

conomic performance. "Indonesia continues to command the confidence and the commitment of the donor community."

According to Indonesian State Minister for National Development Ginandjar Kartasasmita, donor countries exerted "no pressure at all" on his government to change its policies that are being denounced by human rights organisations.

"The behavior of the donor countries is simply scandalous," lashed out Eric Mennart of the French organisation 'Tribal Act' which rises in defence of indigenous peoples in the world.

"Once more, they have not conditioned their assistance to Indonesia to the respect of human rights, in East Timor and elsewhere. The donor countries are therefore clearly backing up the genocidal policies of Jakarta," Mennart accused.

While the problems in East Timor have been amplified around the world, Tribal Act is drawing attention likewise to the similar but lesser known abuses and marginalisation of the traditional communities in the island territories of Maluku and West Papua.

The people of East Timor and other territories like Maluku and West Papua, stress human rights organisations, share the same problems including military repression by the Indonesian army and transmigration programmes of Indonesians from Java to the other islands that edge out the original inhabitants.

Financial assistance to Indonesia, protest the human rights organisations, serve only to perpetuate a dictatorial regime and prolong its illegal occupation of East Timor.

Mennart led a group of protestors who demonstrated Thursday and Friday outside the World Bank offices in Paris where the meeting was being held. They also distributed documents detailing the abuses by Jakarta to representatives of donor countries under the Consultative Group for Indonesia (CGI), pressing them to attach conditions to their financial assistance.

Indonesian delegates emerging from the Bank offices at the end of the meeting Friday were met with cries of 'Papua Merdeka', meaning 'Free West Papua' whose indigenous peoples, critics say, have been marginalised by Indonesia's policies in the island territory.

"Do you really know where Papua is?" challenged back an irate Indonesian. "How many Indians were killed by the whites?"

Earlier in the week, human rights organisations with a focus on East Timor likewise pressed the CGI to tie aid to the respect of human rights, repeating the same demands made during the past years.

"There is something remarkable about the CGI -- the more Indonesian President Suharto kills, the more money they lend,"

accused Jusfiq Hadjar of the Movement of Indonesians Abroad for Human Rights and Democracy based in the Netherlands.

In East Timor, human rights advocates estimate that some 250,000 people out of an initial population of 700,000 have been killed since Indonesia invaded the island and annexed it in 1975.

The military occupation of East Timor, pointed out the solidarity groups, has never been recognised by the United Nations. The island remains under the administrative authority of former colonial master Portugal.

Under international pressure, Indonesia, said Jose Antonio Amorim Diaz of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance (CNRM) has relented "a little bit" and allowed the participation of the resistance movement in the latest round of talks with Portugal.

"But the human rights situation remains the same, and serious violations continue to be committed," stressed Diaz. "We are dying as a people and as a nation. The European Union, the United States, they all know what is going on. They are all Jakarta's accomplices."

According to lawyer Claude Katz, secretary-general of the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues, repeated requests for visas to Indonesia to conduct independent investigations of reports of human rights abuses have never been answered.

Compared with the economic sanctions against Cuba and the denial of financial assistance to Kenya, Katz said the cosiness of the relations between the donor countries and Indonesia was odd.

WORLD BANK AND IMF 'HELP GENOCIDE'

An Inter Press Service Feature

By Angeline Oyog

PARIS, Jul 8 (IPS) -- Critics in France of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have launched their campaign against the two institutions, by highlighting what they call the "genocidal" results of their financial assistance to Indonesia.

The critics timed the launching of their campaign with the annual meeting at the World Bank offices in Paris this week between Indonesian government officials and the donor countries to discuss new money to Jakarta.

The protestors say years of aid to Indonesia from the two propped up a dictatorial military regime -- responsible for the brutal repression of the East Timor, the death of hundreds of thousands and the pillage of their natural resources.

The World Bank and the IMF were borne out of a conference in 1944 in Bretton

Woods in the north eastern state of New Hampshire in the United States, where founding member states resolved to help the economic development of poor nations.

Official celebrations will begin in September in Madrid, Spain, but 1990s critics have their own campaign -- titled '50 years is enough!' -- as an alternative commemoration.

"I saw the birth of the Bretton Woods institutions," said Rene Dumont, a respected ecologist in his 80s who has joined the campaign. "They weren't supposed to be what they are now."

"They have arrogated unto themselves, without consultation, so much economic power, and with it, political power. They have ruined the Third World, and are responsible for ecological destruction."

At the end of their annual meeting, donor countries of the Consultative Group for Indonesia pledged Jakarta Friday new loans amounting to 5.1 billion dollars without mention of well documented repression in East Timor and other island territories.

In East Timor, invaded and annexed by Jakarta in 1975, human rights groups estimate that some 250,000 people have perished under the military rule. But according to World Bank vice president for East Asia and the Pacific region Gautham Kaji, donor countries did not discuss the East Timor situation.

"This aid is a death sentence for us Papuans," said Inaria Kaisiepo of the West Papua People's Front based in the Netherlands. West Papua has been ruled by Indonesia since 1963, taking over from the former colonial rulers from the Netherlands.

"The annual meeting of the donor countries for lending to Indonesia heralds for us, indigenous people, only more sufferings and further marginalisation and increased deforestation," said Erms Suripatty of the Homeland Mission 1950.

"Either they stop giving money to Indonesia, or they make sure that the money goes really to the human development of the indigenous people, too," Suripatty added.

Based in the Netherlands, the Homeland Mission hopes to spread word about the little reported sufferings of the traditional communities on Maluku island.

Maluku island, said Nico Souisa, also of the Homeland Mission, tasted a few months of liberty when it declared independence in April 1950. A few months later, Jakarta invaded the island.

Kaisiepo, Souisa and Suripatty joined French protest groups in demonstrating outside the World Bank offices in Paris while the donor countries were discussing new loans to Jakarta.

They were pressing the members of the Consultative Group for Indonesia to attach

conditions, like the respect of human rights, to the financial assistance they would extend.

Tribal Act, a non-governmental organisation defending the rights of indigenous peoples, estimates that some 200,000 West Papuans have died at the hands of the regime in Jakarta since the Netherlands handed over the colony to Indonesia in 1963.

In the region of Aceh, some 2,000 civilians have been killed by the Indonesian army since the mid 1989.

Figures are extremely difficult to get by and reports cannot be confirmed, stressed Kaisiepo, because Indonesia has kept the territories closed to international scrutiny.

The exiles also denounced World Bank-funded transmigration programmes which have eased the resettlement of Indonesians from Java to the other islands.

But these transmigration schemes and the regional development programmes, say the indigenous people, have pushed them to the fringes of society and threaten to wipe out their own communities.

Indonesian State Minister for National Development Ginandjar Kartasasmita defended the transmigration and regional development programmes.

"They were not intended in any way to harm the traditional communities. Contrary to what observers may think, we do not want any part of our society to be left behind in the Stone Age. But if it is their choice to be left behind, we will respect that."

"That is exactly the stereotype of us that we are correcting," said Kaisiepo. "Indonesians have not taken a proper look at our people and it is very insulting to refer to us as remaining in the Stone Age. We have long been capable of governing ourselves.

"Indigenous people are not being integrated into the economic system. They are being discriminated against in the jobs market in favor the transmigrants brought in by Indonesian authorities. Educational opportunities for them are few," he added.

In West Papua and Maluku island, the exiles also condemned forced sterilisation of indigenous women. "Women are now too afraid to go to the hospitals because many have been injected with a chemical or operated on to make them stop bearing children without their knowledge," said Kaisiepo.

Logging concessions granted to Indonesians, or to joint ventures with foreign companies, have also destroyed large areas of forest.

Mining activities throw their wastes into the rivers. The environment of the Mimika and the Amungme tribes, claim Tribal Act, has been polluted by the tons of waste being poured into the Aghawagong-Otomona-Ajikwa rivers that surround the mining con-

cession of the American subsidiary, Freeport Indonesia.

Citing World Bank figures, Tribal Act said some 10,000 square kilometres of forests were destroyed between 1980 to 1985 to make way for the arriving Javanese.

XANANA REJECTED EXILE, SAYS SON

Sydney Morning Herald, July 9, 1994

By Jeremy Wagstaff

JAKARTA, Reuters, Friday: East Timor's jailed guerilla leader Xanana Gusmão has rejected exile and has vowed to continue armed struggle, accusing his Indonesian captors of lies and bad faith, his son Nito said today.

Speaking by telephone from Melbourne, Nito quoted his father as saying during a recent visit that he would never accept exile or give up guerilla opposition to Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony.

"It is not that we wish to prolong the war; we have been forced to opt for war. We will continue, until the last man, to use weapons to remind the world that Indonesian has militarily occupied East Timor since 1975," Nito quoted his father as saying.

Nito, a factory worker, visited Xanana with his mother and sister in a Jakarta jail last week in the first such reunion since the 1975 invasion. After the invasion, Xanana led a dwindling band of guerillas opposing Indonesia's rule.

Nito was speaking during a visit to East Timor by the UN's special rapporteur on summary executions, Senegal's Mr Bacre Waly Ndiaye, after meeting in Jakarta. It was not clear whether Mr Ndiaye, after meeting in Jakarta. It was not clear whether Mr Ndiaye had visited Xanana.

Xanana, the chief of the Fretilin independence movement, was jailed for 20 years last year after his capture in late 1992. Journalists are barred from interviewing him and officials have questioned the authenticity of writings smuggled out of jail bearing his name.

Nito said his father appeared fit and in good spirits during last week's two-day visit. He said Xanana, 48 confirmed he had, for the most part, been well treated during his stay in three prisons.

But Nito said Xanana had twice turned down offers of exile and had refused to renounce the use of arms. He quoted his father as saying he had been approached by the Indonesian Government and later by UN envoys with unspecified offers of exile.

"I was approached in connection with (exile) by two envoys of the UN Secretary-General, to whom I made it clear I would

only accept such an offer on condition that all East Timorese prisoners are released," he was quoted as saying Indonesia has denied offering or receiving offers to grant exile.

Xanana said that while he had faith in on-going UN efforts to resolve the conflict, he rejected so-called confidence building measures by Indonesia as out of date and part of a pattern of "lies and bad faith".

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, held a round of talks in March between Indonesia and Portugal - still recognised by the UN as the administering authority - which both sides said made progress.

"Each new issue (Indonesia) comes up with is nothing but a lame attempt at giving new life to its outmoded approach to the East Timor problem," Xanana was quoted as saying.

Nito said his family hoped to visit Xanana again for Christmas.

* The Roman Catholic Church of East Timor yesterday accused Muslim troops of committing an act of sacrilege by entering a church and stamping on sacred communion wafers.

The Bishop of Dili, Monsignor Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, said that the incident happened during a Mass on June 28.

Reuter and Agence-France Presse

XANANA ATTACKS AUSTRALIA OVER EAST TIMOR

Sydney Morning Herald, 13 July 1994

By Mark Baker, political editor, Canberra

The jailed leader of the Timorese resistance, Xanana Gusmão, has accused Australia of putting closer economic ties with Indonesia ahead of the lives of the East Timorese.

In a statement smuggled out of Jakarta's Cipinang prison, Xanana said the "million dollar bridge" that linked Indonesia with rich and influential countries was preventing them from giving proper attention to the problem of East Timor.

"Take, for example, the cynicism of Gareth Evans who has made it clear to the Australian Parliament that the millions of dollars tied up in economic relations with Indonesia are more important than the lives of less than a million East Timorese," he said.

The statement - a copy of which has been obtained exclusively by "The Age" - is likely to enrage Indonesian authorities who have attempted to silence Xanana since his arrest in Dili in November 1992.

It is believed that the statement was smuggled out of the prison by Xanana's wife

Emilia, son Nito and daughter Zenilda - during a visit arranged by the International Red Cross. It was the first time that his family - who live in Melbourne - had seen him since he joined the resistance in 1975.

Xanana, who was sentenced to life imprisonment last year, ruled out a compromise on the territory's future and predicted that the armed struggle would continue until independence was achieved.

"To renounce the armed struggle while the forces of occupation continue to pursue, to arrest, to torture and to massacre the population would be an insult to the blood shed by our people and to their suffering" he wrote.

Xanana said he supported the dialogue over East Timor's future that is being promoted by the office of the United Nations secretary-general, Dr Boutros-Ghali. But he said Indonesia was "a dictatorial and colonialist regime" that was not serious about negotiating a proper settlement on East Timor. Its policies were dominated by "lies and bad faith."

"One thing I've learnt in my time in prison is that the concept of shame appears to be absent in Indonesian culture." He said Indonesia had used arguments about cultural differences to repudiate Western criticism and "dupe the world" about its actions.

The Indonesian Government was afraid to allow a referendum on East Timor's future, but the resistance movement was determined to fight for one: "This is the crux of the negotiations.

Xanana confirmed that he had rejected proposals that he be allowed to leave prison and go into exile in another country.

COMMANDER REPROACHED OVER TIMOR COMMENT

A senior Australian military commander has been disciplined for saying that Indonesia's human rights violations in East Timor had been "overplayed" and that it was "bullshit" that 200,000 people had died there.

On Friday, a Federal Opposition shadow minister, Mr Peter McGauran, said that Air Commodore Peter Nicholson's "blood-curdling outburst warrants his immediate dismissal". But the chief spokesman for the Defence Force, Brigadier Adrian D'Hage, said that Air Commodore Nicholson, the commander of Northern Command in Darwin, had been "reminded of the rules" that members of the forces were not to comment on the internal politics of foreign countries.

He said Air Commodore Nicholson had the "full confidence" of the Defence Force and accepted that he must not speak on political issues.

Last month, Air Commodore Nicholson compared indigenous opposition to Jakarta's rule in the former Portuguese colony

with Queenslanders being disgruntled by dictates from Canberra.

Air Commodore Nicholson refused to comment yesterday
- GAY ALCORNZ

UN SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ENDS VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

ABC (Australian) radio, 12.15pm, 13 July 1994

REPORTER: Michael Maher

INTRODUCTION: The United Nations Special Rapporteur whose has just returned from East Timor say he's heard reports of a so called second massacre in the former Portuguese colony but has refused to say whether or not is giving them any credence. Claims that a second round of killings took place in November 1991 immediately after Indonesian troops fired on demonstrators in the capital Dili are again being aired in the Australian media and once again the officials in Jakarta are strenuously denying the allegations.

Indonesia correspondent Michael Maher reports.

MAHER: Not long after the Dili massacre took place in November 1991, allegations surfaced of a second round of killings which allegedly occurred at a hospital. Jakarta has strenuously denied such reports dismissing them as attempts to paint Indonesia in a bad light. However, the questions have persisted and whilst the United Nations Human Rights Commission has had nothing to say on the so called second massacre, it has made it plain that it thinks Jakarta has provided insufficient information on those persons still unaccounted for following the events of November 1991. The Commission's Special Rapporteur on Extra Judicial Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Senegalese lawyer Bacre Waly Ndiaye has just completed the four-day visit to the former Portuguese colony.

BACRE: What is clear is, that there is a consistent statement of the Commission which was issued in March this year - is saying that available information is not sufficient. and the available, the current stage - well, information we have on the investigation also were not sufficient. And, so I was after, to be able to have more information and better information.

MAHER: Mr Ndiaye was loather to give a public assessment on the information he gathered during his short mission saying only that he had spoken to government and military officials in East Timor as well as to representatives from non-government organisations. Whilst he acknowledged that he heard of a second massacre he gave no indi-

cation as to what credence he was given those reports. (END)

ABRI CRIMES IN ERMERA

Jakarta Post, July 8, abridged

(Dili, Timor Timur) Local Military Commandant Col. Jhony Lumintang confirmed that a member of the Armed Forces posted in the village of Asulua Raimeta in Ermera, some 75 kilometers west of Dili, had unintentionally [sic] shot a farmer.

He said the accidental shooting of Mario Boromeo, 35, happened on June 28 at 7:30 p.m. local time when the victim was opening an irrigation water gate in his field.

However, Lumintang did not elaborate on how the incident happened.

When asked about rumours that 12 ABRI personnel had raped a young girl in the same village days before the shooting, Lumintang challenged the journalist to prove it.

"If there is no proof, how can I say there has been a rape. It must be another lie spread by an anti-integration group," Lumintang said.

MORE ON TODAY'S ARMY VIOLENCE

Protected, on the spot, via TAPOL 14 July 1994

Yesterday, Wednesday, three military intelligence agents, bearing radios, walkie-talkies and pistols, entered the University of East Timor. Two behaved in a particularly aggressive manner, taunting two Catholic nuns who were taking their final examinations.

Angered students attacked the three men. One managed to escape but the other two were badly beaten up. Earlier reports that one had died are not true. The identity cards of the two revealed that one was from the police, the other from the army.

Yesterday, the UNTIM students gathered at the campus, intending to march to the local assembly building but they were prevented from leaving the campus. They remained on campus the whole day. Today, 14 July 1994, they were still there. They invited police in to discuss their grievances but police entered in large numbers and started attacking the students; 20 were wounded, and six are still in hospital. The source had personally spoken to five of the wounded who said they were not concerned for themselves but for the 74 who had been arrested and taken to the barracks of Battalion 744. Three of those taken into custody (whether included in the 74 or in addition to them is not clear) died when their throats were cut. RTP (Portuguese TV is also

broadcasting a report today which speaks of three people killed.

According to this source, the International Red Cross have seen the three bodies but this news has not been obtained direct from the Red Cross.

The situation in Dili is described as "extremely tense". Three hundred students remain inside the university, refusing to leave and are surrounded by security forces.

[Note: There are certain contradictions in the details that are coming out from direct sources and from the wire services. Clearly the chaotic conditions are contributing to this and it may take some hours or days before the incident is fully clarified.]

JOINT NAVAL EXERCISE PLANNED

Jakarta Post, July 7

Surabaya, East Java -- About 800 marines will take part in a war game with the United States navy in the Java and Makasar Seas scheduled for the middle of this month.

Chief of the Naval Fleet for the eastern region Rear Admiral Gofar Soewarno told journalists on Tuesday that the navy would include five warships, two of them corvettes, in the joint exercise.

"The exercise will directly involve 600 American and 200 Indonesian marines," he said as quoted by Antara.

The war game, code-named Indosa, aims to hone the navy's combat skills in different battlefields and improve bilateral relations between the two countries, he said.

Earlier this year, the two navies conducted a joint exercise in the Java Sea near Bali.

TIMOR YES, BUT WITH WHO?

Publico, 24 June 94, Translated from Portuguese. abridged

Ramos Horta puts conditions for presence at Lusophone summit.

(Lisbon) Temporarily sidelined by the nervousness created by the cancellation of the visit by the Brazilian president for the summit of the 7 Lusophone countries, the question of the format of the Timorese representation continues to concern the organizers. Lisbon wants all currents of the Timorese resistance represented. Ramos Horta says out of the question. The only formula acceptable to CNRM representative Ramos Horta would involve the presence of a 'troika' composed of three Timorese observers, representing the CNRM, the Fretilin faction led by Jose Luis Guterres and the UDT faction led by Joao Carrascalão; the organizers had been considering the

presence of a further two to represent the dissent factions of the latter two organizations. Horta, in a press conference yesterday, also pointed out that the statute of observer for non-autonomous states at summit meetings of this kind had in the past been accorded to the ANC, SWAPO and the PLO and so there was ample precedent in international law.

WAITING FOR ALATAS

Horta also spoke of his recent visit to New York and took the opportunity to clarify his position regarding the Geneva declaration signed by the UN secretary-general following the May meeting between Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas. The CNRM spokesman, in contrast to recent statements by Abilio Araújo, considers that this statement 'mixed' the so-called 'reconciliation' process, and committed itself to UN involvement in a wide dialogue between Timorese, one in which Ramos Horta would also wish to see present representatives of the Portuguese and Indonesian governments, in the 'search for a global solution to the problem'.

For Abilio Araújo the situation is the exact opposite: the secretary-general in encouraging dialogue between Timorese, gave his go-ahead to the 'reconciliation' process. These two diametrically opposed readings are based on paragraph 10 of the secretary-general's statement.

Referring to another important paragraph, that which envisions a kind of cross-party talks between the Portuguese minister and Timorese who favour integration on the one hand and between the Indonesian minister and resistance figures on the other, Ramos Horta expressed his readiness to meet Ali Alatas 'as soon as possible at a mutually acceptable time and place'.

This availability had already been expressed by the CNRM representative when he spoke to two of Boutros-Ghali's aides in New York this week, namely the assistant for the Asia-Pacific region and the director of the East Asia and Pacific division.

TALKS THROUGH UN ONLY

Diario de Noticias, 24 June 94. Translated from Portuguese, abridged.

Ramos Horta accuses Abilio Araújo of making open war on Xanana and Ximenes Belo

(Lisbon) CNRM representative, Ramos Horta, ruled out the possibility of his attending the reconciliation meeting promoted by Abilio Araújo, allegedly scheduled for Rome at the end of July, because the meeting was not under UN auspices. Describing the meeting as 'sponsored by the Indonesian secret service' Horta accused Abilio Araújo

of 'putting himself forward as a patriarch of reconciliation, while at the same time declaring open war on the Resistance, on Xanana Gusmão and Konis Santana and now even on Bishop Ximenes Belo'. He emphasized the necessity of Xanana Gusmão and Bishop Belo participating fully in any attempts to find a solution to the problem of East Timor.

The idea of re-launching the Manila Conference in Lisbon does not have the support of the Resistance spokesman, but he raised the possibility of a meeting in Macau with the presence of the Dalai-Lama.

FRETILIN SUPPORTS XIMENES

Meanwhile, Jose Luis Guterres, in a letter to the bishop of Dili in the name of the Fretilin External Delegation, made the participation of his party in Timorese talks conditional on the participation of all of the territory's political and social forces.

CONTROVERSY SURROUNDS ABILIO ARAÚJO RELATIVES

Diario de Noticias, 26 June 94

Dateline: Lisbon, byline Carlos Albino. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Information on the beating to death of a nephew of Abilio Araújo, following the capture of Xanana Gusmão which was published at the time in this paper accompanied by photos furnished by the expelled Fretilin leader, has been formally denied by Ramos Horta.

In his book 'Amanha em Dili', recently on sale here and already considered the best politico-diplomatic work published so far on the East Timor question, Ramos Horta claims that Abilio Araujo's relatives were detained but released some days later and that allegations that his sister had been raped, brother-in-law tortured and nephew killed, were after all unfounded.

In the *Diario de Noticias* of 8/12/92, based on information furnished at the time by Abilio Araújo, we reported the death of Jorge Araújo Canelas, beaten to his last breath in prison because he refused to betray the Resistance. In the same edition we also stated that Aliança Araújo Pereira (sister of Abilio Araújo) and his niece Regina Conceição Araújo had been raped in front of the former's husband, Augusto Pereira, also detained.

None of this was true, Ramos Horta now declares, although to date Abilio Araújo has never taken the initiative to correct the information which he himself supplied to this paper and which involved material so grave and whose publication coincided with a suspicion that Xanana's capture had been the result of a tip-off.

There was betrayal in the capture of Xanana Gusmão, but it was not within the Resistance claims Horta who, however, refuses to draw any conclusions linking Abilio Araújo with the capture of the historic Timorese leader. I do not believe that Abilio Araújo would stoop to such an ignoble crime says the author of 'Amanha em Dili'.

Ramos Horta guarantees that in the house in which Xanana Gusmão was captured Abilio Araújo's nephew lived, boyfriend of a certain young woman, both of whom were known as Indonesian informers, and claims that it was strange that members of a household where Xanana had stayed on a number of occasions were released without any further consequences and that the brother-in-law, a policeman, indeed appears to have been promoted shortly afterwards.

PROTEST AT LONDON EMBASSY

From BCET, Jul 14, 1994

The British Coalition for East Timor will be holding a demonstration outside the Indonesian Embassy, 38 Grosvenor Square, London on Monday July 18, at 4:30 p.m., in protest against today's army violence in Dili.

For more information please contact Maggie Helwig, 071-252-7937, e-mail maggie@gn.apc.org

BISHOP BELO ACCUSES THE WEST

By John Pilger, New Statesman and Society. July 15, 1994

Bishop Carlos Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, who lives virtually as a prisoner in his own country, has accused western governments of deliberately covering up the "number and scale of massacres" committed by the Indonesian regime, "They are lying about what has happened to us", he said, referring in particular to the killing of survivors of the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery in November 1991. "Their lies and hypocrisy are in the cause of economic interests. We ask the people of the world to understand this, and not to forget that we are here, struggling for life every day."

In a series of rare interviews given by telephone late at night in Dili, the East Timorese capital, Bishop Belo described in often vivid detail the "routine nightmare that we live under". He confirmed that "at least" 200,000 people had died under the Indonesian occupation; and he refuted the statements of western officials who have recently sought to cast doubt on the credibil-

ity of witnesses to a "second massacre" in Dili in November, 1991. Referring to a claim by Australia's pro-Jakarta foreign minister Gareth Evans that a second round of killings did not happen, he said, "How does he know? Is he here, with us? I know well the witnesses. They have spoken the truth."

Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo has been bishop since 1983. The Vatican, like the United Nations, does not recognise Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, and Bishop Belo is independent of the Indonesian bishops and directly responsible to Rome. Unlike his predecessor, Lopez de Cruz, who died in exile, according to Carmel Budiardjo, "of neglect and a broken heart", unable to break the silence that surrounded his people's suffering, Carlos Belo was not in East Timor when the Indonesians invaded in 1975 and was not the choice of the Timorese priests.

However, if the Indonesians believed that this self-effacing, scholarly man would fail to marshal the popular forces of the church against them, they have been proved spectacularly wrong. Year after year he has spoken out more boldly and is today considered a beacon in what his people call their "island prison". As such, he is a reminder of those Latin American Catholic clergy who established in tyrannies a "people's church", defying the state and its death squads and providing a refuge for the resistance, while often paying for their popularity with their lives. With his nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize, true distinction is restored to that honour.

Belo's courage is astonishing. "Our conversation is being listened to," he said; yet he spoke openly about the atrocities committed by the regime and the dangers he himself faced. He disclosed for the first time that there had been two attempts to assassinate him.

"The first time they tried was in 1989," he said. "I had just written a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations [in which he appealed for international help, saying: 'We are dying as a nation']. Soon after that they prepared an ambush for me while I was travelling; but I got away. In 1991, they tried again when I went to the site of a massacre near Viqueque, where more than 1,000 people were killed in 1983. It was after I had seen the graves, the evidence of the massacre, that they tried again. But they were unsuccessful and I escaped. Yes, there is pressure on me all the time."

I said that western governments claimed that Indonesian rule in East Timor was no longer harsh. I quoted to him a recent statement by the Foreign Office that it was "wrong to suggest that the widespread abuses of human rights persist in East Timor".

"I cannot believe they mean that," he said.

"They must know it isn't true. It has never been worse here. There are more restrictions than ever before. No one can speak. No one can demonstrate. People disappear."

What of Jakarta's claims that East Timor was now so "peaceful" that the Indonesian military was beginning to withdraw?

"There is not a sign of this. I don't believe it. Do not believe it . . . you must understand that we are undergoing a second colonisation. If I am asked for one description, I would say we live as if under the old Soviet Union regime. For the ordinary people, there is no freedom, only a continuing nightmare."

I said, "The regime insists that it has brought great material benefit to East Timor in the building of roads, schools..." He cut me off. "Who is this development for?" he said. "Who enjoys it? Not us, the Timorese. It is for the immigrants they are bringing in from Java and Sumatra, while our young people find it impossible to get a job. Actually, they are using this so-called development to change our society, to destroy it... Look at the compulsory methods of birth control. Women are given drugs to sterilise them when they are not aware. This is a policy being enforced. This is what they call development." He accused the regime of a creeping policy of "Islamisation" and described how Indonesian soldiers had taken communion wafers and spat them out "in order to humiliate us".

He talked at length about the massacre of hundreds of young people in the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991. "Was this a turning point for you?" I asked. "You seemed to speak out much more after that."

"No!" he replied. "There were massacres before that, many of them, and I spoke about them. But there was no international interest, no documentary film; no one listened."

I said that the British government had described the massacre as an "incident" and Australian foreign minister, Gareth Evans, had called it an "aberration", not a deliberate act of state policy.

"Unfortunately, I do not have a good impression of this Mr Evans, because of the extraordinary statements he makes. This was not an incident. It was a real massacre. It was well-prepared. It was a deliberate operation that was designed to teach us a lesson. To say otherwise is to deny the evidence of our ears and eyes."

"Was there a second massacre of the wounded?"

"There were certainly more killings, but I don't know how many. Some of the killings happened near my house. When I visited the

hospital at 11 am on the day of the first massacre, 12 November, there were hundreds of wounded. When I came back the next day, there were only 90. Witnesses have told me the killings of the wounded began at eight o'clock that night, and that most deaths occurred between two and three in the morning of the 13th when the lights suddenly went down in the city. I don't know what happened to these people. Maybe they were put into the sea. I told all I knew to the commission of inquiry sent by Jakarta but they weren't interested."

I said that the Foreign Office and Gareth Evans had cast doubt on the veracity of the witnesses to these later killings. "It is they who are lying," he said. "This is more hypocrisy and attempts to cover the truth for economic reasons. I said that the Jakarta regime insisted that any journalist could come to East Timor to investigate this. He laughed. "That's not true. They must have escorts. They are followed and watched. And when they come with Indonesian officials, I will not see them. There is no point." (Last month, three East Timorese were each sentenced to 20 months' prison for unfurling a banner in front of foreign journalists on a government guided press tour).

I read to him Gareth Evans' recent statement that "it is impossible for East Timor to regain its independence because this will create a precedent that may lead to the disintegration of Indonesia." The Indonesian occupation, he said, was "irreversible". The matter of whether or not we are independent", he replied, "is one for the people of East Timor, not for Mr Evans or for any other foreigners. As to his point about the disintegration of Indonesia that is Indonesia's problem, not ours. We are not them, and they are not us."

I asked him if he was afraid that the outside world would again forget East Timor.

"Yes, yes," he replied. 'There is a real fear that, if one day the issue of East Timor is finished, then we are all finished... Contact with the outside world is very, very important ... it gives us hope and some of us protection."

"What can outsiders do to help?"

"More films please, more conferences, more letters . . . keep speaking, everyone must keep speaking about us."

In 1989, Bishop Belo sent a letter to the then UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, in which he appealed for help from the world. He received a reply only the other day - from the present incumbent in New York, Boutros-Boutros Ghali. He read it to me. "The United Nations is committed", wrote the UN chief, "to make every effort for a final, just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution."

"How do you feel about that?" I asked.

"At least", he said drily, "after five years I got a reply."

Although containing nothing new, the reply itself is part of the momentum that is now building on East Timor. A UN human rights special rapporteur is on his way to East Timor for the first time - against a background of heightened public interest worldwide. For example, in May, the New Zealand Press Association reported that following the showing of *Death of a Nation*, the majority of the New Zealand parliament demanded action on East Timor, and the Governor General Dame Catherine Tizard "took the rare step of voicing her concern". In Ireland, East Timor is now something of a national issue; and the foreign minister, Dick Spring, has said he supports sanctions against Indonesia - the first EU minister, apart from the Portuguese, to break Europe's silence on the issue.

In Australia, the Keating government, Jakarta's foremost friend in the west, nervously awaits the judgment in both the Australian High Court and the World Court on the legality of its "Timor Gap treaty" with Indonesia. Signed in 1989, this allows foreign companies to exploit East Timor's huge oil and gas reserves. If the World Court finds against Australia, the government will be obliged to disengage from one of the biggest commercial deals in Australian history. This will be especially damaging for Keating and Evans, whose foreign policy in Asia is based almost evangelically on a commercial "partnership" with its northern neighbour.

It is this "partnership", said Keating, that "will stand as a model for cooperation between developed and developing countries". He described the "stability" of the Suharto regime as "the single most beneficial strategic development to have affected Australia and its region in the past 30 years". He did not make a single reference to human rights abuses by a regime that, according to Amnesty International, is unmatched in the world for its record of "casual mass murder".

Last week Keating and Evans were able to observe this "model stability" for themselves. Hours before they arrived in Jakarta on an official visit, riot police beat and tear-gassed hundreds of journalists, students and human rights activists protesting the banning of three magazines. Keating reportedly spent much of the flight from Sydney attempting to find "discreet" words with which to react. The Prime Minister, said his aides, "expressed his concern to President Suharto privately and quietly". By ordering the closure of the magazines on the eve of the Australians' visit, Suharto clearly indicated how little he cared about his guests' "concern".

On arrival in Jakarta, Keating, reported the Canberra Times, wore his "affection" for "elder statesman" Suharto "shamelessly on his sleeve". "Great to see you, to see you," he effused, grasping the dictator's hand. Thereafter Evans announced that the Australian and Indonesian military would have "closer ties". Australia already trains the Indonesian "Red Berets" special forces, who are responsible for some of the worst atrocities in East Timor.

Last month, Indonesia was swept by strikes as police and troops attacked trade unionists protesting at the conditions that underpin the kind of "miracle economy" that produces shoes, clothes, toys and electronic equipment on wages of 60 pence a day - the sort of "miracle economy" extolled by Keating and the British government. In the name of "stability" the regime has banned the 250,000-strong Indonesian Prosperous Trade Union, the only free trade union.

Jakarta's backers in the west are clearly worried. They know that the corruption, indebtedness and growing unpopularity of the military regime are the elements of something more serious than instability. Indonesia has an extraordinary post-colonial history of great popular mass movements, which are emerging once again.

The Australian and British governments have attempted to give the regime lessons in sophisticated public relations; but as the debacle of the recent Manila conference on East Timor showed - when Jakarta bullied the Philippines government to stop foreigners attending it, thus earning even more international opprobrium - there is much work to be done.

Some of the teachers themselves show the need for a lesson or two. Last month the senior Australian military officer in northern Australia, Air Commodore Peter Nicholson, said of East Timor. "The 200,000 deaths that's often quoted - that's just bullshit ... there were never that many there." Both Indonesian and Catholic church census studies conclude that East Timor's population in 1975, the invasion year, was more than 600,000. The air commodore's profundity is not unusual. When asked in 1989 about the legality and morality of recognising a territory acquired by force, as Australia has done over East Timor, Foreign Minister Evans said, "The world is a pretty unfair place."

Bishop Belo and the people of East Timor would hardly disagree; the difference today is that their voice is being heard, making change in an unfair world at last seem possible.

SNUBBING CANADA WILL COST INDONESIA

Toronto Star lead editorial, 14 July 1994

Few Canadians realize that Indonesia, a sleeping giant, is traditionally the third-biggest recipient of our foreign aid. But the more they know, the less they may want to keep sending \$40 million a year to this emerging southeast Asian power.

Over the years, its checkered human rights record has been more or less tolerated because it was a model of efficient development. Compared to many other countries, it spent our money well.

But even in that area, the dictatorial Suharto regime has recently lost its way.

Indonesia's prickly government abruptly cancelled a \$38 million development project run by the University of Guelph, and funded by Ottawa, after the school released a report criticizing the regime's human rights record.

The Guelph project -- on the island of Sulawesi, just south of the Philippines -- had been a solid success. It promoted community development in health, education, agriculture, livestock and co-operatives. Together with a \$1 billion nickel mine nearby owned by Inco Ltd., the aid program had earned Canada a special prominence throughout Sulawesi.

But after 10 years and \$38 million worth of good works, the university -- which never endorsed the report's contents, but obviously endorses the concept of academic freedom -- has been told that it must pull out by next week. So be it. Perhaps, though, it's time Canada went further, by reviewing its entire aid package.

This wouldn't be the first time our foreign aid has been put on hold. In 1991, in the wake of an unconscionable military massacre in East Timor -- illegally annexed by Indonesia after a brutal 1976 conflict -- Ottawa suspended its development spending.

When the Dutch did the same thing, Jakarta haughtily responded by rejecting all that country's development money. Canada, however, resumed its aid after it was satisfied by an Indonesian inquiry that disciplined wayward military officers.

Now we seem to be back to square one. Last month, the government jailed two East Timorese for raising their outlawed resistance flag before visiting foreign journalists; and it has recently rounded up an estimated 50 dissidents. But East Timor, long a cause celebre for Western activists who know little else about the world's fifth-largest country, is only part of the picture.

Jakarta has just shut down three popular newsweeklies whose only sin was solid reporting. The regime made matters worse

by sending riot police and soldiers with clubs to break up a peaceful demonstration by journalists, detaining more than 50 of them. And last week, police burst into a private legal foundation to arrest 42 students staging a hunger strike for press freedoms.

Taken together, these are tough times for Indonesian human rights, and Indonesian development. Now is the time for Canada to protest strongly on both counts.

But beyond words, the bottom line should be clear: any aid recipient that can afford to snub the hand that helps it, by putting political pride ahead of development priorities, is a dubious candidate for further Canadian donations. If Indonesia no longer needs the Guelph project, maybe it doesn't deserve any Canadian help at all.

U.S. CONDEMNS JAKARTA FOR ARRESTS OF 42 OVER PROTEST OF PRESS CLOSURE

Reuters, International Herald Tribune, July 13, 1994

JAKARTA - The United States on Tuesday denounced Indonesia's arrest of 42 students who were on a hunger strike to protest a recent government press crackdown. Diplomat said the unusually tough statement reflected growing official U.S. concern about Indonesia's pressures on its local media. The government ordered three outspoken weekly magazines closed last month, prompting widespread protest. The 42 protesters on the hunger strike were arrested July 7 at the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, where they had formed ring in the foundation's courtyard. The police broke up the group and dragged the protesters away. There were fines a token 2,000 rupiah (\$1) each for illegal assembly. They said they would appeal the fine. "The United States deplores the arrest," the U.S. Embassy said in a statement. "Their detention while on the Legal Aid Foundation's private grounds makes the actions of the Indonesian authorities even more objectionable," the statement added. It was the first time large numbers of police had entered the foundation compound, a haven for activists and legal-aid workers. The ban last month on Detik, Tempo, and Editor magazines for their outspoken reporting style set off protest in and around the capital. Last month policemen with batons attacked hundreds of people who were protesting the closures. The ban has drawn overseas criticism, as well including three U.S. denunciations. Outraged Indonesians are pushing for greater political freedom under President Suharto. More than 200 members of the protest

group, Students Solidarity for Democracy in Indonesia, gathered in Parliament on Monday.

Indonesia's powerful military has given mixed responses to the ban. Some generals say they oppose it. In Dili, East Timor, at least 159 East Timorese staged a rare uninterrupted street protest after Indonesian troops disrupted a Communion service in the Catholic territory, a military spokesman said Tuesday. The spokesman, Laedan Simbolon, said by telephone that the military had detained two soldiers who had angered churchgoers by abusing the Sacrament during a service in Dili last month. Their commander was also being questioned, he said. It was the largest reported street protest in the Timorese capital since troops gunned down demonstrators at the cemetery in November 1991. Up to 200 protesters were killed in the incident, prompting wide spread international condemnation.

CLASHES IN DILI

Translation from Portuguese, abridged.

GREAT TENSION IN DILI (LUSA, July 14)

Dili is under great tension today, in the aftermath of confrontations between Timorese students and Indonesian soldiers, according to church sources in Dili contacted by telephone by LUSA. The Indonesian security forces violently dispersed -- using batons -- the crowd of hundreds of students that demonstrated in the University of Dili in response to recent religion-related incidents. "There are many heavily armed soldiers in the streets and traffic has been cut in the University area, where there are hundreds of students," said the church sources. "The people are vigilant, there are many youths in the streets, and the situation is very tense," they added. A professor of the ET University, cited by France Presse, indicated that Indonesian anti-riot units had dispersed, using great violence, a demonstration of approximately 500 Timorese students who protested against "attacks against the Catholic Church carried by Muslim Indonesian soldiers." A Dili resident contacted over the phone told LUSA that the confrontations resulted in three dead and about 20 wounded among the students. Another resident said, however, that the situation in Dili is very confusing and that there is contradictory information around. "Some say the soldiers killed some students, but we don't know for sure because the confusion is enormous," he added. "The situation is indeed very tense because this time they (the Indonesians) have touched the religion and the people said 'enough', and reacted energetically against the Muslim

provocations," said our Church sources in Dili. An Indonesian worker at the Dili hospital, speaking in English, did not confirm the arrival of wounded into the hospital. But [other?] sources in the hospital indicated that at least eight people were wounded in today's confrontations in Dili between the Timorese students and the Indonesian anti-riot units. Three of the wounded transported to the military hospital of Wirahusada are Timorese students, according to the same sources. The confrontations occurred when about 500 students walked from the University to the headquarters of the local Legislative Assembly to protest against provocations by Muslims against Catholics. The students exhibited posters reading "Viva Jesus" and "Viva a Igreja Catolica" (Viva the Catholic Church), said witnesses in Dili contacted by Lusa. A resident in Dili told Lusa over the phone that there were three dead and 20 wounded. Witnesses said that about 300 students are barricaded inside the Dili University, which is surrounded by heavily armed Indonesian soldiers. The demonstrations of today and of last Tuesday, involving hundreds of Catholics, are the largest since the November 12, 1991 demonstration in Santa Cruz cemetery.

STUDENTS LEFT THE UNIVERSITY AFTER TAKING REFUGE THERE (July 14)

The university vice-rector said today that the Timorese students that were inside the University of Dili have dispersed following negotiations with representatives of the bishop and members of the International Red Cross (ICRC). Armindo Maia said that the approximately 300 students had left the university after the police and the military had withdrawn to the headquarters located about 500 meters away from the university. "The population has dispersed and the situation is calmer, but the civilians said they will return tomorrow (Friday)," said Armindo Maia. Maia added that the priests Mario Belo and Leao da Costa, as well as ICRC members were involved in the negotiations with the Indonesian military. The university president ("reitor"), the Jesuit priest Eribertus Bratasudarma, of Javanese origin, has also participated in the negotiations between the demonstrators and the Indonesian military that surrounded the university for nine hours. Armindo Maia confirmed that at least eight students had disappeared, one of which, as reported by other students, had several serious knife wounds on his back. "We know that at least 14 students are retained in the police quarters and that 8 students are in the military hospital, but we don't know of the whereabouts of 8 other students who are missing," said Armindo Maia. Armindo Maia said that

members of the ICRC assisted 11 wounded students inside the university, one of which had a deep cut on the forehead. "In the sequence of yesterday's incidents with two nuns, the students and the civil population of the university area decided to organize a march this morning to the parliament building," said Maia. He added that the demonstrators wanted to demand the trial of two Indonesian soldiers who in June stepped upon hosts in the Remexio Church. "The Catholics were further upset by the provocation yesterday (Wednesday) of two nuns," Maia said, "when we left the university two riot-police units appeared in our way, and charged against us with batons, generating panic among the demonstrators." Maia also participated in the march. "The police came onto us with great violence, beating indiscriminately whoever they could reach." The students then took refuge in the university and adjacent buildings. "We then solicited the intervention of the ICRC and some ICRC people came to the university to attend the wounded students." Maia added that after the police charge, hundreds of students remained inside the university demanding information about the whereabouts of the missing fellow students. The area was surrounded by hundreds of policemen and heavily armed military. During several hours, and with the traffic closed in many Dili streets, members of the ICRC, accompanied by university officials and the priests Mario Belo and Leao da Costa, negotiated with the military authorities for the release of the students. Armindo Maia emphasized that the ICRC was assured that it will be allowed to visit those arrested and the wounded, and that the ICRC will be kept informed about the missing students." Dili residents contacted by Lusa over the phone stated that the situation remains tense in Dili, even after the students have left the university. A church source said that Bishop Ximenes Belo is away from Dili to accompany the ET visit of an Australian bishop, but that it is possible that Belo returns to Dili earlier than planned given the situation there.

CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN CATHOLIC AND MUSLIM STUDENTS (July 13)

According to the Indonesian police, two Muslim students were wounded today in a confrontation with two Catholic fellow students that took place at the University of Dili. Colonel Johny Lumintang told France Presse that the confrontation occurred when the Timorese students thought that two Catholic nuns had been offended by Muslim students inside the University. "The Timorese students' reaction was passionate, because they believed that their Muslim fellow students, who are Javanese, had been

insulting to the Catholic nuns, said Lumintang. Lumintang added that the situation was now under control and that an official report of the incident was awaited, even though the youths were not seriously wounded. Lumintang said that "these incidents reveal the latent tension that has arisen since the relations between Christians and Muslims in Indonesia has been put to proof." This incident had an antecedent on June 28, when Muslim soldiers dirtied hosts during a mass in the Church of Sao Jose in Remexio, a small village a few dozen kilometers south of Dili. Last Monday, and in response to the sacrilege, over 300 Timorese youths demonstrated in the streets and walked from the church to the palace of the province governor, 2 Km away. They carried very large crosses and cloths with images of the Virgin Mary. This was the largest demonstration seen in Dili since November 12, 1991. Colonel Lumintang has apologized to the population, in the name of the Indonesian Armed Forces, for the sacrilege. The soldiers responsible are awaiting trial.

INDONESIAN ARMY APOLOGIZES TO EAST TIMOR CATHOLICS (July 7)

The Indonesian military commander in ET, colonel Johny Lumintang, apologized today to all Timorese Catholics for the sacrilege committed June 28 by two of military soldiers. The two soldiers attended a mass in the S. Jose church in Remexio (small town south of Dili) but when they were about to take the host, they spat it to the floor and trampled over them with their boots. This caused great popular indignation. In declarations published today in the Dili daily newspaper "Suara Timor Timur", Lumintang, who is a Protestant, presented his apologies to the population in the name of the army, and announced that the two soldiers would be tried. "Neither those in charge nor any members of the (Indonesian) Armed Forces have ever deliberately intended to commit such an action as occurred in Remexio, which we deeply regret," said Lumintang. Lumintang considered that the rage generated in the Timorese Catholics was "understandable." Lumintang added that orders had been given to all army units to avoid all incidents with religious tones. In his declarations to the newspaper, Johny Lumintang appealed to the population to stay calm and not to follow "those who want to destroy the unity," an allusion to the CNRM.

THAILAND BLACKLISTS TIMOR ACTIVISTS

BANGKOK, July 15 (Reuter) - Thailand has drawn up a blacklist of 11 East Timorese activists planning to attend a hu-

man rights conference coinciding with next week's ASEAN ministerial meeting, The Nation newspaper reported on Friday. The report, citing an informed government source, said the list had been compiled by Thai and Indonesian authorities. Thai police had forwarded the list to the Immigration Department to prevent the activists entering Thailand, the paper said. Thai foreign ministry and police officials declined to comment on the report while an official at the Indonesian embassy here said he was not aware of any blacklist. The Nation said one of those on the list, Jose Ramos-Horta, was believed to be already in Thailand and had made contact with Burmese opposition groups based on the Thai-Burmese border. The ban on the activists had been imposed in line with the "ASEAN spirit" of not allowing one country in the six-member grouping to be used as a platform to discredit another, the paper said. ASEAN, which groups Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, is holding its annual foreign ministers' meeting here from July 22-28. A storm of controversy erupted in May after Indonesia complained to the Philippines over plans to hold a conference on East Timor in Manila. Following a ruling by the Philippines Supreme Court the conference was allowed to go ahead but foreigners, including expatriate East Timorese, were banned from entering the country for the meeting. Late in June, an Indonesian military spokesman said ties with Malaysia would be affected by a planned forum on East Timor in Kuala Lumpur organised by private groups. Activist Ramos-Horta held a news conference in Bangkok last November at which he presented a new peace plan for East Timor and called on the U.S. and ASEAN to pressure Indonesia into opening talks with opposition groups on the disputed island. The Nation said Ramos-Horta would be "pressured" to leave Thailand if he were found to be already in the country. East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was invaded by Indonesian troops in 1975 and subsequently annexed. East Timorese guerrillas have been waging a low-intensity guerrilla war against Indonesian forces since then and opposition sources say hundreds of thousands of East Timorese died as a result of the 1975 invasion. Indonesia faces regular criticism over its alleged human rights abuses in East Timor.

INJURIES REPORTED IN DILI COMMOTION

Jakarta Post, 15 July 1994

[Comment: Although this item is largely built round the official version, it tries to present different accounts, including the

belief in Dili that three people were killed. This adds credibility to the figure.]

Jakarta -- Several people were injured yesterday when a student demonstration turned into a commotion when police tried to disperse them, the local military said yesterday. Major L. Simbolon, spokesman for the East Timor military command, said 10 people were held for questioning and eight others were treated for injuries.

"Security forces did not hurt any demonstrator in the incident. Most sustained their injuries when they tried to jump over a wall during the scuffle", Simbolon told The Jakarta Post by phone.

The incident occurred just outside the state-run East Timor University when some thirty policemen attempted to stop the protesters from marching to the nearby Provincial Legislative Council. "They were stopped because they did not have the official permit to hold such a rally," he said. He said those detained were not students as they claimed, which suggested that the protest might have been incited by "outsiders".

Eyewitnesses said security personnel in anti-riot gear forcibly tried to break up the demonstration by some 500 university students. The protesters were on their way to complain about a July 13 incident that occurred on the campus in which three non East Timorese students were attacked for allegedly offending two nuns taking admission tests.

The incident prompted immediate intervention by local government and military officials. But students were unhappy with the mediation effort and planned to refer the problems to councillors. They decided to march to the council building, located some 500 metres from the university, after councillors failed to come to the campus yesterday as promised.

Eyewitnesses said scores of security officers forcibly dispersed the poster-waving demonstrators while campus sources claimed that up to 30 protesters were injured and another 60 were detained.

Data at the Dili police precinct showed that only 15 protesters were injured and another 14 were detained. Chief of the regional police said not a single protester was killed in the incident but according to the victims' parents, three people were dead.

The protesters said they planned to hold demonstrations in Dili until Monday, when a ceremony will be held in conjunction with the celebration of the anniversary of East Timor integration into Indonesia.

SECURITY FORCES PUT DOWN PROTEST IN EAST TIMOR

The Guardian, July 15.

By Nicholas Cumming-Bruce, abridged
Bangkok -- Indonesian security forces broke up a demonstration by East Timorese students in the capital, Dili, yesterday in one of the worst clashes for several years.

The security forces used riot sticks to prevent a crowd of several hundred students and residents marching from the university campus to the parliament.

The demonstrators carried banners demanding religious freedom in East Timor, where tension between the mainly Catholic Timorese people and their mostly Muslim leaders has threatened to boil over in recent weeks, with complaints from Catholics that Indonesians have insulted their religion.

Police later said that 15 people were injured and that 14 people were being interrogated following the incidents. Human rights activists reported three students killed, dozens injured, and 60 arrested.

Residents said Dili remained tense hours after the protests, though all but eight students had been discharged from hospitals or clinics where they had received treatment.

Police had earlier barred protestors from leaving the campus, but denied beating or arresting any students.

It was the worst confrontation since troops killed up to 200 when they opened fire on demonstrators marching to a cemetery in November 1991.

A Dili court -- reflecting official attitudes to shows of dissent -- last month sentenced three students to 20 months in jail for staging a brief anti-government demonstration during a visit by foreign journalists.

At the time, the governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares, told the visiting journalists that the authorities had detained two students for questioning, but had later released them.

TENSION AFTER CLASH IN TIMOR

The Independent, July 15

By Raymond Whitaker, Asia Editor, abridged

Students clashed with Indonesian authorities in the disputed former Portuguese territory of East Timor yesterday, with unconfirmed reports saying that three people had died in the worst incident since a massacre in November 1991.

Opposition and official sources gave sharply differing accounts of yesterday's violence, which occurred when the authori-

ties broke up a march by students at the University of East Timor in protest against the military. Tension has been high in the mainly Roman Catholic territory since two Indonesian soldiers allegedly entered a church during Mass last month, threw Communion hosts on the floor and stamped on them. The local commander fired in the air to restore order after churchgoers attacked the soldiers.

The military authorities have promised that the soldiers will be court-martialled and dismissed if found guilty, but religious sensibilities were again offended on Wednesday, when two Timorese nuns were taunted on the university campus. Three men were seriously hurt in the fight which ensued.

Local people said some 20 protestors had been injured yesterday, eight of them seriously, when troops used batons to prevent a crowd of about 500 students marching on the parliament in Dili. Activists said three people had been killed, but in Geneva a spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said reports that its representatives had seen the bodies were incorrect.

The Indonesian military denied that there had been any deaths or even arrests, but the ICRC spokesman said the organisation had visited people in detention. Activists said several dozen students had been taken to a barracks.

Yesterday's incident appears to have ended peacefully when the students agreed to disperse after a day-long confrontation with police and soldiers who had surrounded the university and other key points in Dili.

The contradictory versions of what happened echo the dispute over the events of 1991, when soldiers opened fire on unarmed protestors during a funeral procession in the capital. A government inquiry concluded that at least 50 people had been killed and 91 injured, but witnesses said there had been more than 180 deaths. Dozens more were alleged to have disappeared.

NEW ZEALAND: PAPERS SHOW EAST TIMOR "UNSETTLED"

THE EVENING STANDARD - NEW ZEALAND, 14 July 1994

Indonesia's military presence in East Timor is widely resented and the political situation unsettled, according to Foreign Affairs briefing papers prepared for the government.

Prime Minister Jim Bolger, visiting Indonesia in May, fully backed Indonesian control of East Timor and said considerable progress was being made to improve the

position of people of East Timor. But official information papers released yesterday paint a different picture. Briefing papers from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, prepared just two months before Mr Bolger's visit, note "the situation in East Timor remain unsettled".

"The army, whose presence is widely resented, retains operational control of the island and the authorities and administration are not popular", a paper dated March 10 says.

"Though the Indonesia government is committed to East Timor's development, the potential for further trouble remains". A separate report last November, prepared by the New Zealander ambassador to Jakarta, Neil Walter, after a visit to Dili, says "the situation in East Timor does not give much cause for optimism at the moment".

Mr Walter says the unsettled situation in East Timor is due to a number of factors, including "residual resentment from the November 1991 killings (Dili) and other past atrocities, heavy military presence, high unemployment, lack of investment, effective leadership, tensions between the church and local government and increasing numbers of non-Timorese and Muslim settling in the province". Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 after colonial power Portugal pulled out. Indonesia claimed most East Timorese people supported integration with Indonesia and anticipated an easy transition. Instead it has bought a close 20-year fight with East Timorese seeking self-determination for their homeland.

Mr Walter's confidential comments present a damning alternative view to the New Zealand Government's official statements on East Timor.

New Zealand ministers, including PM Jim Bolger, have consistently maintained that while acquisition of territory by force is deplorable, Indonesia's integration of East Timor is irreversible.

Mr Walter's recommends the "quiet diplomacy" approach be continued in respect of East Timor. But his observations while in East Timor there are still major problems there. He says security was tight during his visit with the New Zealand embassy's second secretary. Mr Walter said 14 minders, including five riot police, accompanied them during a visit from Dili to outlying region Lospalos.

Mr Walter said there was concern among the local people about "the growth number of non-East Timorese people settling in East Timor". The settlers were mainly transmigrated families and military personnel. There is a fear that it might be part of government attempt to 'javanise' the province and water down local culture and traditions (and presumably therefore reduce resistance to inte-

gration). Indonesia, sensitive to criticism over transmigration, has tried to downplay it, with Foreign Affairs Minister Ali Alatas stating in May that transmigration had "never happened in East Timor". It was later revealed at least 787 families, mainly from Java and Bali, had been brought into the province since 1982.

U.S. SENATE BANS LIGHT ARMS SHIPMENTS TO INDONESIA

Press Release from East Timor Action Network / United States, July 14.

At 9:00 tonight, the United States Senate banned light arms sales to Indonesia because of human rights problems in East Timor. On a voice vote, the full Senate added a provision to the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Bill, H.R. 4426, which prohibits both commercial and government-to-government sales until the State Department determines that certain conditions related to human rights and political status have been met.

The restriction, which was advanced by Senators Patrick Leahy, Russell Feingold and others, is the first time either house of the U.S. Congress has enacted legislation conditioning arms sales to Indonesia. Although the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved a similar measure in 1993, the bill containing it never made it to the Senate floor. Since 1992, Congress has banned U.S. military aid to Indonesia, which consisted of bringing Indonesian soldiers to the U.S. for training.

The bill just passed requires the Secretary of State to report on several conditions to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees before such weapons sales can resume. The conditions include compliance with UN recommendations, reducing Indonesia's troop presence in East Timor, and "participating constructively" in the UN Secretary-General's effort to resolve the status of East Timor. The latter condition includes the issue of self-determination, as well as the ongoing serious human rights violations in the occupied territory. In the past, the Indonesian government has defiantly rejected any conditions on arms shipments or aid.

Tonight's Senate approval came two weeks after the Senate defeated a measure not to allow Indonesia to use lethal arms purchased from the U.S. government (FMS) in East Timor. The small arms ban had been an informal State Department policy since February, 1994, but this makes it statutory and irreversible without the conditions being met.

The Senate will finish action on H.R.4426 in the next few days. A different

version of the bill passed the House of Representatives in May, and a House-Senate conference committee will meet soon to resolve the differences. Although the House-passed bill does not include the provision on light arms, it does contain language prohibiting the U.S. government from training Indonesian soldiers, even if Indonesia pays for the training, closing a loophole in the 1992 legislation. The Conference Committee could include both House and Senate provisions in the final bill.

The text of the language approved by the Senate follows:

Provided further, That the United States should continue to refrain from selling or licensing for export to the Government of Indonesia defense articles such as small or light arms and crowd control items until the Secretary of State determines and reports to the Committees on Appropriations that there has been significant progress made on human rights in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia, including in such areas as:

1. complying 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. significantly reducing Indonesia's troop presence in East Timor; and
3. participating constructively in the United Nations Secretary General's efforts to resolve the status of East Timor.

VICTIMS OF MILITARY VIOLENCE AGAINST EAST TIMORESE

Report from Jose Gusmão, CNRM Representative for South East Asia, Ph/fax: +61 89 275478

Darwin, 15 July 1994

NAMES OF WOUNDED BY
INDONESIAN MILITARY IN DILI
DEMONSTRATION 14 July 1994
NAME AGE OCCUPATION
DOMICILE ORIGIN

Cristobao dos Reis 21 student Mæ-
carenhas Atsabe

Jose dos Santos 26 Santa Cruz Baucau

Francisco dos Santos 21 student Santa
Cruz Lospalos

Domingos Viegas 20 Lahane Timur
Manatuto

Moises Tilman 22 wharf laborer Becora
Dili

Antonio Castro 20 Lahane Timur Dili

Cosme Goncalves 16 Becora Lospalos

Alfredo Dias Quintas 20 Campung Baru
Comoro Lospalos

Francisco Martins 18 Bairro Pite Ossu

Zeto Jordao 20 Busuli Viqueque

Carlitos Mascarenhas 20 student Becora
Viqueque

Manuel Martens Alves 24 student
Comoro Baucau

Alfredo Amaral 22 B2 Viqueque

Edmundo 24 Comoro Bobonaro

Note that the East Timor newspaper Suara Timor Timur on 14 July mentions the official figure of 8 slightly wounded. The above data, about the validity of which we have no doubts, and which is known to the Catholic Church and the ICRC, concerns 14 wounded. These people are at the military hospital in Dili. The condition of some is serious. This points out once again that Indonesian official statements have no credibility.

TIMOR - A BELGIAN VIEW

Publico, 17 June 94. Translated from Portuguese

The visit of the UN Special Rapporteur to East Timor, in July, could represent an ideal opportunity for a turn around in the policy of oppression imposed by Indonesia in the ex-Portuguese colony. This is the point of view put forward in yesterday's edition of the Belgian daily 'La Libre Belgique' in an extensive editorial entitled 'the East Timorese boomerang'. According to the leader writer, Philippe Paquet, the soon-to-be-created 'international coalition for Timor' - a project resulting from the Manila conference - which will call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and a referendum on self-determination in the territory, are likely to persuade General Suharto of the uselessness of political repression.

AND INDONESIA GOES FOR TOURISM

Diario de Noticias, 22 June 94. Translated from Portuguese,

Indonesia is planning a campaign to promote the potential in Australia of East Timor as a tourist resort and investment opportunity. The campaign is being drawn up by the national Indonesian agency for development of exports and is to include a visit to Australia by a group of business people and civil servants from Indonesia's eastern provinces, including the 27th, that is, East Timor.

'IF YOUR CHILD WAS TIMORESE ...' CNRM LAUNCHES FUND-RAISING CAMPAIGN

Publico, 24 June 94. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

The ad begins with a child reading one of those 'what I did on my holidays' compositions. The child's hand traces the letters as its voice tells of happy visits to mountains and monuments. In the background one sees images of the Dili massacre.

Suddenly the narrative is interrupted and the key phrase of the campaign is heard: 'If your child was Timorese, its holidays would certainly be different'.

This is the TV campaign which the CNRM hopes will convince the Portuguese to support its fund-raising campaign by telephoning an added-cost 'TIMOR LINE' which will raise funds 'to support the armed resistance'.

A TV spot in Australia has already been generating controversy because of its juxtaposition of the image of a young Timorese being strangled with an Australian flag, with images of the smiling foreign ministers of Indonesia and Australia toasting the Timor Gap agreement with glasses of champagne.

Public opinion will also be focussed on the plight of East Timor through the holding of a conference in Kuala Lumpur today on the human rights situation in the territory. This conference is expected to be a more modest affair than the recent Manila conference.

Ramos Horta has recently announced that he is hoping that the Dalai Lama of Tibet will be able to participate in a future conference in Macau.

SOONER OR LATER MACEDO

Independente (financial pages), 17 June 94:

Translated from Portuguese, abridged (Lisbon) The judiciary has been looking into the authenticity of a \$25,000 promissory note, allegedly issued by the Indonesian government more than ten years ago, which Manuel Macedo had been attempting to negotiate in Portuguese banks. Macedo now believes that it was an attempt to trick him and that the document is false. A question of eagles feathers.

Manuel Macedo, well known businessman and president of the Portugal Indonesia Friendship Association (APPI) attempted unsuccessfully to negotiate the promissory note before the expiry of its validity on 15 May 1994. The document, to which the Independente has had access, was suppos-

edly issued in 1983 by the National Defence Council in Jakarta in October 1983. He claims that the document was never in his possession but that he had been contacted by an unnamed individual asking for his help in cashing the note. He maintains that Inspector-Coordinator of the Judiciary Police in Oporto was present when he met with the individual (this has since been denied by the police official) and that he later became convinced the document was a forgery because the eagle on the seal of the document did not have the correct number of feathers and dropped the affair. The police say that they are treating the matter as an inquiry rather than an investigation.

The Portuguese Friend

Meanwhile, the President of APPI announced that he signed a protocol or formal agreement in Jakarta last week with Suharto's daughter's company, PT Star which resembles a veritable commercial agreement between two sovereign states.

According to the agreement, to which the Independente has had access, Manuel Macedo and his firm are now Jakarta's interlocutors, responsible for the setting up of trading relations between the two countries. In other words, no one will be granted an import or export licence by the Jakarta Government, or will be able to set up a joint venture or arrange financing from an Indonesian bank without the go-ahead from Macedo in his role as Portuguese economic partner of the powerful and influential Madame Tutut.

With an eye to this opening up of large scale trading relations, a delegation of seven representatives of the major Indonesian banks has been set up for July which will not please the Timorese community here. PT Star, according to Macedo, could also serve to attract and channel Portuguese investment, not only into public works, hotels and financial institutions in Indonesia itself but also to other countries in the region.

Finally, the two companies, Mundipor and PT Star, claim to be the only representatives of bilateral interests between Portugal and Indonesia. A sort of embassy of private capital. Promissory notes have not as yet begun to circulate in this venture.

LEAHY-FEINGOLD AMENDMENT RESTRICTS ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

Press Release from U.S. Senator Russ Feingold

July 15, 1994

CONTACT: David Sandretti, (202)224-5323

Measure Links Weapons Sales to Progress on Human Rights in East Timor

Reports of Violence Continue in Region
WASHINGTON, DC - The U.S. Senate passed an amendment co-authored by U.S. Senators Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Russ Feingold (D-WI), restricting certain arms sales to Indonesia amid concerns of continued human rights abuses in East Timor, an island occupied by Indonesia since 1975. Since the annexation, as many as 200,000 East Timorese have died.

The amendment codifies a policy of the Clinton Administration which links the selling or licensing for export of small or light arms and crowd control items until the Secretary of State determines that there has been significant progress on human rights in East Timor.

"This is a significant victory for those of us who are working to establish a firm linkage between U.S. arms sales and the promotion of human rights around the world," Feingold said. "This sends a clear message to the leaders of Indonesia that we will not be associated with or tolerate their campaign of repression against the people of East Timor."

The Leahy-Feingold amendment to the foreign operations appropriation bill (H.R.4426) restores an altered version of the arms sales ban which was accepted in the Senate Appropriations Committee, but was dropped by the full Senate two weeks ago. The Clinton Administration had earlier expressed its approval of the effort to scuttle the provision. "I am pleased that the Administration, Secretary of State Christopher, and a majority of my Senate colleagues have clarified their position on this issue and have come down on the side of promoting human rights in Indonesia," Feingold said.

Among the specific areas for human rights progress called for in the amendment, arms sales will be restricted until Indonesia complies with the recommendations of the United Nations Human Rights Commission and significantly reduces its troop presence in East Timor. The amendment urges that Indonesia participate constructively in the United Nations Secretary General's efforts to resolve the status of East Timor. The U.N. does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and has a plan to administer internationally supervised elections so that the people of East Timor can exercise their right to self-determination.

Yesterday, Associated Press and United Press International reported renewed violence in the region as students clashed with Indonesian soldiers after protesting an incident in which two soldiers desecrated Communion bread at a Catholic church service. Three students were killed, dozens injured, and hundreds more were restricted from leaving their locations. The protest is reportedly the bloodiest demonstration in

East Timor since a November 1991 demonstration in which the Indonesian military opened fire on a crowd of people and killed at least 100 people.

"I'm concerned that the incident is yet another example of Indonesia's sorry record on human rights," Feingold said. "America cannot allow itself to become the arms merchant to this continued atrocity."

SENATE RECORD ON ARMS BAN

The following appears in the Congressional Record for July 14, 1994, starting from page S9010 to S9021. None of it was actually said on the Senate floor. The two amendments mentioned were cited only by number, the reading of them was dispensed with by unanimous consent, and they were passed by unanimous consent on a voice vote.

In reference to H.R. 4426 and the Leahy-Feingold amendment to restrict arms sales to Indonesia

AMENDMENT NO. 2286

(Purpose: To allocate funds for support of human rights and other nongovernmental organizations in Indonesia)

Mr. LEAHY offered amendment No. 2286 for Mr. WELLSTONE.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 112, between lines 9 and 10, insert the following new section:

SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN INDONESIA

SEC. Of the funds appropriated by this Act, \$250,000 shall be made available to support nongovernmental human rights organizations in Indonesia, and \$250,000 shall be made available to support nongovernmental environmental organizations to assess or otherwise address acute environmental problems, particularly those affecting indigenous people, in Indonesia.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Madam President, the amendment I am offering today is designed to provide modest but critical assistance to nongovernmental human rights and environmental organizations in Indonesia. I am particularly interested in ensuring that adequate funds be made available to organizations which monitor, and act to improve, humanitarian and environmental conditions in East Timor. I ask that Senators SIMON, PELL, and HARKIN be added as original cosponsors of the amendment.

Late last month, the Senate voted remove a provision from this bill which would have prohibited the use of U.S. military equipment provided to the Government of Indonesia, from being used by Indonesian secu-

rity forces in East Timor. Believe it or not, despite the Indonesian Government's abysmal human rights record, including persistent abuses by its security forces against innocent civilians, the Senate voted to remove this provision from the bill. This amendment, along with the one being offered by Senator LEAHY which I have cosponsored, will send a strong message to the Indonesian Government that they cannot continue to allow their security forces to abuse their people. The Leahy amendment, developed with the help of Senator FEINGOLD and others, codifies current United States policy prohibiting the sale or licensure for export of small arms and crowd control items, until the administration certifies to Congress that the Indonesians are: First, reducing their troop presence in East Timor; second, complying with human rights conditions; and, third, participating constructively in efforts at the United Nations to peacefully resolve the status of East Timor. I urge my colleagues to support it.

As I have said, my amendment is designed to send a strong signal of United States support for non-governmental organizations working to address the persistent problems of human rights abuses and environmental degradation in Indonesia, including East Timor. It provides \$250,000 to non-governmental human rights organizations, and \$250,000 to non-governmental environmental organizations, to support their important work.

I do not need to rehearse here the long and sad litany of human rights abuses in recent years by Indonesian security forces in East Timor. But I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the end of my statement a number of documents on human rights conditions there, including reports from today's newswires about the brutal beating of student protesters in Dili yesterday, and statements by Asia Watch on the incident and on human rights conditions in East Timor generally.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. WELLSTONE. The students involved in yesterday's incident were reportedly beaten mercilessly with clubs by security forces for exercising their right to peaceful political protest; one of the worst such violent incidents in almost 3 years. Ironically, this incident took place at the same time that the United Nation's Special Rapporteur on Torture and Arbitrary Killings is in East Timor to look into the follow-up investigation regarding those still missing after the 1991 massacre, and other killings, when one might have expected the security forces to be on their best behavior. This modest amount of assistance, coupled with

continuing political support from the United States and others, should be very helpful to the coalition of human rights, legal aid, and other organizations in Jakarta and elsewhere who are working to monitor and improve human rights conditions there. It is a concrete sign to them and others fighting for human rights that they are not alone, and that the United States will not stand idly by while Indonesian security forces continue to abuse the East Timorese people.

The amendment provides \$250,000 for assessment of acute and urgent environmental problems in Indonesia. The Indonesian Archipelago is one of the most biologically diverse and valuable regions on earth. It contains nearly 10 percent of the world's rain forests and almost 40 percent of the regional rain forests. And it is second only to Brazil in the rate of decline of such forests due to logging, agriculture, mining, and other commercial uses. Pristine rain forests unique in all the world and populated by indigenous peoples—such as the 350,000 square kilometer region known as Irian Jaya—are being ravaged by mining and logging interests. This funding is designed to complement existing efforts by non-governmental organizations to assess and address environmental degradation there.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment. I am grateful to the manager of the bill, Senator LEAHY, for agreeing to accept it. I urge its adoption.

EXHIBIT 1

[From Human Rights Watch] INDONESIAN TROOPS CLASH WITH EAST TIMOR STUDENTS (By Jeremy Wagstaff)

JAKARTA July 14 (Reuter). Indonesian security forces attacked student protesters in Dili on Thursday, beating demonstrators with clubs in the worst such incident in the troubled territory in nearly three years, residents said.

[This article has already been posted in reg.easttimor and will not be repeated here.]

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/ASIA,
Washington, DC, July 14, 1994.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

Human Rights Watch/Asia on Thursday called on the Indonesian government to allow unhindered access to East Timor by Indonesian nongovernmental human rights organizations and the international press to investigate today's violent dispersal of a protest march in Dili, East Timor, in which several people were injured and dozens arrested. The protest took place after an incident on the campus of the University of East Timor when, according to press reports, a group of students attacked three other students who had made insulting remarks to two Catholic nuns. Hundreds of

students massed on the campus, planning to march to the office of the provincial parliament building, but they were intercepted by security forces who attacked the students with clubs.

"From the facts thus far available, it seems as though the response of the police and military, including the beating and arrest of so many students, was wholly disproportionate to the nature of the security problem they faced," said Sidney Jones, Executive Director of Human Rights Watch/Asia. "Whatever the origins of the clash on campus, the students had a right to assemble peacefully and march to the parliament building, and it looks as though the military not only violated that right but did so with excessive use of force."

HRW/Asia said only a thorough investigation by respected human rights organizations such as the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute Foundation (YLBHI) and the Institute for Public and Social Advocacy (ELSAM) would enable the facts surrounding the incident to come to light. These NGOs would also be able to access the response of the security forces and the local government.

The incident took place a day after a discussion on East Timor at a meeting of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization. At that meeting, Human Rights Watch/Asia delivered a brief statement on the human rights situation in East Timor, the text of which follows:

The lengths to which the Indonesian government went to try and prevent the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) from taking place in Manila from May 31 to June 2 reflect its efforts to control freedom of expression not only inside Indonesia, but beyond its own borders.

ACCESS TO EAST TIMOR BY HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Despite the claims of Indonesian Foreign Minister in early May that he was inviting Amnesty International and Asia Watch (now Human Rights Watch/Asia) to visit East Timor, no human rights organizations have been given access since Asia Watch and the International Commission of Jurists were allowed to attend selected sessions of the Xanana Gusmão trial in March 1993. Human Rights Watch/Asia was explicitly refused permission to visit East Timor in June 1994.

France-Libertes, a human rights foundation headed by Mme. Danielle Mitterrand, has also been refused access. One of the people invited to the Manila conference but subsequently denied a visa by the Philippines government (at Indonesia's request), Mme. Mitterrand had asked the Indonesian government through private channels in September 1993 whether she and the Paris-based International League for Human

Rights could visit East Timor; she was told that it was "not the right time" and to wait another six months. After six months, Frances Liberté made another request, this time not mentioning Mme. Mitterand's name. The request was turned down.

It is not only international human rights organizations that have difficulty getting to East Timor; some Indonesian human rights organizations do as well. In early May, a seminar on the topic of sustainable development and the environment was due to take place at the University of East Timor, cosponsored by a number of Indonesian NGOs including members of a coalition called the Joint Committee for the Defense of the East Timorese - (Komite Bersama Pembelaan Masyarakat Timor Timur.) The coalition includes some of Indonesia's most respected NGOs: the Legal Aid Institute (Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia); the Indonesian Council of Churches (Parpem Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja Indonesia or PGI); the Institute for Social Advocacy and Study (Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat or ELSAM); and the Catholic organization, LPPS Caritas Katolik. A week before the seminar was to take place, the military commander for the region that includes East Timor called the university rector and told him the conference would have to be postponed. When it eventually did take place, the Indonesian NGOs were not permitted to attend, nor was Florentino Sarmento of ETADEP, an East Timorese environmental NGO.

CONCLUSION

In short, Mr. Chairman, East Timor remains a troubled place where human rights abuses continue. Greater openness - defined as freedom for East Timorese to gather in private houses without permits and to freely express their own opinions, unhampered access by foreign journalists, less control over foreign visitors, and access by international human rights organizations - would almost certainly help prevent such abuses and ensure some form of redress for the victims. But if the last few months are any indication, the trend is not toward openness but the reverse. The closure on June 21 of three important news weeklies in Jakarta has implications for East Timor, because it suggests a desire to control information that the politically powerful find offensive. Restricting information prevents problems from being aired and solutions from being found on all fronts, not just human rights. For East Timor as well as Indonesia, that may prove very damaging.

STATEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/ASIA TO THE DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

[This has already been posted in reg.easttimor, and is not repeated here.]

Mr. JOHNSTON. Madam President, 2 weeks ago, the Senate tabled a committee amendment by a vote of 59 to 35 which would have placed what I believe were unenforceable and mischievous conditions on the sale of military equipment (later revised to lethal military equipment) to Indonesia under the Foreign Military Sales Program. I believed then, and believe today, that the statutory language proposed would have had serious, unintended consequences on our important bilateral relationship with Indonesia. In my judgment, this restriction would have resulted in Indonesia seeking other suppliers for the military equipment they need, and would have lessened what influence we have with modernizing voices in Indonesia, ultimately undercutting our efforts to promote American values and principles, including regard and respect for human rights, in Indonesia. Further, in my view it would inevitably have spilled over into the commercial arena with unfortunate consequences for the reason that the United States Munitions List covers literally thousands of items, including spare parts, communications equipment, advanced computer technology, satellites and other items.

I again point out to my colleagues that this administration has undertaken a thorough review of our policy toward Indonesia during the past year. As a result, a comprehensive strategy has been developed to promote our Nation's vital security, political, human rights and economic interests with this key nation in Southeast Asia, the fourth largest country in the world which has worked cooperatively with the United States in promoting peaceful solutions to potentially dangerous problems in the Spratly Islands, in Cambodia and other UN peacekeeping operations, and in promoting nonproliferation.

This comprehensive policy was succinctly and eloquently stated in a letter written by the Secretary of State to Chairman LEAHY on June 29, 1994, which I inserted in the RECORD during debate on this issue 2 weeks ago. It is worth quoting this summary again:

The United States has important economic, commercial, security, human rights and political interests in Indonesia. Our challenge is to develop a policy that advances all our interests, that obtains positive results and reduces, to the extent possible, unintended negative effects.

Will this comprehensive policy of engagement on many fronts work to help us achieve our many objectives? I believe it will. To be sure there are some parts of it I would disagree with, and there, are other

parts with which others will disagree. Overall, however, I believe the administration has tried to strike a balance which will keep us engaged with pro-western voices within the Indonesian military and in Indonesia.

It is my view that a stable, friendly Indonesia is in our Nation's best interest. One only has to look back 30 years to understand and appreciate the dangers to our Nation's interest of a return to instability and the politics of konfrontasi. Maintaining a friendly, stable Indonesia is even more important today, in the post cold war and post-Philippines era. We are facing many challenges in the Asian region. Indonesia has played and continues to play a key balancing role which is in our fundamental interest.

It is also my view that a stable, friendly Indonesia offers the best hope for achieving a better life for all the people of Indonesia. Stability and engagement with the west have in part set the stage for economic reform, which in turn has brought about important changes in Indonesia. The incidence of poverty for example has been reduced from 60 percent in 1970 to about 14 percent today, and the distribution of wealth in general is equivalent to that in the United States. Other strides have been made which have resulted in a better life for the men, women and children of Indonesia: education is now mandatory through nine grades, for females as well as males; since 1950 the literacy rate among adults has increased dramatically from below 20 percent to about 74 percent today; the incidence of maternal mortality and infant mortality have been greatly reduced; access to health care has improved dramatically for all income groups and throughout the nation; the average life span has been increased for men and for women. Widely recognized and lauded family planning programs have addressed the very serious population issues Indonesia faces, and Indonesia has become self-sufficient in the production of rice. All of these achievements and other have improved in dramatic and tangible ways the lives of Indonesian from all economic strata and in all geographic locations. In East Timor for example just 10 percent of the population was literate in 1975, when the Portuguese pulled out. There were only 50 schools and no colleges at that time. Today, East Timor has nearly 600 elementary schools, 90 middle schools and 3 colleges. In 1975 East Timor had only two hospitals and 14 health clinics; today there are 10 hospitals and 197 village health clinics. Interestingly, the number of Catholic churches has quadrupled since the Portuguese pulled out.

Since 1967, a foundation for social stability has been constructed and continues to be strengthened. To be sure, Indonesia continues to face many difficult challenges. Pov-

erty has been greatly reduced, but 14 percent of the population - some 27 million people still live in poverty. Many of these people live in remote areas and have few skills; it will not be easy to reverse their situation and solutions will be long term. Indonesia also continues to face the inherent difficulty of uniting over 200 different ethnic groups speaking some 300 languages and dialects in a nation of islands spread across over 3,000 miles of water. I understand the concerns in Indonesia about the potentially devastating impact of a return to instability, given the troubled history Indonesia had following independence in 1949, but I also believe the foundation which has been built over the past 25 years is stronger than many in Indonesia realize and that more openness will strengthen this foundation, not challenge it.

As with all nations, including our own, for every step forward there have been occasional steps backward. The United States has and should continue to press for and encourage forward movement and should speak out when steps are taken backward. The comprehensive policy put forth by this Administration recognizes this. As Secretary Christopher put it in his June 29, 1994 letter to Chairman LEAHY:

This Administration is steadfastly pursuing the objective, shared with Congress, of promoting an improved human rights environment in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia. We are trying to pursue our agenda aggressively, working with Indonesians both inside and outside the Government, using our assistance, information, and exchange programs to achieve results. At the same time, we have raised our human rights concerns at the highest levels in meetings with Indonesian officials. As a direct expression of our concerns, our current policy is to deny license requests for sales of small and light arms and lethal crowd control items to Indonesia. In accordance with U.S. law, we make these decisions on a case-by-case basis, applying this general guidance.

The State Department in conjunction with USAID has also tried to move aggressively to give support through our development assistance programs to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in Indonesia, to support voices of pluralism and those who support change. My own view is that increased engagement in this manner will help promote the long term changes we all support and seek and in the end will lead to a more open, free and democratic system.

The challenge we face is articulating and steadfastly implementing a comprehensive policy which will encourage change, and result in more openness and respect for human rights, while maintaining a close and

cooperative relationship with a stable and friendly Indonesia.

We cannot achieve this by poking Indonesia in the eye, engaging in highly public debates in which Indonesia feels humiliated and subject to disrespect. We will achieve this through firm, steady and quiet diplomacy in which Indonesia is treated with the respect and dignity which is her due as an independent nation.

As I understand it, this amendment codifies part of our comprehensive policy toward Indonesia which was articulated in Secretary Christopher's letter of June 29, 1994. It will come as no surprise to my colleagues to learn that my preference is to have no statutory language. I do not think this is necessary, and I believe it could make it more difficult for the Administration to adjust to changed circumstances in the future. Nonetheless, since the Administration has apparently agreed to this language I will not take issue with it. I would point out however that this is only part of our policy and that my acquiescence is based on my belief that the Administration will continue to pursue a multifaceted policy which recognizes that our relationship with Indonesia is complex and based on many interests: security, economic, commercial and political.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Secretary Christopher's letter be printed in full at the end of my remarks.

[It is in the record (for the third time), and is not repeated in this posting. See the posting of the record from June 29.]

----- AMENDMENT NO. 2288

Mr. LEAHY offered amendment No. 2288. The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place in the bill, insert the following:

INDONESIA

SEC. The United States should continue to refrain from selling or licensing for export to the Government of Indonesia defense articles such as small or light arms and crowd control items until the Secretary of State determines and reports to the Committees on Appropriations that there has been significant progress made on human rights in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia, including in such areas as:

(1) complying 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) significantly reducing Indonesia's troop presence in East Timor; and

(3) participating constructively in the United Nations Secretary General's efforts to resolve the status of East Timor.

Mr. PELL. Madam President, I wish to support the amendment offered by Senator LEAHY on Indonesia and ask to be added as a cosponsor.

His amendment is a welcome statement on the foreign aid bill, reiterating our policy of refusing to sell weapons to the Indonesian military that could be used to violate human rights.

Just today, we have learned new reasons for the wisdom of this policy and the reason for our need to watch closely and to be deeply concerned about the human rights situation in Indonesia.

Today at least 20 people were injured by the Indonesian military in East Timor as security forces used riot-sticks to break up a student demonstration. The demonstration followed several recent incidents in which Indonesian soldiers were accused of insulting two Catholic nuns and abusing the sacrament while ostensibly taking communion in a Catholic church.

On Tuesday the United States officially denounced Indonesia's arrest of 42 students on a hunger strike in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta. The students were protesting last month's ban of three Indonesian news magazines. The United States Embassy stated "their detention while on the Legal Aid Foundation's private grounds makes the actions of the Indonesian authorities even more objectionable."

These arrests follow a pattern on recent government-sponsored violence against Indonesian labor and human rights activists.

In May 1993, a 25-year-old labor activist was raped and killed in East Java. Evidence linked her murder to the military. Last March the body of another labor organizer was found floating in a river. Again evidence linked his murder to the military.

Violence continues to be the main means by which the government control dissent. The most visible examples was in East Timor on November 21, 1991 (sic), when troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstrating protesting Indonesian occupation of East Timor. At least 100 and possibly as many as 250 killed. The number is imprecise because many disappeared during that massacre and remain unaccounted for.

In the Aceh region of Indonesia, an estimated 2,000 civilians have been killed by the military between 1989 to 1993 during its counter-insurgency campaign.

As Amnesty International notes in its 1994 annual report, President Suharto maintains a centralized and authoritarian government that exercises "strict and comprehensive controls on all aspects of social development and severe restrictions on civil and political rights."

This policy of strict control, I do not believe, can be long maintained in Indonesia. With its rapid economic growth, spreading middle-class, there are increasing demands within Indonesian society for change.

We must demonstrate clearly that the United States supports the forces for democratic change in Indonesia and will not allow our economic, aid, or military interests with the Indonesian Government inhibit our support for such change.

This amendment demonstrates that our priority in Indonesia remains promoting human rights and building democracy.

INDONESIAN COOPERATIVE MARKETING PROJECT

Mr. JOHNSTON. Madam President, I rise to bring to the attention of the managers of this bill a very important proposal, endorsed as a high priority by the U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID) mission as well as the American Ambassador to Indonesia, to provide funding in the amount of \$5 million over the 1995 to 1998 period under the Public Law 480 title II program to develop a coffee and fishing marketing cooperative system on East Timor, in Aceh and in the eastern Indonesian islands.

While I understand that funding for the Public Law 480 program is provided in the Agriculture and related Agencies appropriations bill, I believe it is important to raise this issue during consideration of this bill which funds USAID. Under the Food for Peace Act, USAID has the responsibility for sorting out the priorities for those few projects which will receive support under title II. Without the strong support of USAID, this project may well be passed over since there are many other worthy projects competing for a limited amount of resources.

The importance which our Jakarta USAID Mission accords this project was seen in the allocation of approximately \$2 million in Development Assistance [DA] funds earlier this year to begin necessary planning and start up funds for it. Moreover, the Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, Wendy Sherman, stated in a letter to me dated February 23, 1994, that our Jakarta USAID Mission and the United States Embassy in Jakarta: both believe this project "can potentially have a significant impact in East Timor and elsewhere. As you are aware, as part of our efforts to promote an improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor, we are working hard to expand USAID and USIS programs there; this project would be an excellent vehicle."

This project is designed to help raise the income of coffee and other farmers as well

as fishermen on East Timor in particular. Roughly two-thirds of the population of East Timor is engaged in farming; half of these farmers are engaged in coffee production. Although the quality of the coffee grown on Timor is excellent, particularly the TimTim arabicas which account for about 70 percent of Timor's coffee production, coffee prices received by these farmers have been characterized as extremely low, well below half the FOB levels similar grades and qualities receive in Sulawesi, Java, Flores, and Sumatra.

Because of this history of low prices, production of coffee has decreased substantially and in too many cases, farmers are beginning to sell land, which will have a serious, adverse long-term impact on the economic prospect for this depressed area.

To be sure, part of the low prices farmers on Timor have received was attributable to the collapse of the international coffee marketing agreement.

But an even larger part is attributable to a lack of competition in marketing mechanisms.

This project is designed to bring competition to the now virtual marketing monopoly by developing and supporting a cooperative for the procurement and marketing of coffee, as well as supporting value added processing of the coffee crop aimed at penetrating the niche gourmet and organic markets. The latter seems particularly promising since for many years coffee production on East Timor has been largely pesticide-free.

Highly successful projects in developing cooperatives have been undertaken with USAID's support on Java and elsewhere, and have created about 14,000 jobs. It is very likely that similar successes could take place on East Timor with USAID's support.

It is urgent that the momentum begun with the initial funds provided by USAID be continued in fiscal year 1995 and beyond. Much effort has been made to gain approval and support for this project among farmers on East Timor and from the Government of Indonesia. Without a continuing commitment from the United States, however, this support could erode and we would lose the opportunity to make a significant and permanent improvement in the lives of many who live in East Timor.

I am told this project will only be funded if it receives a high priority from USAID and from the State Department because the demands are so great for this program. Already, 3 months before the fiscal year 1995 begins and allocations are made, USAID has some 60 applications for title II assistance on hand; undoubtedly, more will be filed between now and October. I urge those officials to review this proposal, and I hope they will look at it in the context of income

levels and needs on East Timor which are in fact greater than those Indonesia-wide. I also hope that some consideration will be given to the need to strengthen NGOs in East Timor, which this project would do. If they concur with my assessment I hope they will communicate their support for it immediately to the team which is in the process of making the fiscal year 1995 Public Law 480 decisions.

Mr. LEAHY. The Senator from Louisiana makes a good case for this project. Reviewing the information he has provided to me and to my staff, I believe this project has merit and I urge USAID to accord it serious consideration during the allocation decisions now being made under the Public Law 480, title II program.

There are many pressing cases competing with this proposal, from Asia and from other regions around the world, far more, than there are resources under the title II program to fund. In fact, I am told that approximately 60 applications totaling about \$400 million are pending for the approximately \$300 million which is available under this program, which was reauthorized in title XV of the 1990 Farm bill.

During the daunting task the administration will have as it sorts through these proposals, many of which are compelling and equally worthy, I hope the administration will give some weight to the particular policy considerations involved in this proposal. A goal all of us have shared with respect to our policy vis-à-vis East Timor has been to improve the lives of the people. This project offers real potential in this respect.

Mr. McCONNELL. I too have reviewed the information the Senator from Louisiana has provided to me and to my staff on this project, and am pleased to join my colleague from Vermont in urging the U.S. Agency for International Development to accord it a high priority. USAID will play a key role in deciding which of the many proposals for title II funds are approved, so it is equally appropriate that this colloquy occur on this bill.

This project offers a positive approach to our policies affecting East Timor and one which would help in a concrete and immediate way a substantial part of the population. In addition to raising income, critically important in this very poor area, this proposal would also give skills needed by the people of East Timor to improve their economic situation. As the Senator from Vermont points out, these skills are transferable to other areas and hold out the promise of improving people's lives in other areas, too. This may be the most important and enduring part of the project and one which will

reap benefits for many years. Therefore, I urge USAID to give some consideration to this feature of the proposal and hope it can be funded.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I appreciate very much the comments of my colleagues and hope this proposal will be given the support and priority it deserves this year.

Mr. FEINGOLD.

Mr. President, two weeks ago, late in the night, the Senate voted on a provision regarding Indonesia. The provision was, to my mind, very simple and straightforward. It simply said that any agreement to sell arms on the United States munitions list to Indonesia must include an agreement that our weapons would not be used in East Timor. It sent the signal which I think the Senate shares unanimously: our weapons should not be used for the abuse of human rights.

Indonesia has sustained a brutal military occupation of East Timor since 1975. Every human rights organization in the world has criticized Indonesia's human rights record, particularly in East Timor.

The State Department has consistently reported human rights violations by Indonesia's military. In this year's report, the State Department acknowledges that "largely cosmetic changes in the force structure resulted in minimal reductions in troop presence" in East Timor. It also said,

"extrajudicial arrests and detention, torture of those in custody, and excessively violent techniques for dealing with suspected criminals or perceived troublemakers continued in many areas of Indonesia. Legal safeguards against arbitrary arrest and detention are frequently ignored. The armed forces continued to be responsible for the most serious human rights abuses."

----- We do not want to support human rights abuses in East Timor. We do not want U.S. weapons involved in massacres of peaceful protestors or interrogations of activists with views differing from the Indonesian armed forces. We do not want U.S. arms used to kill and torture the people of East Timor.

The Senate, though, did not send that message two weeks ago. However, I do not think the Senate intended on sending the opposite message. That would be, quite bluntly, unconscionable. The amendment offered today corrects any misconception which may have been perceived, and assures the Indonesians that they do not have a carte blanche to use our weapons indiscriminately for human rights abuses in East Timor.

The amendment offered today clarifies the sentiment in the Senate by codifying the U.S. position on human rights and arms

sales to Indonesia. I have advocated a much more comprehensive arms ban, but by targeting small arms and crowd control weapons, the U.S. is taking a step toward separating itself from responsibility for human rights abuses in Indonesia and particularly East Timor. It is especially important that we have established a linkage between arms sales and human rights.

The Indonesian occupation of East Timor has been a longstanding issue of international concern. Since 1975 thousands of Indonesian troops have occupied the island, restricting freedom of expression and association, and brutally punishing those who do not agree with the regime of occupation.

Just five days after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in December 1975, the United Nations General Assembly called immediately for Indonesia to withdraw its armed forces and recognize the right of self-determination for the people of East Timor.

Since then the United Nations has adopted eight resolutions affirming human rights in East Timor -- two calling on Jakarta to withdraw "without delay" -- and the United States Congress has passed five resolutions condemning Indonesian actions in East Timor.

In 1994, the UN Commission on Human Rights and the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities passed resolutions about the continuing human rights abuses in East Timor and urging the Indonesian government to allow access to East Timor by humanitarian and human rights organizations. The March resolution was the first time the U.S. supported such a resolution in the U.N.

However, despite all these resolutions, the government of Indonesia has blatantly disregarded the will of the international community. Instead, it has occupied East Timor with a brutal hand, resettling hundreds of thousands of East Timorese in camps in the late 1970's. The International Red Cross accuses the government of deliberately starving more than 100,000 East Timorese during the same period. According to both Amnesty International and the Indonesian-appointed governor in East Timor, the conflict has taken 200,000 East Timorese lives -- one third of the original population in East Timor -- since 1975.

Throughout the 1980's the Indonesian military controlled East Timorese villages and the movements of East Timorese residents. There were several waves of killings and disappearances.

In the past 3 years, human rights groups have reported that the repression in East Timor has continued unabated. Torture of detainees remains a common practice. Human rights groups are barred from doing

their work. Even Senators Boren and Pell were refused visas to East Timor in 1991.

Human rights monitors list numerous cases of those hospitalized for such injuries by the armed forces as broken hands, pulled out fingernails, and gunshot wounds.

The most public of the atrocities in East Timor was, of course, Dili massacre on November 12, 1991. In front of reporters' cameras -- on videotape we all saw repeated on the evening news -- the Indonesian military opened fire on a peaceful demonstration for self-determination, killing at least 100 East Timorese, and maybe as many as 250. At least 66 people are still unaccounted for.

The Indonesians have seen unrepentant and irresponsible in administering justice in the massacre.

Moreover, the comments by Indonesian military brass indicate their lack of remorse:

* General Syafei, military commander in East Timor, said, "if something similar to the November 12 event were to happen under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher."

* General Herman Mantiri, regional commander, said, "we don't regret anything. What happened was quite proper... They were opposing us... Even yelling things against the government ... That is why we took firm action."

* General Try Sutrisno said, "such people must be shot and we will shoot them." Sutrisno is now vice president of Indonesia.

* The Governor of East Timor, Abilio Jose Osorio Soares, said, "as far as I'm concerned, I think far more should have died."

It is inconceivable, Mr. President, that I or any other citizen would be shot at for yelling things against the government. Yet peaceful demonstrators in East Timor were killed by the government of Indonesia, and several of those who survived, are now sitting in prison for witnessing the crimes.

In response to this massacre -- and the travesty of justice which followed -- the Congress cut off IMET to Indonesia.

At the present time, the UN special rapporteur is travelling to East Timor to learn more about the Dili massacre and its aftermath. Witnesses to Dili and other human rights activists are being rounded up, probably so they will not be able to testify to what they have seen and know.

The repression in East Timor is non-stop. Just four days ago, a few Indonesian soldiers -- who are Muslim -- walked into a Catholic church in East Timor, and insulted the parishioners by pretending to take communion, by eating the wafers, spitting them out, and then stomping on a communion glass.

This is an insult no one in this chamber can condone. But it gets even worse, Mr. President. When demonstrators protested

the soldiers' defamation of their religion, the military opened fired, killing three and wounding dozens. Since, the military has cordoned off students and put barricades throughout Dili to stifle any further protest.

Three people were killed by the Indonesian military simply only for trying to protect the sanctity of their religious rituals. Just yesterday, Mr. President.

This is how the Indonesian military operates in East Timor. I do not want the U.S. associated with any of these violations, yet, in supporting the Indonesian military -- by selling arms, by conducting joint military exercises, by training the military officers, by not prohibiting our weapons from being used in East Timor -- we are tolerating, if not condoning, such terror. In reporting the story, one reporter even mentioned the Senate vote two weeks ago.

Last year the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted an amendment to condition the sale of major weapons to Indonesia on improvements in the human rights situation. After numerous resolutions and diplomatic discussions, it was time to take substantive action to advocate human rights in East Timor. Though the bill never came to the Senate floor, it caused ripples throughout Washington and Jakarta.

One result was that at the UN meetings in September, following committee action, the Indonesians finally responded to the talks with the Portuguese, and outlined a plan of action for East Timor.

Another result was a policy review within the Administration. It concluded that Indonesia is of great geostrategic and economic importance to the us, but that its human rights record requires a tough stance. The administration adopted a policy of not selling light arms and crowd control weapons to Indonesia, which, according to assistant secretary Winston Lord, was linked to human rights in East Timor. That is the position embodied in today's amendment.

In light of this principled and substantive pressure, there has been some progress in East Timor. But in one year, it has of course been limited. And I want to stress limited, Mr. President. However, the small steps are more than we have ever gotten since 1975, and I think the facts bear out a strong argument for linkage. With so much further to go, now is hardly the time to abandon such a policy.

Those who continue to dare to disagree in Indonesia are still suppressed, harassed, and as yesterday's events show, even subjected to murder. Just for example:

The very week we struck language which would have prohibited the use of U.S. weapons in East Timor, the Indonesians shut down three influential journals by revoking their publication licenses. Two of the

journals -- Tempo and De-Tik -- had published unflattering articles on senior officials and close friends of president Suharto.

The next day, there were demonstrations against the action. About 50 people were kicked and beaten, about the same number were reportedly arrested. The Indonesian would not confirm that, but a Reuters journalist was there.

The fact that journals have to be licensed by the government at all flies in the face of Article 28 of Indonesia's own constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech. All these restrictions have created an atmosphere of fear throughout every level of Indonesian society.

I have also heard that there have been improvements in the accountability and the restraint of the military, but I have heard no evidence to that effect.

When I questioned assistant secretary Winston Lord about the reduction in military presence in East Timor this spring, he could not confirm that there had been any troop withdrawals from East Timor. In fact, I have even been informed by authoritative sources with first hand experiences that uniformed soldiers in East Timor are merely being replaced by plainclothes soldiers. Is this restraint?

This is yet another kind of repression which is very dangerous and creates a permeating atmosphere of fear and terror.

Another illustration: As I mentioned earlier, as the military forces prepares for the visit of the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Summary, Arbitrary, and Extrajudicial Executions, witnesses to Dili are being rounded up so they will be unable to talk to the special rapporteur. They are questioned at length, refused the right to an attorney, and at risk of being tortured. Six prisoners being held in connection with the Dili massacre were moved to a prison in central Java in May, probably with the intent of keeping them from meeting the special rapporteur.

Torture continues. According to Bishop Belo and other observers, prisoners are often tied up and dunked in tubs of water until they nearly drown. Prisoners are burned with cigarettes. Prisoners are subjected to mock executions. An article in the New York Times reports that during a torture session, an intelligence officer told an East Timorese prisoner, "We only need your land. We don't need people like you Timorese."

Also very upsetting is that the military is targeting religious Catholics and clergy. In December 1993 the military captured several young Catholics in East Timor, beat them, tortured them, and forced them to confess to "subversion." On January 4, 1994, Bishop Belo reports that military men were waiting for a student at the Pastoral

Institute -- Salvador Sarmiento -- where they beat, tortured, and kicked him until he almost died. They then forced his parents -- who are illiterate -- to declare that they had seen their son participate in subversive activity.

The suppression extends even beyond the borders of Indonesia. In June there was to be a private conference on East Timor in Manila, in the Philippines, organized at the University of the Philippines. The conference was to be attended by Danielle Mitterand and the Nobel Peace Prize laureate Mairead Maguire. The Indonesian government went so far as to seek the cancellation of the conference in Manila.

Threatening to cut off an economic relationship with the Philippines; to exact consequences in the Philippine peace talks with Muslim separatists; to impound Filipino fishing vessels in Indonesian waters, president Suharto succeeded in bullying and intimidating Manila into closing off the conference to any foreign attendants.

But he piqued international concern over exactly what he has to hide.

But East Timor is hardly the only battleground for the Indonesian armed forces.

The armed forces have a dual role in the society, and it addresses all domestic rather than just international security concerns. Troops are deployed down to the village level to control society. The civil servants in the bureaucracy are soldiers in the armed forces. The military gets involved in labor disputes. In essence, the word of the military is law.

Every Indonesian citizen is required to pledge allegiance to the state ideology, Pancasila, critics or deviations from this code are punishable under the anti-subversion law. Almost every kind of dissent is considered "subversive." Being subversive subjects you to "disappearance", imprisonment, torture, or even extrajudicial execution.

In addition, the workers rights issue in Indonesia is also quite important -- especially as we intensify our economic relations with Indonesia.

The Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, has even acknowledged that better labor relations is in Indonesia's self-interest. Yet, in the last year, there has been an intensification of workers' strikes, and the Indonesian government has cracked down on independent labor groups. Demonstrations are often broken up, protestors detained and arrested, leaders imprisoned under bogus charges.

In one case, in May 1993 a 25-year old labor activist was tortured, raped, and killed in east Java. There was clear evidence that the murder was premeditated and that at least one military officer who complied. After intense pressure, the Indonesian gov-

ernment finally brought charges against nine company executives and even charged one army captain. The national Human Rights Commission -- which has no jurisdiction or statutory authority -- was unable to charge the suspects and basically acquiesced in a sham trial. The military officer was simply charged with "failure to report a crime."

In East Timor, Bishop Belo reports that: "Indonesian authorities have taken more than 400 young East Timorese to Java with the promise of work. When they arrived there, they were distributed amongst a number of factories without keeping the initial agreement. There were changes of factory and the young people did not receive a sufficient salary. Many of the young East Timorese in Jakarta suffer like slaves. Two of them have died already. Others are being persecuted and beaten. It is great injustice and suffering."

The U.S. trade representative has also found that the military has been involved in labor issues and that the Indonesian government has refused the freedom of association for Indonesian workers.

Clearly, the issues of workers rights and human rights are connected.

Finally, Indonesia has taken the lead in criticizing U.S. human rights policy. At the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, Indonesia vocally opposed the U.S. position on the universality of basic human rights. This is who we want to consider a close ally? An emerging democracy? Indonesia's positions and actions undermine what the president says he wants in a foreign policy, and counter everything we fought the cold war over.

Mr. President, I would prefer to stop supplying the Indonesian military to carry out such control altogether. I am strongly supportive of a conditional ban on light arms because it is these weapons which the Indonesian military uses to control crowds and torture and massacre people in East Timor.

They also are used in Indonesia proper to quell dissent. For example, in a number of incidents, peasants have been shot at in peaceful demonstration by American-supplied M-16s.

A light arms ban is also consistent with the 1958 Mutual Defense Agreement between the United States and Indonesia on equipment, materials, and services, of 1958 which stipulates in section 2a:

"any weapons or other military equipment or services purchased by the Government of Indonesia from the Government of the United States shall be used by the Government of Indonesia solely for legitimate national self-defense, and it is self-evident that the Government of Indonesia, as a

member of the United Nations Organization, interprets the term "legitimate national self-defense" within the scope of the United Nations Charter as excluding an act of aggression against any other state."

The UN, in two Security Council resolutions (R.384 in 1975 and R.389 in 1976) and eight General Assembly resolutions on the invasion of East Timor, concluded that Indonesia was in violation of the UN Charter and was engaged in an act of aggression. In 1975, the State Department legal office reached the same conclusion and said the treaty was being violated.

It is scandalous that the U.S. government supplies the tools of repression to Indonesia.

Since the 1991 massacre, the State Department has licensed more than 250 military sales to Indonesia. They have licensed machine guns, riot control chemicals and gear, m-16 assault rifles, electronic components, ammunition, communications gear, and spare parts for attack planes, including F-16s. With every shipment, the U.S. is not only signaling its support for the Indonesian military, but also giving it the tools with which to oppress.

While we should fully support Indonesia's right to legitimate self-defense, we should not support its occupation of East Timor -- not until the military accepts a UN-supervised referendum in which the Timorese would freely choose their own political status; not until the Indonesian military begins to withdraw its troops; not until the military improves its human rights record against its own people and against East Timor.

Mr. President, I would like to make clear exactly what we are seeking here.

The United Nations has never recognized that East Timor is part of Indonesia. The U.S. has said that a process of self-determination has been violated. East Timor is a land in disputed status.

The UN has developed a process to allow the people of East Timor to determine their fate, to choose their own government -- by holding elections under international supervision. This is hardly a radical goal. Indeed, it is consistent with the goal of democracy we are promoting everywhere else. Most importantly, it is supported by the indigenous leadership in East Timor, including Bishop Belo.

Indonesia has killed a third of the population in East Timor since its bloody annexation of the area. It has flagrantly disregarded international pressure and United Nations resolutions. Indonesia has not paid a price for its brutal immoral occupation. But occupation, terror, and abuse of human rights are expensive.

As Indonesia gains international prominence it is time to extract the cost of its occupation. If Indonesia wants our friendship, if it wants to be a leader on the world stage, it has to clean up its act. Until it does, U.S. policy should be decisive and principled. U.S. policy should support the goals we fostered throughout the Cold War: human rights and democracy. Indonesia should not be exempt from those goals.

We can no longer facilitate or ignore the horror in East Timor and the other abuses carried out by the forces which are the Indonesian government.

THAILAND MAY BAN EAST TIMORESE ACTIVISTS

Voice of America, 7/15/94

BY DAN ROBINSON. BANGKOK
INTRO: THAILAND IS REPORTED TO BE CONSIDERING A BAN ON EAST TIMORESE ACTIVISTS SCHEDULED TO ATTEND A HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN BANGKOK NEXT WEEK. AS WE HEAR FROM V-O-A'S DAN ROBINSON, THAI AUTHORITIES DENY THAT INDONESIA REQUESTED THE BAN AND SAY IT IS AIMED AT PREVENTING THAILAND FROM BEING USED TO DISCREDIT ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN):

TEXT: INDONESIA HAS RECENTLY BEEN PRESSURING FELLOW MEMBERS OF ASEAN NOT TO PERMIT CONFERENCES ON THE ISSUE OF EAST TIMOR.

LAST MAY, THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT COMPLAINED BITTERLY TO THE PHILIPPINES OVER SUCH A CONFERENCE IN MANILA.

PRESIDENT FIDEL RAMOS BANNED FOREIGN PARTICIPANTS -- A MOVE WIDELY CRITICIZED WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. THE CONFERENCE WENT AHEAD AFTER A RULING BY THE PHILIPPINES SUPREME COURT.

IN JUNE, INDONESIA WAS ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE ASKED MALAYSIA NOT TO ALLOW A FORUM ON EAST TIMOR SPONSORED BY PRIVATE GROUPS IN KUALA LUMPUR.

NOW, IT APPEARS JAKARTA IS AGAIN USING ITS LEVERAGE TO PREVENT EAST TIMOR ACTIVISTS FROM ATTENDING A HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN BANGKOK SPONSORED BY NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS.

A REPORT (FRIDAY) IN THE THAI NEWSPAPER, THE NATION, SAID THAI AUTHORITIES, IN CONSULTATION WITH INDONESIA, DREW UP A BLACKLIST OF 11 EAST TIMORESE ACTIVISTS.

ACCORDING TO THE NATION REPORT, THEY ARE THE SAME ONES BANNED FROM ATTENDING THE MANILA CONFERENCE IN MAY. ONE OF THEM, RAMOS HORTA, WAS SAID TO BE ALREADY IN THAILAND.

// OPT // LAST YEAR, MR. HORTA UPSET INDONESIA BY USING BANGKOK AS A VENUE TO PRESENT A PEACE PLAN URGING ASEAN AND THE UNITED STATES TO PRESSURE JAKARTA INTO HOLDING TALKS WITH OPPOSITION GROUPS IN EAST TIMOR. // END OPT //

ADDING TO THE DELICACY OF THE SITUATION IS THE FACT THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE COINCIDES WITH THE ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETINGS IN BANGKOK NEXT WEEK, AND THE FIRST ASEAN FORUM ON REGIONAL SECURITY.

THAI AUTHORITIES ARE ALREADY CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE PROTESTS BY BURMESE DISSIDENTS AGAINST THE PRESENCE OF RANGOON OFFICIALS AT THE ASEAN MEETING. BANGKOK WANTS TO AVOID ANY CONTROVERSY THAT COULD CAUSE EMBARRASSMENT TO INDONESIA.

THAI OFFICIALS CONTACTED LATE FRIDAY SAID ANY ACTION BARRING EAST TIMORESE WOULD BE A STRICTLY UNILATERAL INITIATIVE AIMED AT AVOIDING EMBARRASSMENT FOR JAKARTA.

THAILAND'S POLICE CHIEF WAS QUOTED BY THE NATION NEWSPAPER AS SAYING EAST TIMOR ACTIVISTS, AND BURMESE DISSIDENTS, WOULD BE KEPT UNDER CLOSE WATCH.

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST INDONESIAN MILITARY VIOLENCE- DARWIN

15 July 94,

Notes by Rob Wesley-Smith, AFFET,
PhFax 61 89 832113.

Demo in Solidarity with students in Dili.

A demonstration or series of actions took place in Darwin this morning, organised by East Timorese in Darwin and Australians for a Free East Timor (AFFET). Early arrivals blocked the entrance to the Indonesian Consulate, such that the staff decided not to

attend. Later in the morning a lone staff member arrogantly decided to force the NT police to clear a passage for her, much to their dismay. This only inflamed the fairly quiet group of demonstrators who physically had to be pulled from the path of the car. An Indonesian flag was then stamped, spat on and burnt.

Most of the group walked slowly around the city centre chanting and making a series of stops for speeches and asking for solidarity with them and particularly for the students and people of East Timor at this time. The role of the hated Battalion 344 in killing 3 students yesterday was highlighted. At each stop Darwin people listened with interest and applauded us. This was the best local reaction I can remember in my 20 years of activism for East Timor.

We sent a delegation in to discuss with our local Federal Parliament member Warren Snowden the need to press the Australian Government to intervene to save the students. We were told by his senior staff member Robert Domm that he was already doing this and also demanding that Indonesia removes all its troops from East Timor.

Back at the Consulate the mainly women and kids who had kept a presence there apparently were insulted by a local policeman leading to emotional scenes and reminders of the fact that East Timorese lost 40,000 or maybe even 60,000 people in Japanese reprisals in WW2 for their support of Australian Commandos. Some older Timorese there today had personally assisted the Australians. All Timorese on the march around the city had lost a parent or children to, or personally had been tortured by, Indonesia.

Our efforts certainly achieved the necessary media and community attention. In closing, I would like to note that the East Timor situation is dragging on for far too long, and I believe we should make it clear world wide that 1994 is the last year for Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor with some dignity, and that in 1995 actions will become much more direct and effective so that their illegal occupation of East Timor does not reach its 20th year anniversary.

A luta continua. Free East Timor.

INDONESIA REJECTS U.S. CONDITIONS ON ARMS SALES

Free translation of LUSA news of July 15

Indonesia rejected today all conditions imposed by the U.S. Senate to lift the arms sales ban. "We cannot accept supplies of anything whatsoever if they are dependent on certain conditions," declared the spokesperson of the Foreign Ministry, Irawan

Abidin, to France Presse. Abidin was commenting on the fact that the U.S. Senate had banned the sale of small arms to Jakarta while there is no significant progress in the chapter of human rights, both in East Timor and in Indonesia. The U.S. Senate imposed the additional condition that the Indonesian military presence in East Timor be reduced and that it participates constructively in the U.N. efforts to find a diplomatic solution for the status of East Timor. The final text of the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill to be approved by the Senate in conjunction with the House of Representatives, will possibly undergo adjustments in the next few days, and Abidin stated that: "In the next few days we hope that changes can be made that will minimize the consequences of the recent Senate decision." "This means that, if the text, as it is now, should be made into law, Indonesia will have no alternative but to obtain its military equipment from a different source."

DILI UNIVERSITY STILL SURROUNDED BY POLICE:

Free translation of LUSA news of July 15

About 70 Timorese students were still today taking refuge inside the University, in fear of being arrested if they should return to their homes, one of the students (requesting anonymity) told LUSA today over the phone. The student added that there were no classes today because most of the 700 students were absent due to the very tense situation. The University vice-president, Armindo Maia, left the University this afternoon in order to dialogue with the Indonesian authorities to obtain the release of the 15 students arrested Thursday. The student contacted stated that hundreds of soldiers of the Indonesian security forces continue to completely surround the building over a 300-meters perimeter. The student also stated that police repression resulted in 14 wounded who are still hospitalized. These wounded are being visited by members of the International Red Cross. "Right now, there are only about 70 students inside the building, awaiting the situation to clear in order to return to their homes, and so that classes may resume normality within a few days," said the student.

KILLINGS IN EAST TIMOR MUST BE STOPPED

Press Release from The East Timor Relief Association, Australia, 15 July.

Yesterday, July 14, in front of the Universitas Tim Tim in Becora, Dili (capital of East Timor) a protest organised by Timorese students and teachers was sav-

agely broken up by the Indonesian security forces causing 27 (twenty seven) wounded, 74 (seventy four) arrested and imprisoned, and 3 (three) students killed.

According to our sources in Dili, unlike the infamous massacre of Sta. Cruz, this time the security forces did not use guns; only knives were used to kill the three students.

Agio Pereira, the Executive Director of the Sydney-based East Timor Relief Association, said today that "once again, Indonesian authorities are showing their total disrespect for fundamental rights of the Timorese people, and they will always resort to killing as a mean to silence the voice of the Timorese claiming for justice".

He urged the Australian community and the Australian government to appeal for immediate investigation of this latest atrocities and for the Australian media to request immediate access to East Timor to help bring out the full story to the international community.

According to the Church sources in Dili, East Timor, the protest yesterday was sparked by the bashing of two Timorese nuns by two Indonesians, officers of SGI (INTEL or the secret police). The two nuns were bashed when they were entering the University in Dili to attend classes. The Timorese students and teachers protested against this barbarity because they fear that it was not an isolated incident.

Agio Pereira added that there are signs that the Indonesian authorities in East Timor are trying to create tension between the Timorese and the Indonesian Moslem transmigrants to justify further killings in East Timor, portraying the Moslems as the "victims" of the Timorese. "These manipulations and killings must be stopped immediately and the international community has a duty to act, specially the Timorese immediate neighbours, the Australian community", he said.

----- For further information: Agio Pereira Ph.: (02) 8915861 or Fax: 8912876

AGIO PEREIRA INTERVIEWED ON 2UE RADIO

Time: 4.35pm 15 July 1994

Presenter: John Stanley

John Stanley: There is an increasing pressure on our Government to change its stance on East Timor, after reports of major crack-down by Indonesian troops in the capital Dili. The reports today suggested at least 3 protesters have been killed but more worrying than that, large numbers of people have been arrested and taken away to who knows where, in what has been described as the

most serious trouble since the Dili massacre three years ago now; that, of course, occurred at the Santa Cruz cemetery. And all of the information about what is happening in East Timor basically dribbles out often by people associated with the church in East Timor. A Church which is headed by Bishop Carlos Belo. Now the Bishop has made himself rather unpopular with the authorities there and indeed in an extensive interview with journalist John Pilger, which has been published around Australia this week, he confirmed Pilger's documentary account of a second massacre of the survivors of the original killings at that cemetery in Dili. Now, clearly the Bishop has become a thorn in the side of the Indonesians and the church as a whole is becoming quite a problem.

Now, in the middle of this is the potential huge oil field in the Timor Gap and suspicions that Australia's attitude to this is largely been determined by what Australia wants to exploit there and it doesn't want to get the Indonesians offside. In fact, BHP today announced new drilling operations in that part of the sea.

Agio Pereira is from the East Timor Relief Association here in Australia, and has been operating for a couple of years to try to alert Australian - and indeed the rest of the world - as to what is happening in East Timor; and, really it is very much a closed society, with no reporters on the ground to report on what is happening and very much a case of trying to peep through, the various views and pieces of information that are put by the various sides. Now, he says he has been in touch with East Timor in the last 24 hours, sources within the church.

I spoke with him earlier this afternoon about the reports of this major protest and major demonstration and then crackdown by the military in the past 24 hours, and there are reports that at least 27 people have been wounded in that clash.

AGIO: Yes that's what our sources have confirmed to us; 27 people wounded, and the majority are been treated by the International Red Cross. 74 have been arrested by the Indonesian authorities, and these are the people we are very concerned about because we have a precedent. After the massacre of Santa Cruz, those arrested by the Indonesian military disappeared and three students were reportedly killed by knives. They had their heads decapitated. Unlike the massacre of Santa Cruz, guns were not used this time.

JS: Now, is that confirmed or is that simply a rumour?

AGIO: No. It is confirmed. The sources are very reliable sources, although - understandably - they are frightened, they don't want to be identified.

JS: Now there is also been a suggestion that two nuns has been bashed?

AGIO: This is exactly what prompted this protest. A day before two nuns were bashed when they walked into the university to attend their classes. The people who bashed these two nuns, were found later that they were members of SGI or the Intel; Intelligence of Indonesia in East Timor.

JS: Where would you place this incident on a scale of seriousness. Because since the invasion you say there are some 200,000 people had been killed in East Timor, we've had the Dili massacre; how serious is this particularly incident in terms of what has gone in the past?

AGIO: Well, last week or so two Indonesian military walked into a church in Remexio pretending they wanted communion, and then when they were given communion, they spat on it and they created tremendous and horrified incident that really ashamed everybody that was in the church. There are clear signs that the Indonesians authorities are trying to create tension in East Timor between the Timorese who are 90% Catholics against some Moslems, so that they can justify further killings, and, they would portray the Moslem transmigrants as the victims of East Timor. And that is why I think it is urgent to stop it, and, the truth must come out quickly.

JS: Ok, so this repression, this incident in the last couple of days you don't think is the last of that?

AGIO: Well it is not the beginning only too. It did start with the massacre of Santa Cruz, and still hundreds of people have been unaccounted for. The Indonesian government can not explain where they are, and the Special Rapporteur himself said officially in Jakarta before he left Jakarta that Indonesian government has given him insufficient information. And, therefore, we can see that there is a trend of systematic arrest and killings in East Timor. Although you might not see it on TV like you see in the former Yugoslavia, it is as equally serious or maybe even worst because the world community does not see it as serious as yet.

JS: Now the church has played a very prominent role in all of this in East Timor. It's caused great heartache to the Indonesian authorities and Bishop Belo as the leader of the church has given an extensive interview in which he accuses, for instance, our Foreign Minister Gareth Evans of lying. Do you fear for his safety?

AGIO: I do. Recently, he has almost been killed by ambush, by Indonesian military. He himself said that a couple of weeks ago. He is indeed in a very serious position. This is not, a religious matter. This is a political matter of the legal occupation. The Timorese church is very patriotic simply

because almost the entire church is run by Timorese. They feel that above all they are Timorese and they must stand clear cut now on the issue of East Timor rights to exist as a nation or the entire Timorese nation is going to disappear.

The repression after 20 years if anything has worsen, and that's why they have to take a stand. Bishop Belo has also become outspoken and upset the Indonesian generals because the Indonesian generals in Jakarta agreed with him replacing former or late Bishop Lopes in the first place because Bishop Lopes was outspoken. They thought that Bishop Belo would be quite. But on the contrary, he is becoming very outspoken; he is young, is very intelligent, he's been nominated for Nobel Peace Prize, so he is very courageous as far as the Timorese community is concern.

JS: Mr Pereira, I thank you very much for your time.

AGIO: It's a privilege.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IRISH TIMES

30 June 1994.

Sir,

Following a series of allegations that East Timor is a "closed area" we would like to inform your readers that it has been visited on numerous occasions by many influential people including diplomats, parliamentarians, human rights groups and UN personnel, foreign journalists and a group of Portuguese passport holders of Timorese origin, in the context of reconciliation. The most recent is a visit by Scott Butcher, director of the Office of the Philippines Indonesia Malaysia Brunei Singapore Affairs from the US State Department. Pursuant to the agreement reached at the tripartite meeting in Geneva between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the United Nations. My government is now actively preparing for the visit of the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions of the Commission on Human Rights, scheduled to take place later this month. My government is also preparing for the visit by Japanese parliamentarians this summer, and we expect that this would be followed by a visit of an all-party Anglo-Indonesian group.

In addition, the Indonesian government has established close and long standing co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross/ICRC, including the province of East Timor itself. This covers family repatriation programme, unhindered access to prisoners, and other humanitarian concerns.

Yours

Hendrati S. Munthe
Head of Information Dept., Indonesian
Embassy, London.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IRISH TIMES PRINTED JULY 14TH 1994

Sir,

I would like to respond to the letter of Hendrati S. Munthe from the Indonesian Embassy in London (Irish Times June 30th).

Ms. Munthe says that to describe East Timor as a "closed area" is untrue as visits by observers are taking place. While that it is true that very infrequently journalists, diplomats and parliamentarians have been permitted to enter East Timor, the point is Ms. Munthe does not inform us of the constraints under which they must operate when there.

In the wake of John Pilger's film "Death of a Nation-the Timor Conspiracy", Indonesia invited particular journalists from various countries to visit East Timor. In what was clearly a damage limitation exercise, the authorities carefully controlled all that the journalists saw. The party was constantly under the scrutiny of the military intelligence agency, Intel, and were given no free access to East Timorese people.

The Indonesian authorities could not, however, silence all the voices for justice. In the prison to which the journalists were allowed access, some East Timorese political prisoners risked their personal safety to protest about the nature of their detention and the occupation of their country. The official response was to swiftly move them to a prison in East Java, Indonesia. This means that these prisoners will not now be available to the United Nation Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions during his visit to East Timor-- a visit which is long overdue and of which Ms. Munthe seems unduly proud.

I wonder, for instance, if the Indonesian preparations for the visit of the Special Rapporteur includes the provision of the usual Intel "minders" who will control his access to particular areas and people?

The intolerance of objective scrutiny is well documented with regard to foreign journalists who visit East Timor. Mr. Edward Theberton of London's Spectator magazine, after a recent visit, said, "Alighting from the aircraft at Dili, one senses immediately the dead hand of totalitarianism. An eerie stillness reigns. Ten photographers, one with a video camera took my picture before I reached the terminal building.....No sooner had I walked out into the street that

a goon on a motorcycle followed me like a kerbcrawler.

Parliamentarians have also reported being carefully watched. Ms. Ingela Martenson MP was a member of a Swedish delegation who visited East Timor last September. "When we were taken somewhere there are military everywhere", she told reporters at the time. "It is difficult to see real life as we are being constantly watched".

Finally while Ms. Munthe claims Indonesia enjoys "close and long-standing co-operation with the International Committee of the Red cross", in fact this has been flatly contradicted by the President of the Red Cross, Cornelio Sommaruga. He has said that the Red Cross role of protection of the civilian population is "an activity which is somewhat difficult to carry out in East Timor."

Yours,

Kevin McPartlan

Awareness Office, East Timor Ireland
Solidarity Campaign, Ballyfermot, Dublin
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INDONESIA SPURNS SENATE VOTE

Voice of America, 7/16/94

BY DAVID BUTLER, BANGKOK
INTRO: THE GOVERNMENT IN JAKARTA HAS REJECTED A U-S SENATE VOTE LINKING SALES OF SMALL ARMS TO INDONESIA TO ITS HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. AS DAVID BUTLER REPORTS FROM OUR SOUTHEAST ASIA BUREAU, OFFICIALS IN JAKARTA ALSO DENIED THAT ANYONE WAS KILLED IN THURSDAY'S CLASH BETWEEN PROTESTERS AND SECURITY FORCES IN EAST TIMOR.

TEXT: THE U-S SENATE VOTED UNANIMOUSLY THURSDAY TO HALT THE SALE OF SMALL ARMS AND CROWD CONTROL DEVICES UNTIL THE SECRETARY OF STATE DETERMINES THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR.

A FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL IN JAKARTA TOLD THE REUTERS NEWS AGENCY THE GOVERNMENT WAS UNHAPPY ABOUT THE MOVE. BUT, HE SAID IT WOULD MEAN ONLY THAT JAKARTA WOULD TURN TO OTHER SUPPLIERS FOR THE ARMS AND DEVICES.

THE SPOKESMAN SAID INDONESIA HAD MADE IT CLEAR IT WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY AID PROGRAM LINKED TO HUMAN RIGHTS. ANOTHER AMENDMENT TO

THE U-S FOREIGN AID BILL EARMARKS TWO-HUNDRED-FIFTY-THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS.

THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ALSO ISSUED A STATEMENT DENYING ANYONE WAS KILLED IN THURSDAY'S CLASH BETWEEN DEMONSTRATORS AND SECURITY FORCES IN DILI, THE EAST TIMOR CAPITAL.

THE STATEMENT SAID 15 DEMONSTRATORS WERE INJURED, FOUR OF THEM SERIOUSLY. DURING THURSDAY'S CLASH, TROOPS WEELDING CLUBS PREVENTED SEVERAL HUNDRED STUDENTS FROM MARCHING FROM THE UNIVERSITY IN DILI TO THE TERRITORY'S PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT. SOME REPORTS SAID SECURITY FORCES SMASHED A CROSS, TORE UP CATHOLIC BANNERS, AND TORE ROSARIES FROM STUDENTS' NECKS.

MOST OF THE ONE-HALF-MILLION PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR ARE CATHOLICS, THE LEGACY OF CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE COLONIAL RULE.

INDONESIA IS THE WORLD'S MOST POPULOUS MUSLIM COUNTRY. ITS FORCES INVADDED EAST TIMOR IN 1975 AND JAKARTA PROCLAIMED THE TERRITORY'S ANNEXATION THE NEXT YEAR.

THURSDAY'S VIOLENCE WAS THE WORST IN NEARLY THREE YEARS. IN NOVEMBER 1991, TROOPS VIOLENTLY SUPPRESSED A DEMONSTRATION IN FAVOR OF EAST TIMORESE INDEPENDENCE.

THE GOVERNMENT SAID ABOUT 50 DEMONSTRATORS WERE KILLED IN THE 1991 CLASH. SOME EAST TIMORESE SAY THE REAL FIGURE WAS CLOSER TO TWO HUNDRED.

THIS WEEK'S UNREST AROSE OUT OF RELIGIOUS INCIDENTS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS SAID TWO SOLDIERS, INVOLVED IN AN INCIDENT, DURING WHICH TROOPS DISRUPTED A MASS, WILL FACE MILITARY TRIALS.

DILI WAS REPORTED QUIET SATURDAY. BUT, RESIDENTS TOLD CORRESPONDENTS THAT FEELINGS AGAINST THE SECURITY FORCES RUN HIGH AMONG CATHOLICS. .

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST FEINSTEIN IN LOS ANGELES

Report from East Timor Action Network, Los Angeles

Jul 16, 1994

Yesterday (July 15, 1994), 15 members and supporters of the East Timor Action Network demonstrated outside of U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein's Los Angeles office from 3-5pm. The countless motorists passing by the busy intersection certainly took note of our presence with our colorful signs and a banner. We also handed out a couple of hundred flyers to motorists and pedestrians (a rare breed in West Los Angeles!) informing them of the general situation in East Timor and Senator Feinstein's complicity in the ongoing occupation. The high point of the demonstration was when a school bus full of young children stopped at the traffic light in front of us began chanting "Peace on Earth!" Senator Feinstein's staffers certainly took notice of our presence as three of them, including the office head and a field representative, came downstairs to speak with us; one of them privately (and strongly) sympathized with our position. The staffers invited us upstairs to speak with them, but we declined, with both parties agreeing that we will meet soon. Despite our best efforts to attract media attention, no journalists attended. KPFK Radio (the Pacifica affiliate) sent a reporter, but the reporter (for unknown reasons) could not find us. In any case, KPFK did an interview by phone with one of our members and will probably broadcast the interview on Monday (18 July) during their morning and evening news reports. We chose the date of July 15th because Sunday, July 17th is "Hari Integrasi" ("Integration Day") in East Timor. We called the Indonesian Consulate here in Los Angeles during the demonstration to let them know what we were doing. They thanked us for the information.

Below is the text of our letter to Senator Feinstein:

15 July 1994

Senator Dianne Feinstein

11111 Santa Monica Blvd., Suite 915

Los Angeles, CA 90025

Dear Senator Feinstein,

We are picketing and leafletting outside of your West Los Angeles office this afternoon as part of our ongoing campaign to raise public awareness of the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor, the human rights situation in the territory and, especially, of your and, more generally, the

U.S. government's role in supporting Indonesia's actions.

We are especially outraged by your recent co-sponsorship of Senator Bennett Johnson's amendment to the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill (HR 4426) that struck a provision from the bill that would have merely prohibited Indonesia from using U.S. arms in East Timor.

As stated in our letter to you of June 30, 1994, we would like to meet with you or a member of your staff in order to update you and your staff on our efforts to change U.S. policy toward East Timor. Our invitation to dialogue still very much stands.

Finally, we have just learned that last night the U.S. Senate passed an amendment to the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill sponsored by Senators Patrick Leahy and Russell Feingold that codified the U.S. State Department's ban on small arms weaponry to Indonesia. Because the amendment passed on a voice vote, there is no record of how individual Senators voted. Despite our best efforts to find out through both your Los Angeles and Washington offices, we have not been able to discover how you voted on this amendment. We would very much appreciate your informing us in writing how you voted on this matter.

We look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

For the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles,

Sincerely, (signed)

cc: Marvin Schulman, Field Representative, Los Angeles office Robert Mestman, Washington, D.C. office

EAST TIMOR VIOLENCE ERUPTS AGAIN

Los Angeles Times, Friday, July 15, 1994

INDONESIA: Troops rush students demonstrating against treatment of Catholics in disputed territory. Incident poses a problem for Clinton, who is due to visit archipelago.

By Charles P. Wallace, Times Staff Writer

Singapore--In the worst violence in three years on Indonesia's disputed territory of East Timor, club-wielding troops Thursday charged into demonstrating students near the province's university. At least eight students were hospitalized, and there was one report that three others were killed. The incident seemed certain to increase tensions with the United States over human rights violations in the sprawling archipelago. Only last week, Washington denounced the Indonesian government's arrest of 42 students protesting its closure of three popular news weeklies. The violence also comes at

an awkward time for President Clinton, who is scheduled to visit Indonesia in just four months to attend the summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group, which is being hosted this year by Indonesia's President Suharto. News reports from East Timor said anti-riot troops clashed with the students when they tried to march from the university campus in the provincial capital, Dili, to the nearby Parliament building. The students were protesting the alleged harassment of Roman Catholics in East Timor. A former Portuguese colony, East Timor was annexed by Indonesia in 1976, but the United Nations has never recognized the move. East Timor is mostly Catholic, while most Indonesians, including the troops stationed on the island, are Muslim. News reports of Thursday's incident were sketchy. The Associated Press reported from Dili that three people were killed and 30 were injured; Reuters news service said 20 people were injured and there were no fatalities. Agence France-Presse reported eight people were slightly injured. Despite these differences, news reports agreed the violence was the worst in East Timor since a massacre of civilians by government troops at Nov. 12, 1991, funeral march. The government later acknowledged that 50 people were killed in that attack, while human rights activists put the death toll as high as 180. Thursday's student march appeared to have been sparked by an incident June 28 when two Indonesian soldiers were accused of desecrating Communion wafers at a small church in Remexio, a town south of Dili. The marchers carried banners saying "Long Live the Catholic Church" and "Indonesia Is Not a State Based on Religion." When marchers attempted to fan out from the campus, troops moved in and dispersed them, according to reports from the island. By nightfall Thursday, the protestors had dispersed. When private groups tried to sponsor a conference in Manila on the subject a month ago, Indonesia caused a diplomatic incident and forced the Philippine government to turn away foreigners--including the wife of French President Francois Mitterand--attending the session.

In recent weeks, the government seems to have reversed a trend toward liberalization, which had quietly taken place over the past two years. The end was firmly announced when the government withdrew licenses for the country's three most popular news weeklies after they carried articles critical of government policies and ministers. After the 1991 violence in East Timor, the U.S. government cut off military training assistance to the Indonesian army.

EAST TIMOR IS "HELL", SAYS CATHOLIC LEADER

Reuter, 17 July 1994. By K.T. Arasu, Abridged

(East Timor) East Timor's Catholic leader said on Sunday Jakarta had turned the former Portuguese colony into "hell" through constant arrest and intimidation and by spreading Islam among the territory's Catholics.

Bishop Carlos Filipe Belo spoke in an interview as mainly Muslim Indonesia marked the 18th anniversary of its formal annexation of East Timor, where the majority of its 750,000 residents are Catholic.

"East Timor is like hell. Christians are constantly being arrested, beaten and intimidated by police," said Belo, who also denounced security forces' actions last Thursday to break up a demonstration at the East Timor University in Dili.

The Indonesian government has pledged to preserve the Catholic faith in East Timor and has denied it was trying to undermine the religion or force Islam on the population.

But Belo, who turned down offers to serve in Europe after being ordained as a priest in Portugal in 1980, said military and police officials headed commissions set up to spread Islam in East Timor.

"We want people to come here and help us, not to spread their religion. East Timorese are not anti-integrationist, they just want freedom and democracy," he said.

Dili, awash with red and white Indonesian national flags along with multi-coloured banners hailing what Jakarta calls integration 18 years ago, was quiet on Sunday as thousands of people attended mass.

Police in Dili who removed roadblocks on Saturday but continued to patrol the streets, said they did not expect any protests to disrupt Sunday's events involving speeches and large gatherings. But residents were worried that more protests would take place when students returned to campus on Monday. Residents said religious tension had resurfaced in recent weeks after growing harassment of Catholics, including one incident last month where troops entered a church and disrupted a service.

Belo said he did not support last week's protest by students and added that the problems confronting East Timor could only be solved through dialogue at various levels, including the UN.

About 20 people were injured, some seriously, and 14 were arrested after protesters tried to march to the local parliament building.

Officials from the Red Cross and Dili University said on Friday they were investigating claims that up to four people had

been killed during Thursday's violence clash. Indonesia's foreign ministry denies the reports.

INDONESIA DEFIANT OVER TIMOR

The Independent, London, July 17

(Dili, East Timor) Indonesia yesterday angrily rejected a US Senate decision to curb small arms sales to the Jakarta government over the situation in East Timor, after two days of violent clashes last week.

The government said it would not accept any conditions for arms sales from the United States. The US Senate, responding to calls to send a strong message to Indonesia on human rights, voted unanimously to restrict small arms sales to Indonesia and to provide money to human rights groups there.

An Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman said: "We are indeed unhappy to hear this. However, it will only press us to look for other sources such as Great Britain for the procurement of small arms."

Indonesia yesterday was preparing to mark the 18th anniversary of its annexation of the territory. The Timorese capital, Dili, was awash with red and white Indonesian national flags and banners hailing "integration". But Dili residents feared more violence after riot troops on Thursday fired tear-gas and then broke up a protest march by 200 demonstrators marching to the local parliament building.

Officials from the Red Cross said on Friday they were investigating claims that up to four people had been killed during Thursday's clash. East Timor's Fretilin resistance movement said yesterday it believed 22 people were under arrest and nine were missing.

Residents reported that Catholic youths were trying to repair religious icons wrecked by security forces during the clash. Troops smashed a cross, ripped Catholic banners and tore rosaries from the necks of protesters as they barred hundreds of youths from leaving Dili's main university campus for the protest march.

The protest was sparked after Timorese students attacked and injured three Indonesian youths for allegedly insulting two nuns. Residents said religious tension had resurfaced in recent weeks after growing harassment of Catholics.

In one incident last month, troops entered a church and disturbed a service, reportedly spitting out and stamping on communion wafers.

THAI RIGHTS GROUPS TO GO AHEAD WITH SE ASIA MEET

Reuter, 18 July 1994, Abridged

Bangkok -- Thai human rights groups will proceed with a human rights conference that coincides with an ASEAN ministerial meeting despite government attempts to block foreign guests from attending, organisers said Monday. [The conference is scheduled to discuss the human rights situation in East Timor and Burma.]

The SE Asia Human Rights Network will hold its meeting July 20- 25 as planned, although the organisers are still unsure where it will be held and whether foreign guests will attend, said Boonthan T. Verawongse, a member of the coordinating committee of H organisations in Thailand.

The government announced last week that foreigners planning to attend the conference should have applied for work permits 30 days in advance.

Officials have refused to confirm earlier newspaper reports that 11 East Timorese activists had been blacklisted in an attempt to block them from coming to Thailand for the meeting. A foreign ministry official however said the presence of the East Timorese activists during the annual ASEAN ministers meeting in Bangkok 22-28 July would be an embarrassment.

"We regard people coming as guests, not as foreign workers," Boonthan told a news conference. He expected about 30 foreign guests to attend.

Regarding the venue, Boonthan said neither the university nor the government had been in contact with the committee, and if the university withdrew its permission {to hold the meeting), it would go ahead at a hotel.

Meanwhile, according to AP, also from Bangkok, CNRM co-chair, Jose Ramos-Horta, in an opinion article published in The Nation, Bangkok said that the ASEAN annual meeting should discuss East Timor.

UPDATE ON 14 JULY DILI VIOLENCE VICTIMS

issued in Darwin 16 July 94

by: Jose Gusmão (ph/fx +6189275478)

The following data has been received from sources in Dili regarding victims of the violent assault on a peaceful student demonstration procession, perpetrated on 14 July 94 by Indonesian security forces.

We consider our sources well informed and credible, even if we acknowledge that minor errors need to be allowed for, given the current confusing situation and the se-

vere difficulties placed by Indonesian authorities on the flow of information, as they aim to prevent the true extent of the violence to be fully known.

The following list of 31 names includes people disappeared (23 - 31), detained by the police (1 - 21) and detained by the army battalion 477 (17 - 22). (Note that 9 and 10 are names included in the list of wounded we released yesterday. The matter is being clarified).

NAME DOMICILE

1. Gomes Gonsalves Becora
2. Agustino da Costa Mendonsa Becora
3. Alberto Jesus Becora
4. Joao Teodoro Becora
5. Joaquin Pereira Becora
6. Martino Pereira Balide
7. Domingos Conceição Balide
8. Mateus Alves Balide
9. Carlito Mascarenhas* Balide
10. Francisco Martins* Bairro Pite
11. Edemundo dos Reis Bairro Pite
12. Manuel Abilio Beto
13. Francisco Jesus Beto
14. Manuel Exposto Beto
15. Augusto Beto
16. Saturnino Alves Quintal Bot
17. Justino de Jesus Taibesse
18. Edemundo da Cruz Hospital
19. Jaime Hamjam Bairro Pite
20. Maria da Costa Ximenes Aituri Laran
21. Cristovao Jesus Aituri Laran
22. Sabino Mendonsa Aituri Laran
23. Manuel Sarmento Aituri Laran
24. Francisco Leao Aituri Laran
25. Antonio Fernandes Aituri Laran
26. Francisco de Jesus Aituri Laran
27. Osorio Florindo Aituri Laran
28. Cipriano Oliveira Aituri Laran
29. Aniceto das Neves Taibesse
30. Ana Bela Guterres Taibesse
31. Antonio Neves Aituri Laran

On Saturday 16th Dili appeared calm on the surface, but the situation continued very tense. At least 14 seriously wounded people are in the military hospital Wirahusada, while undetermined numbers are in detention and have disappeared. The large numbers of people which can be seen outside the offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who have gone there to ask the ICRC to find out about missing relatives or friends, give an indication of the significant numbers of disappeared.

RADIO AUSTRALIA - TENSION IN EAST TIMOR

Radio Australia, 4.30am news, 15 July 1994

By Michael Maher, Jakarta

READER: Tensions are rising in East Timor between the predominantly Catholic Timorese community and the Indonesian

military. Riot police and soldiers used force to disperse a crowd of several hundred in the capital Dili yesterday. The crowd was demonstrating against the harassment of Catholic nuns by Muslim youths. Only last week, the provincial military commander of East Timor had to offer a public apology after a number of his men stepped on communion wafers during a church service. Indonesia correspondent Michael Maher reports.

MAHER: This past week it has seen the largest demonstration days in East Timor since the Dili massacre of 1991. The protests and the tension surrounding them have been fueled by a number of incidents involving the Catholic Church, Muslim soldiers and Muslim youths. Late last month in the village of Remexio, two members of the Indonesian armed forces walked into a church service took communion, spat the communion (unclear) and then stamped on them. In an overwhelmingly Catholic East Timor, its act of sacrilege has caused much anger and resistance, as well as serving to further increase anti-Indonesian sentiments.

In a bid to (unclear) the damaged caused by the Remexio incident, the provincial commander of East Timor Colonel Johnny Lumintang himself a Christian apologised for the behaviour of his men, and the official Indonesian news wire Antara has reported that two soldiers involved are to be court martial.

Repressions were further fueled just yesterday when a number of youths were subsequently beaten by angry students, and it is still not cleared just how badly they were injured.

Today's protest march of up to 300 people was held in show of support for the harassed nuns, carrying banners saying Long Live Jesus, Long Live the Catholic Church.

The crowd had intended to march to the Local Government assembly building, but it was stopped by riot police and soldiers.

One eyewitness said security forces beat several of the demonstrators and arrested others. An official at Dili's military hospital had acknowledged that 8 people have required treatment. However, other sources say the figures are higher. Discrepancies also exist as to the number of people have been detained (unclear). So far there has been no confirmed fatalities.

A government official in Jakarta has been putting a lot of energy into ensuring East Timor doesn't remain a millstone around Indonesia's neck in the international community. Those efforts have clearly not been helped by these latest tensions in the former Portuguese colony. The religious dimension of the events of the past weeks has only served to reinforce the separatists of Catholic East Timor from predominantly Muslim

Indonesia from the minds of those supporting independence. (END)

PORTUGAL'S RESPONSE

Radio Australia

15 July 1994, 5am news

By Michael Maher

Reader: Portugal has criticised the use of force by Indonesian troops during a student demonstration in East Timor and called for a strong international response to the incident. The Portuguese newsagency Lusa quotes Foreign Minister Jose Manuel Durão Barroso as saying Portugal has no alternative but to protest against what he describes as 'intolerable situation in East Timor'.

The Chief of Police in East Timorese capital, Dili, has denied claims that security forces killed 3 people during the demonstration in the former Portuguese colony.

However, Indonesian authorities have acknowledged that some of the protesters did require medical treatment.

MAHER: Yesterday's protest in Dili was the largest seen in the former Portuguese colony since Indonesian troops fired on demonstrators more than two years in what became known as the Dili massacre.

This latest protest in predominantly Catholic followed an incident earlier this week in which two nuns were harassed by Muslims youths on the campus of Dili's University.

The crowd of up to 300 people marched towards the Local Government Assembly building to show their support for the nuns but were dispersed by baton-wielding soldiers and police. An East Timor-based aid group ETADEP has claimed that three of the demonstrators were killed by the security forces but it's an allegation in which the Dili police Andre Subianto has strenuously denied. He did say, however, that 8 of the demonstrators required hospital treatment and another 14 had been questioned by police. (ENDS)

DILI TROOPS BEAT STUDENT PROTESTERS

The Age, 15 July 1994. By Lindsay Murdoch (Singapore) Indonesian security forces today were reported to have attacked and beaten student protesters in the East Timor capital, Dili. There were unconfirmed reports that at least three were killed and dozens hurt.

The violence was the worst since soldiers killed scores of demonstrators at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991.

Residents told journalists that police and soldiers wearing riot gear and wielding batons flailed into a crowd of about 500 near the local university.

Associated Press quoted Mr Da Costa Bello of the ETADEP Foundation, whose aim is to improve the standard of living of Timorese, as saying that "three students were killed on the spot" and at 30 hurt when riot police dispersed the crowd. He said more than 60 were arrested.

The deaths could not be independently confirmed.

A military spokesman, Major Laedan Sombolon, said from Dili that two students were injured and 10 detained before the students dispersed after prayers.

A university professor, who declined to be named, said 20 protesters had been detained and eight suffered minor injuries.

Tensions have been rising in Dili since two Indonesian soldiers committed acts of sacrilege at a Catholic Church on 28 June. The incident tapped anti-Muslim sentiment among the predominantly Catholic Timorese population, many of whom oppose Indonesian rule of the former Portuguese colony.

A protest leader, Mr Armindo Mayo, the vice-president of the University of Timor Timur, said the protesters wanted to march from the university to Parliament to meet MPs to plead for freedom of religion in East Timor. He said the protesters also wanted to demand action against the soldiers who committed the sacrilege.

Residents said that dozens of students panicked and ran when the security forces moved to stop the march only 50 metres from where it started.

One university lecturer said he saw students beaten with batons and taken away.

Reuter reported one unnamed resident as saying: "It has been very tense in the past two weeks, and it just got worse today."

Residents said the demonstration followed an incident on the campus yesterday in which a group of Muslim students of Javanese origin were accused by Catholic students of having offended two nuns who were taking an entrance exam.

The 'Voice of East Timor' newspaper reported today that three of the Muslims were beaten and had to be treated in hospital.

Reports from Dili quoted military sources as denying rumors that one of the students had been killed.

On Monday, about 300 East Timorese peacefully marched to the Governor's office to protest against the church incident in which two soldiers pretended to be Christians, asked for Communion wafers.

After what was described by Indonesian officials as a minor confrontation with police, the protesters were allowed to meet with the Vice-Governor, Brigadier-General Johanes Haribowo.

But today the security forces were under apparent orders not to let another march

proceed. Soldiers and police surrounded the campus for several hundred students shouted protest slogans, including demands for a separate state.

The streets of the city were reported to be calm late today. The riot squads had withdrawn, residents said.

The trouble erupted only days after a special United Nations rapporteur visited East Timor to investigate claims of extrajudicial and arbitrary executions. The rapporteur, Mr Bacre Waly Ndiaye, will not make his assessment public for three months.

The UN does not recognise Indonesia's sovereignty of East Timor.

Last week the East Timor military commander, Colonel Johnny Lumintang, attempted to cool outrage over the church incident by issuing an apology to Catholics. (END)

INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS MUST VISIT DILI IMMEDIATELY

Press Release from TAPOL 18 July 1994

[This release was also circulated to a number of MPs who last Thursday responded immediately to a statement by TAPOL, calling for pressure on the British government to protest at the Dili atrocity on 14 July.

Note: We have been informed that the 14 July incident is on the agenda of a meeting of European Union ministers which is taking place today. We have no further details.]

On Saturday, two days after the latest tragedy to engulf the people of East Timor on 14 July, the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, told Reuters that East Timor is "hell". The international community should heed Bishop Belo's words at a time when the people of East Timor are suffering yet another traumatic event, the latest in nearly 19 years of suffering under Indonesian occupation.

On 14 July, knife and baton-wielding troops dispersed hundreds of students of the University of East Timor who wanted to march to the local assembly building to protest against the harassment of two Catholic nuns by several individuals parading as students who turned out to be army intelligence agents. The incident occurred two weeks after Indonesian soldiers committed an act of sacrilege during Holy Communion by spitting out and trampling on the wafers offered by the priest.

We now have the names of nine people who disappeared on 14 July. Earlier, sources in Dili insisted that three persons were killed during the attack. It is highly

likely that the three dead, whose bodies may have been removed by security forces, are among these nine.

In addition, fourteen people were wounded in the unprovoked attack, some seriously, and are now at the Wirahusada Military Hospital. It is probably that others were injured and are seeking treatment elsewhere. In addition we have the names of 22 people who are now in police or army custody. The physical well-being of all these people is a matter of grave concern.

Despite claims by the forces of occupation that the situation in Dili is now "calm" and that "only a few people were slightly injured", tension in Dili is high. Although students were planning to continue their protests today, Monday, when they returned to campus, they must have realised that to do so would be courting disaster of unimaginable proportions.

In view of the disinformation being spread by the Indonesian authorities to conceal the scale of the tragedy, TAPOL believes it is of the utmost importance to send international observers to Dili without delay to assess the true situation. We therefore call for the following:

1. That all those now under arrest should be immediately and unconditionally released.
2. That the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Executions who completed a visit to East Timor on 11 July should be asked to return to Dili immediately.
3. That Amnesty International and Asia Watch be given immediate access for a visit to investigate the situation.
4. That the British Government along with its European Union partners protest to the Indonesian authorities without delay against the events on 14 July and impress upon them the need for immediate access to international observers to assess the situation.

British arms exports

Last week, the US Senate unanimously voted to end small arms sales to Indonesia until there is significant progress in the human rights situation in East Timor. Jakarta has responded saying that Indonesia would turn to Britain to fill the gap. TAPOL calls on the British Government to make it clear that it will not assist the Indonesian authorities in this way. The British Government should, as a matter of urgency, carry out a total review of its arms sales policy towards Indonesia, in the light of the latest atrocity perpetrated in East Timor.

Indonesia continues to insist that it will not accept the principle of linking aid or arms sales to human rights abuses. Let no-one forget however, that Jakarta itself used the very same linkage, including threats to call off major investment plans in the Phil-

ippines, to browbeat Manila into attempting to sabotage an Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor that took place in Manila in early June.

SACRILEGE, SAYS BISHOP

Diario de Noticias, 2 July 94. Translated from Portuguese, unabridged

Ximenes Belo, apostolic administrator of Dili, has expressed his indignation to local military authorities concerning what he described as an "an act of sacrilege" committed by soldiers in a church in East Timor. Soldiers entered the church, knocked over a chalice and ostentatiously trod on the hosts, according to a report from the National Council of the Maubere Resistance.

BRITISH GROUP DEMANDS ARMS EMBARGO

The following press release was issued today, July 18, by the British Coalition for East Timor

DEMAND FOR ARMS EMBARGO ON INDONESIA IN WAKE OF US SENATE VOTE

On July 15, the United States Senate voted to ban the sale of small arms to Indonesia, because of their concern over the Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and the blatant human rights violations being committed there. In response, an Indonesian foreign ministry spokesman said that they would simply "look to other sources such as Great Britain" for their arms purchases.

The British Coalition for East Timor is deeply concerned by this statement, and even more so by the evident willingness of the British government to provide arms and many other forms of support to Indonesia.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, and since that time some 200,000 people have died as a result of the occupation. Torture, arbitrary arrest, rape and murder are commonplace. The Indonesian government also brutally represses any dissent within Indonesia, as demonstrated by the recent banning of three newsmagazines and the beating and arrest of activists demonstrating nonviolently against the bans.

Four days ago, Indonesian police and military attacked an unarmed student demonstration in Dili, East Timor. The demonstration was organised by the students at the University of East Timor to protest a series of religious provocations by Indonesian soldiers. Large numbers of young people were arrested, and about 14 are in hospital, some of them seriously injured. According to several different sources, three students were murdered, probably after they had been arrested, by having their throats

cut. The office of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Dili is overflowing with families trying to find out the fate of those who are now 'missing'.

The British Coalition for East Timor demands that the British government cease their support of Indonesia through aid, trade and international diplomacy, and in particular that an immediate embargo be imposed on arms sales to Indonesia. We ask that all sales in progress, notably the sale of Hawk fighter aircraft, be stopped, and that no further licenses for arms sales to Indonesia should be authorised. We believe that to sell arms to a country engaged in genocide is, quite simply, a crime.

We also demand the immediate release of the students now under arrest in Dili, and a full, independent and impartial investigation into this week's incident. We ask the Indonesian government to restrain the military from any further provocative actions against the Catholic Church in East Timor.

A demonstration will take place at the Indonesian Embassy in London, 38 Grosvenor Square, at 5 p.m. this afternoon to press these demands.

CNRM STATEMENT ON LATEST INDONESIAN MILITARY VIOLENCE AND RELIGIOUS PROVOCATIONS IN EAST TIMOR

(Issued on behalf of Jose Ramos Horta by Jose Gusmão, CNRM South East Asia Representative, ph/fx +61 89 275478)

Darwin, July 18, 1994

17 July marks another anniversary of the illegal annexation of East Timor by Indonesia. For almost 19 years the Suharto dictatorship has contemptuously ignored UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions ordering it to withdraw its occupying forces and respect the East Timorese people's right to self-determination. Instead, Jakarta has treated the East Timorese with brutal oppression of genocidal proportions aiming to conquer their spirit, in a vain attempt to integrate them as a 27th province, while consistently feeding the international community gross official lies regarding the territory's situation.

The latest Indonesian military outrages have been targeted against the Catholic beliefs of the East Timorese population. This has led to the death of at least four students, an as yet undetermined number of disappearances, at least 14 seriously wounded, and scores of detained, beaten and mistreated youths. Indonesian reports only refer to "a few lightly injured, already re-

leased", denying deaths and seriously wounded.

On 28 June, at Remexio village outside Dili, two Indonesian non-Christian soldiers deliberately joined a Catholic religious service, and publicly desecrated the communion host. This deeply offensive gesture against the highest symbol of Catholic liturgy profoundly shocked the entire Catholic community of East Timor. 11 Remexio Church members, who dared to protest against this sacrilege, were later detained by security forces and mistreated. The Head of the Church, Bishop Belo, strongly protested to Armed Forces Commander Gen. Feisal Tanjung. Despite apologies by East Timor Regional Commander Col. Lumintang, provocations have continued.

On 13 July in Dili, 3 Indonesian military intelligence agents -not students, as the authorities later pretended- Abdul Hamid, Tadung Massora and Purwanto (the latter armed with a pistol), deliberately insulted Catholic nuns at East Timor University.

On July 14 several hundred students organised a peaceful procession to deliver a petition to the local legislative assembly asking for religious provocations to end. Contrary to military claims, their posters and banners were not political, but praised Jesus Christ and alluded to Indonesian Constitutional guarantees of religious freedom. Security forces violently stopped the procession, resulting in serious casualties and mistreatments. At least 8 people remain in a critical condition, tightly guarded at Dili's Wirahusada military hospital. It has been reported that 1 body has been returned to relatives.

Despite this, Indonesian authorities continue to deny deaths and serious casualties, only hours after receiving a UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial executions, and pledging their full cooperation with his investigations on past massacres on behalf of the Commission on Human Rights.

Once again, as so many times in the past, the latest happenings give evidence to the lack of credibility and good faith of Indonesian authorities, and their contempt for international community members, norms, and institutions. This contrasts with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas' postured commitment to a confidence building process aimed at seeking an internationally acceptable resolution to the East Timor conflict.

The latest acts of violence against the East Timor population are clearly linked to the rapidly deteriorating political situation in Indonesia. President Suharto and his cronies are coming under increasingly strong pressure by a growing pro-democracy movement seeking a change in leadership, and an end to the prevailing massive corrup-

tion, nepotism, and denial of human rights throughout the country.

In recent months ethnic anti-Chinese conflicts have been instigated, leading to massive riots in Medan, aimed at deflecting attention away from labour grievances and at crippling the emergence of independent unions. Similarly, deliberate religious provocation of Catholics have been occurring in Java, East Nusatenggara and East Timor. Catholics are being provoked into attacking Moslems, thus allowing the latter to strike back in 'legitimate' defence. A managed religious conflict would deflect attention from the growing public concern with corruption, succession and pro-democracy issues, shifting it to fundamental security matters. This would allow Suharto the excuse to reaffirm his authoritarian grip on society, which had lately been waning.

The National Council of Maubere Resistance, CNRM, deplores the renewed suffering brought upon the innocent people of East Timor by these latest provocations and vicious manipulations. We once again call on international community members to take decisive action to end the 18 year old Indonesian illegal occupation of East Timor, and guarantee its people their right of self determination.

International action becomes even more urgent as serious grounds exist to fear further efforts to instigate religious violence in East Timor, with resulting high costs for the already extremely victimised population.

CNRM also expresses its fullest solidarity with the Catholic Church of East Timor in its courageous efforts to demand an immediate end to human rights abuses in East Timor and its protests against the deep offences so gratuitously committed against its members and their faith.

We call upon the government and the armed forces of Indonesia to truly respect not only the basic principles of the UN Charter, but also those of the Indonesian national ideology, Pancasila, which are being so deeply violated in East Timor.

SEEKING FREEDOM FOR TIMOR

The Weekly, Westchester County, NY. July 14, 1994.

This week in Local News:

The Westchester-based East Timor Action Network is working to end the Indonesian occupation of an island nation.

By Robert Nixon, full text

"The Manila Incident" may sound like a good old '40s movie, but is just another example of a Third World dictatorship crushing dissent at its choosing.

Charlie Scheiner, a veteran White Plains, NY, peace activist, found himself in the middle of this incident, as the Philippine government tried to ban a meeting of international activists trying to liberate East Timor (which has suffered a 20-year occupation by the Indonesian military).

In 1991, Scheiner helped found the East Timor Action Network to build support in the U.S. for the Timorese struggle for independence. Moved by the massacre of 200 protesters by the Indonesian military, Scheiner used the Internet to create an inspired grassroots campaign for East Timor.

Now back in White Plains, Scheiner says Philippine President Fidel Ramos tried to ban the meeting under intense economic and political pressure from Indonesia. In the process, twelve foreigners were expelled from the country because they wanted to go to the East Timor conference. Among those expelled were Mairead Maguire, a Nobel Peace Prize winner from Northern Ireland, and Danielle Mitterand, wife of the French President. In Japan, Catholic Bishop Soma was prevented from boarding the plane to Manila.

In the end, the conference went ahead as scheduled at the University of the Philippines, the nation's top university. But there was confusion about whether the meeting would take place until the last minute. In the final hour, the Philippine Supreme Court allowed the meeting to go on for Filipinos, over-ruling a district judge who wanted to ban the meeting.

The conference that had been in the planning stages for two years was not a surprise to anyone. "The Philippine host was in contact with the government about the meeting and there was nothing secret about it" said Scheiner. It was also the first big meeting about East Timor in Southeast Asia.

During the spring, Indonesia put an increasing amount of pressure on Ramos to kill the meeting. "Indonesia started harassing Filipinos, including arresting 100 fishermen," said Scheiner.

In addition, Indonesia withdrew its support from a trade meeting on Mindanao, an island in the southern Philippines. They also stopped mediating the civil war between Muslim rebels and the Ramos government.

Indonesia is used to getting its way. "It is very feared, it dominates the region," said Scheiner. But they have no sense of world public opinion. "Inside Indonesia there is no public opinion, and it is against the law to criticize the government," he said. To back up this repression, Indonesia has just shut down three weekly news magazines.

But the crackdown on the meeting by Ramos backfired and created a political crisis for his government. He faced criticism

from the press and elsewhere for bringing back Marcos' dictatorial ways to a newly democratic nation. "Some were saying Ramos was worse than Marcos," Scheiner said.

Ramos also got a lot of heat from the foreign press. Reporters from CNN, the Washington Post, the London-based Economist and various wire services all blasted Ramos for caving in to Indonesia's harsh tactics. A New York Times editorial cleverly asked "What is at stake here?" It seems there was \$700 million dollars of economic aid at stake.

Despite all the official harassment the conference went off as planned, including a video statement from Timorese resistance leaders. The controversy only magnified global media coverage. If Indonesia has done nothing, few people would have noticed.

Due to his earlier arrival in Manila, Scheiner was able to escape the first round of deportations, but still faced the prospect of being thrown out of the country. But he made the best of his time and the media circus surrounding the conference. Scheiner made an appearance on the Philippine version of the David Letterman show; he was followed by Miss Philippines.

"It is really trivial compared to what the people of East Timor have to go through," said Scheiner about his personal experience with Indonesian repression. 200,000 Timorese have reportedly been killed since the 1975 invasion, which had the blessing of then President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

East Timor is a living police state. Indonesia has stationed 10,000 troops in the area about one soldier for every ten adult males. Despite the odds, dissent to Indonesia's occupation continues. During a recent press tour of East Timor, five protesters stood briefly outside the journalists' hotel. They were later arrested and imprisoned by the Indonesian government.

In the U.S., the East Timor Action Network has put real pressure on Congress to limit arms sales and military aid to Indonesia. In February, the U.S. State Department created a ban on selling small weapons to Indonesia.

President Bill Clinton will also have a chance to help East Timor next year when he goes to the next Asian trade conference planned to take place in Jakarta, Indonesia's capital. "Clinton could visit East Timor," said Scheiner.

THAILAND/HUMAN RIGHTS

Voice of America, 7/18/94

BY DAN ROBINSON, BANGKOK

INTRO: HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN THAILAND HAVE VOWED TO GO AHEAD WITH A CONFERENCE THIS WEEK DESPITE EFFORTS BY THAI AUTHORITIES TO PREVENT IT. V-O-A'S DAN ROBINSON REPORTS FROM OUR SOUTHEAST-ASIA BUREAU, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ARE TRYING TO DRAW ATTENTION TO PROBLEMS IN EAST TIMOR AND BURMA AS MINISTERS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN) GATHER IN BANGKOK FOR THEIR ANNUAL MEETINGS.

TEXT: A NUMBER OF SEMINARS AND DEMONSTRATIONS ARE SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN BANGKOK JUST AS SENIOR OFFICIALS AND MINISTERS OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES BEGIN TO ARRIVE FOR THEIR ANNUAL MEETING.

A CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY THE SOUTHEAST-ASIA HUMAN-RIGHTS NETWORK COINCIDES WITH THE ASEAN MEETINGS. ACTIVISTS SAY THIS IS MERE COINCIDENCE, BUT THE THAI GOVERNMENT DOES NOT AGREE.

AUTHORITIES ARE TAKING STEPS TO PREVENT DEMONSTRATIONS BY, AMONG OTHERS, DISSIDENTS FROM BURMA AND REPRESENTATIVES OF EAST TIMOR INDEPENDENCE GROUPS.

THAI NEWSPAPER REPORTS MONDAY SAID 500 EXTRA POLICE WILL BE ON HAND AT THE BANGKOK HOTEL WHERE THE ASEAN MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE BEGINS FRIDAY. POLICE OFFICIALS WARNED OF TOUGH ACTION IF A PLANNED DEMONSTRATION BY BURMESE DISSIDENTS OUTSIDE BURMA'S EMBASSY WAS NOT PEACEFUL.

AS FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE, THE GOVERNMENT WAS ATTEMPTING TO ENFORCE A REGULATION ON THAI AND FOREIGN NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS REQUIRING 30-DAY ADVANCE NOTICE.

BOONTHAN VERA WONG IS A KEY ORGANIZER OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE. HE SAYS THE PURPOSE OF THE GATHERING IS TO ASSESS DEVELOPMENTS SINCE LAST YEAR'S WORLD HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN VIENNA.

IN A V-O-A INTERVIEW, MR. BOONTHAN SAYS THAI GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO PREVENT THE HUMAN RIGHTS

CONFERENCE ARE DUE TO PRESSURE FROM INDONESIA:

/// BOONTHAN ACT ///

I THINK WE HAVE TO PUSH THROUGH. THERE IS NO REASON FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO BAN THIS CONFERENCE, BECAUSE WHAT WE ARE DOING IS UPHOLDING OUR BASIC PRINCIPLES UNDER HUMAN RIGHTS. IN THIS SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY, PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASSEMBLY, THE RIGHT TO EXPRESSION.

/// END ACT ///

IN AN EDITORIAL PUBLISHED MONDAY IN A BANGKOK NEWSPAPER, ONE OF THE TIMORESE ACTIVISTS PLANNING TO ATTEND THE BANGKOK HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE -- JOSE RAMOS-HORTA -- CRITICIZED ASEAN FOR FAILING TO PRESSURE INDONESIA TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT EAST TIMOR.

MR. RAMOS-HORTA ACCUSED JAKARTA OF BULLYING IN ITS EFFORT TO PREVENT A CONFERENCE ABOUT EAST TIMOR LAST MAY IN MANILA. CONDEMNING -- WHAT HE CALLED -- ASEAN COMPLICITY IN GENOCIDE IN EAST TIMOR, HE APPEALED TO ASEAN MINISTERS TO DISCUSS EAST TIMOR DURING THEIR TALKS IN BANGKOK.

A REPORT (REUTER) MONDAY FROM EAST TIMOR SAID INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES OFFERED TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE ISLAND'S INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT.

THE REPORT SAID THE OFFER WAS MADE BY INDONESIA'S GOVERNOR IN EAST TIMOR, DURING A SPEECH MARKING THE 18TH ANNIVERSARY OF INDONESIA'S TAKEOVER OF THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONY.

BUT, THE INDONESIAN MILITARY CHIEF FOR EAST TIMOR WARNED AUTHORITIES WILL CONTINUE TO ACT AGAINST ANYONE BREAKING THE LAW. HE REPEATED A DENIAL THERE WERE ANY DEATHS FROM LAST WEEK'S CLASH BETWEEN MAINLY CATHOLIC PROTESTERS AND POLICE.

ARMS STORY SINKS PRESS IN INDONESIA

Peace News, August, 1994

On 21 June the Indonesian government banned three magazines -- DeTik, a weekly tabloid; Editor, a small-circulation weekly; and, most importantly, Tempo, the country's most widely-read news magazine. This is hardly the first time that General Suharto has cracked down on the press; but this time the country's growing democracy movement has refused to go along quietly.

Tempo is a 23-year old magazine which has played a vital role in the development of Bahasa Indonesian, the lingua franca first created by Indonesian independence activists under Dutch colonial rule. It has also had a reputation for testing the limits of "acceptable dissent" without quite going over -- until now. The immediate cause of the ban on all three publications was their reporting on the government's purchase of 39 warships from the former East German navy (see PN June, July 1993). The ships, which are stripped of weapons and in extremely bad condition, were a controversial purchase; high-ranking army officers were against the deal, seeing them as no more than expensive toys for Technology Minister B J Habibie, a close friend of Suharto's. Habibie's side of the argument was not helped when one of the ships nearly sank on its way to Indonesia last month. Tempo, Editor, and DeTik had all reported on the debate, in more detail than Suharto deemed appropriate.

To the government's surprise, however, the announcement of the ban triggered a series of demonstrations, and an explosion of public activity on the part of the democracy movement; and there is a clear split within government circles about how to handle the situation. The largest of the demonstrations, on 27 June, was violently suppressed by police and some 50 people arrested, including leading artists and cultural figures. Many more ended up in the hospital, mostly with broken bones in their hands and arms from being struck by police batons, some with heavily bleeding head wounds.

But when the demonstrators came to trial the next day, they were given fines equivalent to less than GBP 1 (which would be a significant fine for an Indonesian worker, but is not a great deal for the middle class, to which most of these protesters belong).

Trying to control the damage, Information Minister Harmoko apparently offered _Tempo_ a "compromise" which would see their publication licence restored in exchange for extensive changes in the staff and the

editorial policy; Tempo's editor refused the deal.

The past few weeks have seen an increasing rate of public dissent -- the announcement of the formation of an "illegal" political party called the Association of Democratic People; petitions delivered to the Information Ministry by representatives of independent women's groups; a demonstration by some 400 journalists and other dressed in black outside the Information Ministry. Three young men began a hunger strike at the beginning of July in the office of LBHI (the Legal Aid Institute) and on 7 July a meeting at the LBHI office was broken up by police and soldiers, who made over 40 arrests. The hunger strike continues, however, as do other protests.

It is increasingly clear that there are splits developing within the ranks of the Indonesian government, mostly between General Suharto and his close allies on the one hand, and the army on the other. The controversy over the German warships is only one sign of this.

When Suharto ordered Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to have the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor stopped (<I>PN_ July 1994), the army made it obvious that they were largely indifferent to the event, and made no attempt to prevent Indonesian dissidents from attending. And top military spokesmen have publicly stated that they are against the press ban. The small fines given to the demonstrators of 27 June show clearly that the authorities are confused and divided over how to handle the democratic forces -- and that this confusion has given dissidents a vital space in which to work.

The final outcome of all this remains unclear. Certainly, when a military dictatorship starts to find itself at odds with the military they have good reason to be afraid. It is likely that Suharto himself will outlast the controversies; but he has said several times that he plans to step down at the end of his next term in 1997. There is reason to think that he is grooming Habibie as his successor, but there is also reason to think that the army would not accept this.

In the meantime, in the small latitude allowed to them, the democratic forces are trying to consolidate, grow and make plans. The extent to which they are able to do this, and the extent to which they are supported by others outside of the country, could make a vital difference to Indonesia's future.

EAST TIMOR: MILITARY DENIES RESPONSIBILITY

Peace News, August, 1994. By TAPOL

The Indonesian police and military staged another attack on an unarmed and peaceful

student demonstration on 14 July, in the most serious such incident since the Santa Cruz massacre of November 1991. According to sources in East Timor, three people are dead, about a dozen hospitalised, and many -- perhaps 70 or more -- are under arrest.

This incident seems to be the culmination of a pattern of provocative actions by the military against the Catholic Church, to which most Timorese belong. On 28 June, Indonesian soldiers entered a church in the village of Remexio during a mass, took communion wafers, and trampled them underfoot. That same day, a Timorese farmer in Ermera was "accidentally" shot by soldiers as he irrigated his field; apparently, 12 soldiers had raped a young woman from the same village a few days earlier.

On 13 July, three men entered the campus of the University of East Timor and began to harass two Catholic nuns who were taking their final examinations. Bystanders grabbed two of the men, and discovered from their identity cards that they were military intelligence agents.

The students planned a march for the same day, to the local assembly building. But they were prevented from leaving the campus when it was surrounded by police and soldiers, who remained there for the rest of the day. The next morning, the students invited the police onto the campus to talk about their grievances, but instead the police entered in large numbers and began to attack the students. They did not use guns, as they had at Santa Cruz, but they were armed with knives. The three who were killed, say the Timorese sources, had their throats cut.

The Indonesian government not only denies the killings, but says no one has been arrested. The reports that three people are dead, however, have been consistent from several sources, including a story in the Jakarta Post which cited "victims' families", and a statement from the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute, which also named one of the victims. It seems likely that these three were killed, not during the attack on the campus, but later while they were in custody in a military barracks. This adds a particularly sinister edge to the government's claims that no one is in detention.

Ironically, the US senate voted to ban small arms sales to Indonesia the day after the attack. The amendment -- the final wording of which must still be decided -- inspired Indonesian government officials to threats that they will not buy any more arms from the USA at all, turning instead to sources such as Great Britain.

Protests against the attack in Dili have been held in Darwin and London.

CAMPAIGN: DILI PRISONERS MOVED

Peace News, August, 1994

In the July Peace News we reported that the East Timorese still imprisoned for their role in the nonviolent Santa Cruz protest of November 1991 had been moved from Dili. We have confirmed that they are in prison in the isolated region of Semarang, Central Java. Though they are much less likely to receive mail sent to them here, it is important to keep sending letters nevertheless. Anyone who has been writing to Gregorio da Cunha Saldana, Francisco Miranda Branco, Filomeno da Silva Pereira, Jacinto das Neves Raimundo Alves, Juvencio de Jesus Martins and Saturnino da Costa Belo (or anyone who wants to start writing to them) should send letters to: Lembaga Pemasyarakatan, Kedung Pane, Semarang, Jawa Tengah, Indonesia.

INDONESIA OFFERS TO NEGOTIATE

The Irish Times 19th July 1994.

Reuter World News

Dili -- Indonesia yesterday marked the 18th anniversary of its annexation of East Timor by offering to negotiate with guerrillas fighting the takeover. But the East Timor military chief, Col. Johny Lumintang said, "We will not tolerate those that break the law". He was speaking after an anniversary ceremony in the capital Dili.

US URGES RESTRAINT IN TIMOR

AFP, 18 July 1994, Abridged

Jakarta -- The US called on Indonesia Monday to exercise restraint in East Timor, where tensions are running high after clashes between Muslims and Christians [sic, no mention of army intel].

"We have expressed our concern to the Indonesian Government about recent developments in East Timor, urging that security forces exercise restraint," said Pamela Smith, a spokeswoman for the US embassy here.

"We still do not have complete details on the July 14 clash between demonstrators and anti-riot police," Smith said. "Our embassy has been unable to confirm the report that three deaths resulted from the incident and does not have full information on the number injured."

The International Red Cross which has an office in Dili said Monday it had no new information about the protests. "The ICRC has tried its best but cannot confirm that there are deaths or missing," an official said,

adding that the Red Cross has received no requests for help from any affected families.

....

[Now for the latest official version:]

Tension in East Timor eased somewhat after police on Friday released all but one of 14 people detained when security forces broke up a march of 500 people. The lone demonstrator being detained is not a student but an unemployed man alleged to have carried a weapon at the demonstration, said Lt-Colonel Andreas Sugianto, police chief in Dili.

An AP report datelined Dili also reports that five students were held for questioning Sunday to see whether they planned pro-independence demonstrations on the 18th anniversary of integration Sunday.

"We just checked their identities and to check whether or not they planned demonstrations," said Col Lumintang, military commander.

The five were students of the University.

UPDATE FROM ETAN/CANADA

Number 35 -- July 19, 1994

From the East Timor Alert Network/Canada

Indonesia kills Guelph aid project

Stung by mounting discussion of its human rights record, the Indonesian government has axed a controversial aid project administered by Guelph University. Cancelling the Sulawesi Regional Development Project has been a long-standing goal of East Timor activists in Guelph, Ont., and throughout Canada.

The Indonesian government made the decision to kill the project, run by Guelph and funded by the Canadian International Development Agency, following the publication of a report commissioned by the university that came down heavily on the side of activists who have argued that the project lends legitimacy to the Indonesian regime's appalling human rights record.

Guelph had been searching for ways to discredit the report by external reviewers Meyer Brownstone (former head of OXFAM Canada) and Clovis Demers (vice-president of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development in Montreal). However, the decision to kill the \$38 million project, the largest Canadian university aid project in Indonesia, was taken by Indonesian officials sensitive about international criticism.

The chorus of protest in Canada against the Sulawesi project apparently became too much for them, prompting a complete shut-down over the summer. Indonesia has pre-

viously decided not to accept aid from the Netherlands because of strong Dutch pressure to improve the human rights situation.

The campaign against the Sulawesi project was initiated by Guelph professors concerned about East Timor, and supported by members of the East Timor Alert Network, Ontario Public Interest Research Group, and other organizations.

There are at least seven more Canadian universities with aid projects in Indonesia: Simon Fraser (Burnaby, B.C.), Dalhousie (Halifax), York (Toronto), Waterloo (Waterloo, Ont.), McGill (Montreal), the University of Manitoba (Winnipeg) and the Open Learning Institute (Vancouver). An active campaign is already under way at SFU.

A new Dili massacre

Indonesian soldiers have attacked a crowd of peaceful protesters in Dili, the capital of East Timor, killing 3 people and wounding at least 19, according to reports from the Timorese NGO ETADep. The 14 July massacre, reminiscent of the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in which 273 were killed, was reported widely on the international wire services, but the lack of photographs kept it off the front pages.

On July 14 a peaceful group of 500 people, many of them students at the University of East Timor, assembled to protest a recent spate of "sacrilegious" acts committed by Indonesian occupation forces in East Timor, such as harassing nuns and trampling communion wafers. The anti-Catholic activities are aimed at undermining the Catholic church, which provides a shelter to the East Timorese people.

The crowd was attacked by soldiers in full riot gear after marching only a short distance. The attack, however, was done with knives, with the dead being killed by having their throats slashed. Several others have disappeared and are feared dead, and 22 protesters are in custody.

The atmosphere in Dili is now more tense than it has been in months, and further violence is possible. The safety of those being held by military authorities is also in jeopardy.

ETAN appeals for pressure on the Canadian government, which has so far been silent on the latest murders in East Timor. Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Ouellet had previously scheduled a meeting with Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas during an international meeting in Bangkok on July 22-28. It is vital that Canada express its protest in the strongest possible terms, given that this is the most blatant use of violence by soldiers to break up a peaceful protest in East Timor since the Santa Cruz massacre of 1991. Then, the former Conservative government suspended \$30 million in

aid projects to Indonesia. What will the Liberal government do this time?

As well as issuing a protest, Canada should be working to ensure the release of those still held, free access to investigators from Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch (as promised on numerous occasions by the Indonesian government) and an independent inquiry into the massacre.

Letters can be sent to Foreign Minister Ouellet c/o House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6, or faxed to (613) (613) 995-9926. Please send copies to Bloc Quebecois leader Lucien Bouchard and NDP critic Svend Robinson at the same address.

Flag-raisers jailed

Six East Timorese were jailed in July for displaying pro-independence symbols. Two of them were sentenced to 3-year jail terms for the "crime" of raising the flag of independent East Timor last July 17. Four more received 20-month sentences for marching through the streets of Dili with signs while a team of international journalists was being shown around East Timor by military escorts earlier this year. An Indonesian court found them guilty of "expressing anti-Indonesia sentiments in front of the public."

*Weeklies banned

Three of the most popular weekly publications in Indonesia have been banned for being overly critical of the government. The trio, with a combined circulation of well over half a million, had their licences to publish revoked after a series of articles about conflicts within the government and increased coverage about pro-democracy sentiments in Indonesia.

The magazines Tempo (Indonesia's equivalent to Time magazine) and Editor and the popular tabloid DeTik were banned without warning. Soon after, four more papers were warned to tone down their reporting or lose their licences as well.

The press ban sparked a demonstration of hundreds of journalists and supporters in front of the Indonesian parliament buildings, which was broken up by police wielding rattan canes. The violent suppression of dissent, part of a new crackdown by the Suharto regime, also prompted pro-democracy Indonesians to form a new organization that will campaign for freedom of the press.

In response to the press ban, the East Timor Alert Network joined an international chorus of protest calling on the World Bank not to release aid dollars to Indonesia at the annual meeting of donor countries and institutions. "By withholding these funds until the Indonesian government grants the fundamental right of freedom of the press and freedom of expression, the world commu-

nity can send a clear signal and help the people, rather than government, of Indonesia," ETAN wrote. "Surely that is the goal of development aid." ETAN also asked Canada to withhold its aid dollars (Indonesia is the second-largest recipient of bilateral Canadian aid).

However, the donor meeting in Paris on July 7-8 agreed to release \$5.1 billion, even more than the \$5 billion the Indonesian government had requested. After a meeting with ETAN, Canadian officials agreed to insert a reference to the press ban into their opening statement at the meeting. However, the Canadian pledge -- \$35 million -- went ahead unchanged.

Strutting Southeast Asia

Fresh from intimidating the Philippines into banning many foreigners from the recent Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor in Manila, the Indonesian government has moved to have discussion of East Timor in two other Southeast Asian countries stopped.

"East Timor is Asia's Bosnia," Malaysian opposition MP James Wong Wing On said at a recent gathering on East Timor in Kuala Lumpur sponsored by the Front of Malaysian Action, a coalition of 30 groups. "We cannot continue condemning the situation in Bosnia while looking away from what is going on in ET, on our own doorstep." Under Indonesian pressure, however, Malaysian government officials are considering banning participation in East Timor solidarity events by Malaysian citizens.

Meanwhile, Thailand has issued a blacklist of 11 East Timorese solidarity activists who will be banned from the country during the annual meeting of foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Activists with the Southeast Asian Network on Human Rights said they would go ahead with a planned conference on East Timor and Burma despite the ban.

No more U.S. guns for Indonesia

On July 14, the U.S. Senate made an unprecedented vote to ban the sale of light arms to Indonesia because of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. On a voice vote, the Senate passed an amendment to its foreign aid bill proposed by Senators Patrick Leahy and Russell Feingold. The House of Representatives have already passed a similar bill. A House-Senate committee must now resolve the differences between the two.

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ALI ALATAS REACTS TO BISHOP BELO

ABC Radio, PM program, July 19

Michael Maher from Jakarta

Intro: The Catholic Bishop of East Timor Carlos Belo says the province has been turned into a living hell for Christians. Indonesia is having to defend itself, not just against the Bishop's claim but also against criticism from the US government.

Today in Jakarta Foreign Minister Alatas put forward his government's side of the story - Michael Maher reports

Ali Alatas has been quick to reject Bishop Belo's statement:

AA: I believe it is very irresponsible for anyone to bring in this religious accusation where there is none. Why make it a religious issue when there is no religious aspect? The East Timor issue is already a complex issue without bringing in the religious issue and he of all people should know that there is no religious [pause], that there is great religious tolerance in Indonesia and especially in East Timor.

Otherwise the Catholic Church would not have flourished as it has done the short span of a decade as compared to 400 years of Portuguese colonization. I think, my advice to him is to be very careful in making these kinds of statement for their political impact.

MM: Last week in Dili the taunting of two nuns sparking a demonstration which police & soldiers used force to disperse. The ICRC has been unable to confirm claims that a number of protestors died. However some demonstrators did require hospital treatment. The US government has issued a statement expressing concern about the clash and urging restraint. According to Ali Alatas that is exactly what the military has been doing.

AA: All the facts show that there was restraint, there was an appropriate response by the police who tried to [pause] manage the [pause] demonstration. No one was [pause] seriously hurt, because all the time now riot gear is used, no shooting nothing. No one was arrested, a few were interrogated and [pause] not even detained, they were released after being interrogated.

So things, I think, were handled in a very restrained way.

OZ REACTION TO INDONESIAN ARMY PARTICIPATION IN ARMY EXERCISES

Northern Territory Federal MP, Mr Warren Snowden, has been a frequent critic of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and says he has discomfort about the prospect of Indonesian army participation in the Kangaroo 95 exercise.

The Australian Government has offered the Indonesian military a role in the K95 exercise and Canberra is now waiting to hear back from Jakarta.

However Mr Snowden says that he continues to be concerned about Indonesia's military involvement in East Timor. He says that defence ties between Australia and Indonesia need to be developed but that doesn't mask his concern on the way Indonesia administers East Timor. He says Australia must continue to influence Indonesia through other diplomatic relationships.

VIGIL FOR TIMOR IN CAMINHA

Diario de Noticias, 4 July 94, Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon -- Dozens of people participated in a vigil for freedom and human rights in Timor which ended at 8 o'clock in Terreira da Vila, Caminha. The vigil, which was organized by the local secondary school, lasted 12 hours and those present included around 20 Timorese, Luis Cardoso, CNRM representative, as well as a number of foreign holiday-makers.

PORTUGUESE PILOTS ON JAKARTA LINE

Diario de Noticias, 28 June 94

Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon -- President Suharto's itinerant ambassador, Lopes da Cruz, said yesterday that "seven Portuguese pilots wish to work for Indonesian airlines"; he added that they had "more than 5 thousand flight-hours working for African Lusophone companies". The information was made public by Gen. Galvão de Melo who announced at the same time the creation of a "Timor-Portugal cultural foundation".

PRO-TIMORESE GROUP CALLS FOR EU INTERVENTION

Jornal de Noticias, 4 July 94 Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon -- The "Freedom for Xanana, freedom for Timor" committee in a meeting with the German authorities today, will call for renewed pressure on Indonesia from the European Union. This point of view is to be conveyed in a meeting, scheduled to take place in Lisbon with the German ambassador, whose country has been acting as president of the EU since the first of the month.

The committee believes that pressure should be brought to bear on the Jakarta government in the areas of development aid and cooperation, and in particular through a continuation of the veto on the EU/ASEAN joint agreement. This increased pressure is justified in the light of Indonesia's systematic disrespect for the various undertakings it has given to the international community - both at the UN and in talks with Portugal - in the manner it has perpetrated numerous human rights violations in East Timor.

"For these reasons it would be entirely valid, in our opinion, for the EU to require its members to suspend arms-sales to Indonesia" adds the committee. It recalls the fact that the sale of 39 German warships had been closely linked with the crack-down on freedom of expression unleashed in Indonesia in June which resulted in the closing of three weeklies and the jailing of journalists and civil rights activists.

According to the committee, the next meeting of CGI (the group of states which finances Indonesia) due to be held on the 7 and 8 of this month, would be an excellent opportunity for Germany to assume its responsibilities in this matter.

Accordingly, the committee associates itself with the appeal launched by NGOs in various countries that the coming meeting of CGI be put off as a signal to Jakarta.

DISASTROUS TIMOR ACTION

Diario de Noticias, 30 June 94. byline Carlos Albino. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Portuguese FO doesn't know which organizations represent the territory

Lisbon -- The embarrassment exhibited by the Portuguese Foreign Office last week when it had to draw up a list of alleged representatives of East Timor for the Lusophone summit shows that something is very wrong with the brief handled by diplomat Rui Quartin Santos.

It is clear, for example, that Portugal still does not know which political entities can represent Timorese with a minimum of legitimacy and clarity.

Portugal as administering power would logically be the member of the Lusophone group with responsibility for the presentation of Timorese representatives to its partners in a credible and coherent manner. The response of the FO was awaited with interest seeing as the news media have spoken of a proliferation of Timorese factions over the last few years.

In the event, Rui Quartin Santos sent off faxes to various well known Timorese inviting them to participate "in a personal capacity". How could such a gaffe have been committed? It is obvious that Jose Ramos Horta, for example, in an individual capacity represents just an individual whereas in his capacity as mandated representative of Xanana Gusmão and the CNRM matters are on an altogether different plane. If the FO does not perceive this difference something is very wrong.

INDONESIA - SEAT FACTORY DISCUSSIONS

Expresso, 25 June 94

Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Lisbon -- "El Pais" has recently revealed that talks have been proceeding between President Suharto and senior Seat/Volkswagen officials with a view to opening a factory in Indonesia to produce the Marbella model. When questioned by Expresso on the issue of whether the sale of Jakarta-made Seat cars in Portugal would contravene the government's recommendations on the sale of Indonesia goods here, Seat Portugal said that it had no information about such plans.

EUROPEAN UNION ON 14 JULY INCIDENT

Statement issued by the European Council of Foreign Ministers in Brussels, 18 July 1994

The European Union has learned with concern of the recent incidents in Dili (East Timor), which have again heightened tension in the territory.

The European Union reaffirms the need for observance of human rights, particularly as regards freedom of worship and free access to the territory for international organisations. This is the only way in which the necessary conditions can be created for the success of efforts undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General with a view to a just, lasting and internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor question

SMOOTH SAILING FOR SUHARTO

Lies of Our Times, June 1994

By Ken Silverstein*

At a panel discussion on foreign reporting held at Columbia University in March 1993, Robert MacNeil of the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour recognized that the White House largely sets the media's overseas agenda. "The president is like the chief passenger on the cruise ship," said MacNeil. "When he goes to the rail and points to something, that's interesting for the rest of the passengers."

Cruise ship coverage helps explain why Indonesia has rarely flickered on the media's radar screen since 1965, the year that the pro-U.S. Suharto dictatorship came to power in a bloody coup. With Suharto firmly in control, Chief Passengers Numero Uno, from Lyndon Johnson to George Bush, rarely moved to the rail to get the media's attention, despite Indonesia's wretched human rights record.

Indonesia has attracted slightly more attention as of late, partly due to its emergence as a major economic power and partly because Bill Clinton, the new chief passenger, promised that he would take a hard look at U.S. ties to the repressive Suharto regime. In late 1993 and early 1994, major newspapers ran a few stories on the Clinton administration's threat to strip Indonesia of special trade status if the Suharto dictatorship did not ease its harsh labor policies.

A January 15 New York Times editorial, "The Indonesia Test," touted U.S. pressure on Indonesia as "an important test case" in persuading authoritarian governments to "treat their own people with more respect."

COMMERCIAL ISSUES FIRST

Unfortunately, U.S. policy toward Indonesia is not determined by concerns about human rights, but by concerns about commerce. Bilateral trade is rapidly growing, and U.S. businesses-- including General Electric (electric power equipment), Nike (shoes), and AT&T (phone lines)--also enjoy employing Indonesian workers for rates as low as \$1.35 per day.

As the Wall Street Journal acknowledged last December 17, U.S. "corporate types" worry that their government "is going too far [in pressuring Indonesia] and may cost them money.... They expect Indonesia to award some \$60 billion in infrastructure contracts over the next five years, and want their share" (Robert Keatley, "Already Feuding With China, the U.S. Faces Rights Dispute With Indonesia," p. A11).

The Journal's frankness was uncommon. When justifying close U.S. ties to Suharto, Indonesia's friends in Washington--and the

press--mostly focus on less embarrassing issues than the bottom line. Take Sen. Bennett Johnston (Dem.-La.), a man at the forefront of the pro-Suharto congressional lobby. Johnston told Defense News last year that too tough a U.S. stance against Indonesia could "set in motion a series of acts which could result in the breakup of Indonesia and the creation of another Yugoslavia in this very strategic part of the world" (Barbara Opall, November 22, 1993, p. 3).

The senator, as is his custom, failed to mention his warm relations with Freeport-McMoRan, a Louisiana-based mining and exploration firm which has approximately \$1 billion invested in Indonesian gold and sulphur operations. Johnston's fealty to the company, not strategic concerns, is his primary reason for backing Suharto.

The strategic gambit has also found its way into news reports. The Journal's December story asserted that "stability is of special concern in a nation of 184 million people, 13,500 islands, six main religions, several ethnic divisions and many languages." The newspaper's chosen expert on the subject was Ali Alatas, Indonesia's "articulate" foreign minister. "We have a searing memory of the power of these centrifugal forces," he said. "Anything that could cause racial or religious strife is to be avoided."

"CARROT-AND-STICK"

Another tack taken by Suharto's backers is arguing that a bit of "prodding" on human rights is acceptable, but taking any dramatic action would be counterproductive. California Sen. Dianne Feinstein (Dem.), cited in O'Dwyer's Washington Report, a newsletter that covers the public relations industry, said that she was terribly impressed with the way Indonesia had reduced the sentences of more than 16,000 prisoners and set up a human rights committee in its rubber-stamp parliament (February 14). "These small steps of progress must be rewarded," said Feinstein, who called for the always reliable "carrot-and-stick approach" toward Suharto.

Coincidentally, this is virtually the same argument used by officials of Eidetics, a California defense firm. Eidetics--with Feinstein's assistance--is lobbying the administration to reverse last year's veto of a transfer from Jordan to Indonesia of American-made F-5E fighters, a move that cost the company some \$30 million.

In a report on the transfer last October, Arms Trade News, a Washington publication, interviewed Bob Wachter, an Eidetics spokesman. He said that there are people who want to "help human rights in Indonesia and I don't question their motives. But there are rational, measured ways to do that" (October 1993, p. 1).

Company president Andy Skow complained that accounts of atrocities on East Timor, which Indonesia has occupied since invading in 1975, were grossly exaggerated. "Human rights zealots would have you believe ten Indonesian battalions are ... just waiting to kill somebody," Skow said. The viewpoint of these "zealots" might be given some credence given that Jakarta's occupation has resulted, directly or indirectly, in the death of 200,000 of East Timor's 600,000 people, the largest proportional genocide since the Nazis.

The Feinstein/Eidetics carrot-and-stick argument has been echoed by the press. The January 15 New York Times editorial promoted a prudent strategy, arguing that the decision on cutting off Jakarta's trade rights "should not be [based upon] whether Indonesia has eliminated all remaining abuses, but whether ... it is now committed to continued reform and liberalization."

Despite his occasionally tough rhetoric, Bill Clinton has generally endorsed the carrot-and-stick approach as well. While making a few advances, such as supporting a U.N. resolution expressing "deep concern" about the situation in East Timor, the president opposed an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill offered by Sen. Russell Feingold (Dem.-Wisc.) which would have placed minor restrictions on arms sales to Indonesia. Clinton also skirted a congressional ban on military training for Suharto's soldiers by letting Jakarta pay for the instruction itself. Aware that the administration is unlikely to follow through on its threats, the Indonesian regime feels no need to actually improve its human rights record.

BENTSEN KNOWS BEST

And what of Clinton's final decision on Indonesia's trade rights? The president dispatched Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen to Jakarta in January to investigate the situation. While there, Bentsen assured U.S. business leaders that Clinton opposed any effort to reduce aid to Indonesia and was intent on maintaining close ties. This pledge came just as human rights activists were charging that security forces had killed 13 villagers, including children, in the province of Irian Jaya.

On February 16, a few weeks after Bentsen returned from his Indonesian journey, U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor announced in a brief statement that the government would not punish Suharto, expressing satisfaction with the dictator's alleged progress in "bringing its labor law and practice into closer conformity with international standards." This about a country that permits no independent unions and routinely harasses and arrests labor organizers.

Neither the New York Times nor any other major newspaper has seen fit to report

on the outcome of this "crucial test case," or how it reflects on Clinton's pledge to halt U.S. policy of "coddling dictators."

 *Ken Silverstein, who formerly reported from Latin America, is editor of a new Washington-based newsletter, Counter-punch.

BANKS BOW TO SUHARTO

By Ken Silverstein

The international financial community has also demonstrated thorough spinelessness in regard to Suharto, as seen in the story of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI). The IGGI, a 19-member consortium set up shortly after Suharto took power, which included the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, long heaped money on the dictatorship.

After Indonesian security forces massacred between 100 and 250 unarmed demonstrators in East Timor's capital of Dili in 1991, the Dutch government, which chaired the consortium, said further loans should be tied to human rights. A standoff ensued when Suharto officials said they would no longer deal with the IGGI. The solution, arrived at by the World Bank, was to expel the Dutch. The consortium then re-emerged as the Consultative Group on Indonesia and under that name will lend Jakarta more than \$5 billion this year.

The history of World Bank complicity with Suharto has been documented in a new report by the Project on Demilitarization and Democracy (PDD). The PDD released the report at an April 19 press conference in Washington, but it's unlikely that you'll be reading much about it in your local newspaper. Those wanting a copy of the report should write the PDD at 1601 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 302, Washington, D.C. 20009.

GENTLE ABOUT GENOCIDE

Editorial, The Boston Globe July 11, 1994

During the Cold War, Washington's willingness to collude with some of the worst violators of human rights was often excused as a pragmatic necessity, the inescapable price that virtue paid to vice for victory in the superpower struggle.

Though the Cold War has ended, Americans once again contemplate the desolating spectacle of their president and lawmakers toadying to tyrants and rationalizing aid and arms sales to torturers. The new rationalizations differ from those of the Cold War era insofar as they avoid implausible allusions to strategic imperatives. But the quotient of hypocrisy remains unchanged.

A recent debate in Congress over the sale of arms to Indonesia illustrates the old French adage that the more things change, the more they stay the same. Senators wishing to protect the people of occupied East Timor from the military dictatorship in Jakarta -- the Suharto regime that invaded East Timor in 1975 and exterminated 200,000 Timorese from a population of 700,000 -- had written into an appropriation bill language prohibiting sale of lethal US weapons for use in East Timor.

However, Sen. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana led a successful move to delete the prohibition, though it was more a symbolic expression of the Senate's good intentions than a foolproof method for saving lives in East Timor. The arguments presented by senators solicitous of Suharto's regime -- and of defense contractors, oil companies and mining concerns doing business with Jakarta -- made Americans seem a people willing to overlook genocide for the sake of commerce.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, in a letter to the Appropriations Committee, made the all-to-familiar claim that Indonesia's respect for human rights is improving. This was the Clinton administration's rationale for pursuing business as usual with Suharto and his generals.

The reality is that Timorese are still being tortured and their churches are still being desecrated by Suharto's forces of occupation. America's elected leaders should not be giving Jakarta a license to murder more Timorese.

DILI QUIET, INDONESIA REJECTS U.S. SENATE VOTE

Reuter / K.T. Arasu, July 16

DILI, Indonesia (Reuter) - Indonesia Saturday rejected a U.S. Senate decision to curb small arms sales to the Jakarta government over the situation in East Timor, scene of two days of violent clashes but now apparently calm. The Indonesian government also said it would not accept any conditions for future arms sales from the United States. The U.S. Senate, responding to calls to "send a strong message" to Indonesia on human rights, unanimously voted late on Thursday to restrict small arms sales to Jakarta and to also provide money to human rights groups there. East Timor's capital Dili was quiet Saturday, two days after religiously motivated clashes between Indonesian forces and students left up to 20 mainly Catholic demonstrators injured. It was their worst confrontation in three years. Indonesia's Foreign Ministry spokesman Irawan Abidin told Reuters after the Senate vote: "We are indeed unhappy to hear this. However, it will only press us to look for other

sources such as Great Britain for the procurement of small arms. "We are sad because from the very outset we have said we will not accept any program which is linked to conditions (over human rights)," Abidin said, adding that Indonesia had tried to negotiate over the issue. The measures were approved as amendments to a foreign aid measure under consideration by the Senate. One amendment would write into law President Clinton's policy restricting sales of light arms and crowd control items to Indonesia until his secretary of state determines there has been significant progress on human rights in East Timor. The other amendment would provide \$250,000 to support non-governmental human rights groups in Indonesia. Police in Dili had removed roadblocks Saturday but were still patrolling the streets, as Catholic anger at their Jakarta overlords remained high. "This thing has not finished yet. The students are talking about doing something but we do not know what," one resident told Reuters. Officials from the Red Cross and Dili's university said on Friday they were investigating claims that up to four people had been killed during Thursday's violent clash. Indonesia's foreign ministry denied the reports. One resident said he had heard reports that about 70 students were still detained but other residents doubted this. Since invading the eastern half of Timor island in 1975, largely Muslim Indonesia has faced widespread resentment for its rule. International concern mounted after troops gunned down up to 200 demonstrators during a funeral in Dili in 1991. Residents, who said religious tension remained high, reported that Catholic youths were trying to repair religious icons wrecked by security forces during the clash so the demonstration would not be forgotten. Troops smashed a cross, ripped Catholic banners and tore rosaries from the necks of protesters as they barred hundreds of youths from leaving Dili's main university campus for a protest march on the local parliament, residents said earlier. Thursday's protest was sparked after Timorese students attacked and injured three Indonesian youths for allegedly insulting two Catholic nuns. Residents said religious tension had resurfaced in recent weeks after growing harassment of Catholics, including one incident last month where troops entered a church and disturbed a service, reportedly stamping on communion wafers. A march on the local parliament to protest against the incident ended peacefully last Monday, and the military has said it will court-martial the two soldiers involved. On Sunday, Indonesia was expected to celebrate the 18th

ACTION ALERT FROM THE EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK/U.S.

*Congressional Conference Committee Meets
Soon on U.S. Arms Sales and Military
Training for Indonesia*

CALL CONGRESS NOW TO FINALIZE EAST TIMOR'S GAINS!

July 20, 1994

The House of Representatives and the Senate recently passed versions of the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Bill (H.R. 4426) containing different, but complementary, sections limiting U.S. military training and arms sales to Indonesia. A Senate-House Conference Committee will soon reconcile the two versions of the bill.

Please call or fax members of the Conference Committee and urge them to keep both the House and Senate provisions on Indonesia and East Timor in the final bill. Also contact your own Representative and Senators and ask them to inform Rep. House Appropriations Committee Chairman David Obey of their support for both provisions.

The House version continues the ban on U.S. military training (IMET) aid to Indonesia that Congress enacted after the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. It also prohibits the U.S. government from selling military training to the Indonesian military. The original ban was opposed by the Bush administration, and the Clinton White House has evaded it by allowing Indonesia to purchase training.

The Senate barred light arms sales to Indonesia because of human rights problems in East Timor. They prohibited both commercial and government-to-government sales until the Secretary of State reports to Congress about Indonesian compliance with UN human rights recommendations, reductions in Indonesia's troops in East Timor, and whether Jakarta is "participating constructively" in the UN Secretary-General's efforts to resolve the status of East Timor. This provision codifies and expands current State Department policy not to allow sales of light arms and riot control equipment to Indonesia. The State Department did not oppose the Senate action, which came two weeks after the Senate rejected a ban on the use of all future U.S. government-supplied lethal weapons in East Timor.

Both measures are modest but important steps that build on past Administration and Congressional policy. Indonesia reacted strongly to the Senate action, rejecting any "conditions" on sales and threatening to take their business elsewhere.

Amnesty International recently told the United Nations Special Committee on De-

colonization that "Many governments, while publicly professing concern over human rights in East Timor, have continued to supply military equipment to Indonesia - equipment which could be used to commit human rights violations in East Timor. Others have provided military training ... The willingness of foreign governments to conduct 'business as usual' sends a clear signal that human rights take second place."

By passing a final version of H.R.4426 that includes both the small arms sale and training bans, the U.S. Congress can send a message to Indonesia that its ongoing military occupation and atrocious human rights record in East Timor are unacceptable.

Contact members of the conference committee to urge them to include both prohibitions in the final legislation. Committee staffers begin work on the bill today, the decision will be made within two weeks.

All Congressional offices can be reached at (202)224-3121. Write Senators at U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510; Representatives at House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

For more information and to report the results of your calls, contact ETAN/US.

Members of the Conference Committee (phone numbers in 202 area code):

SENATE:

Patrick Leahy (D-VT) Phone 224-4242; fax: 224-3595

Daniel Inouye (D-HI) 224-3934; fax: 224-6747

Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) 224-4521; fax: 224-2302

Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) 224-4744; fax: 224-9707

Tom Harkin (D-IA) 224-3254; fax: 224-9369

Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) 224-4654; fax: 224-8858

Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) 224-3841; fax: 224-3954

Mitch McConnell (R-KY) 224-2541; fax: 224-2499

Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) 224-6542; fax: 224-5871

Arlen Specter (R-PA) 224-4254, fax: 224-1893

Don Nickles (R-OK) 224-5754; fax: 224-6008

Connie Mack (R-FL) 224-5274; fax: 224-8022

Phil Gramm (R-TX) 224-2934; fax: 224-8697

Ted Stevens (R-AK) may also be on the conference committee, 224-3004; fax: 224-2354

HOUSE:

David Obey (D-WI) Phone: 225-3365

Sidney R. Yates (D-IL) 225-2111; fax: 225-3493

Charles Wilson (D-TX) 225-2401; fax: 225-1764

John Olver (D-MA) 225-5335; fax: 226-1224

Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) 225-4965; fax: 225-8259

Esteban E. Torres (D-CA) 225-5256; fax: 225-9711

Nita M. Lowey (D-NY) 225-6506; fax: 225-0546

Jose E. Serrano (D-NY) 225-4361; fax: 225-6001

Robert Livingston (R-LA) 225-3015; fax: 225-0739

John Porter (R-IL) 225-4835; fax: 225-0157

Jim Ross Lightfoot (R-IA) 225-3806; fax: 225-6973

Sonny Callahan (R-AL) 225-4931; fax: 225-0562

PROTESTS ON BURMA AND EAST TIMOR IN BANGKOK

Voice of America, 7/19/94

BY DAN ROBINSON, BANGKOK

INTRO: DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEEN REPORTED AROUND THE WORLD IN SUPPORT OF BURMESE DEMOCRACY LEADER AUNG SAN SUU KYI, ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF HER HOUSE ARREST. V-O-A'S DAN ROBINSON IN BANGKOK REPORTS BURMESE DISSIDENTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS STAGED A PROTEST IN THE THAI CAPITAL DESPITE WARNINGS BY GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES:

TEXT:

/// ACT OF DEMO ///

AMID NOISY TRAFFIC IN THE STREET OUTSIDE THE BURMESE EMBASSY, BURMESE STUDENTS SHOUTED FREE AUNG SAN SUU KYI AND CALLED FOR DEMOCRACY IN THEIR COUNTRY.

THEY WORE RED ARMBANDS WITH THE PEACOCK SYMBOL OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR DEMOCRACY, AUNG SAN SUU KYI'S PARTY WHICH WON 1990 ELECTIONS PERMITTED BY BURMA'S MILITARY.

THE DEMONSTRATION WAS CLOSELY MONITORED BY POLICE AND THAI SPECIAL BRANCH SECURITY OFFICIALS.

THAI AUTHORITIES HAVE WARNED THEY WILL TAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST DEMONSTRATIONS COINCIDING WITH MEETINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN).

POLICE ALLOWED TUESDAY'S DEMONSTRATION TO CONTINUE FOR ABOUT 15 MINUTES.

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO PREVENT A HUMAN RIGHTS SEMINAR FOCUSING ON BURMA AND EAST TIMOR HAVE BEEN SHARPLY CRITICIZED IN THE THAI PRESS.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SAY ALLOWING FOREIGN ACTIVISTS TO TAKE PART IN THE CONFERENCE COULD PRODUCE EMBARRASSING INCIDENTS FOR COUNTRIES, SUCH AS INDONESIA, ATTENDING ASEAN MEETINGS IN BANGKOK.

INTRO: BURMA'S DEMOCRACY LEADER AND 1991 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE RECIPIENT, AUNG SAN SUU KYI, BEGINS HER FIFTH YEAR UNDER HOUSE ARREST WEDNESDAY IN RANGOON. AROUND THE WORLD, HUMAN RIGHTS AND BURMESE DISSIDENT GROUPS STAGED DEMONSTRATIONS. V-O-A'S DAN ROBINSON IN BANGKOK REPORTS ON ONE SUCH DEMONSTRATION IN THE THAI CAPITAL THAT TOOK PLACE DESPITE GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO DISCOURAGE SUCH PROTESTS:

TEXT: BURMESE STUDENTS LIVING AS REFUGEES IN THAILAND HAVE BEEN FEARFUL OF BEING ARRESTED SHOULD THEY PARTICIPATE IN ANY PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION.

THAT DID NOT STOP ABOUT 10 OF THEM FROM DEMONSTRATING OUTSIDE THE BURMESE EMBASSY IN BANGKOK, SHOUTING SLOGANS CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI AND DEMOCRACY IN BURMA:

// ACT OF DEMONSTRATION //

THAI POLICE AND SECURITY OFFICIALS ALLOWED THE DEMONSTRATION TO PROCEED. ONE REPORT SAID POLICE ARRESTED ONE PROTESTER FOR ALLEGEDLY BEING WITHOUT PROPER IDENTIFICATION PAPERS.

EARLIER, FOUR FOREIGN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS DEMONSTRATED OUTSIDE THE EMBASSY GATE. THEY WORE PAPER CHAINS SYMBOLIZING WHAT THEY CALLED THE SUFFERING OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND BURMESE CITIZENS.

KEN KAWASAKI, REPRESENTING A GROUP CALLED BURMESE RELIEF CENTER IN JAPAN, READ A STATEMENT:

// KAWASAKI ACT //

AS WE STAND HERE IN FRONT OF THE SLORC EMBASSY IN BANGKOK, WE JOIN WITH THE BURMA YOUTH VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATION IN TOKYO AND MANY OTHER GROUPS IN CALLING ON THE WORLD TO CRY OUT IN PROTEST AGAINST THE INJUSTICE OF HER DETENTION, UNWARRANTED EVEN BY THE MILITARY JUNTA'S OWN ARBITRARY RULES. SYMBOLICALLY MANACLED AND CHAINED WE WISH TO DEMONSTRATE OUR SOLIDARITY WITH THE THOUSANDS OF OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS INSIDE BURMA.

// END ACT //

THAI AUTHORITIES HAVE WARNED AGAINST DEMONSTRATIONS THAT MIGHT HAVE A DISRUPTIVE EFFECT ON MEETINGS IN BANGKOK OF THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN).

// OPT // A RADIO NEWSCAST FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S INFORMATION DEPARTMENT SAID :

// RADIO ACT //

THAILAND HAS PLANNED TIGHT SECURITY MEASURE FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE ASEAN MEETINGS IN BANGKOK FROM JULY TWENTY SECOND TO THE TWENTY EIGHTH, 1994. AUTHORITIES ARE FULLY PREPARED TO DEAL WITH UNTOWARD (UNRULY) INCIDENTS WHICH ARE MOST UNLIKELY TO HAPPEN HERE.

// END OPT //

THE THAI GOVERNMENT HAS COME UNDER HEAVY CRITICISM FOR ATTEMPTING TO BLOCK A SEMINAR BY HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS THAT WOULD FOCUS ON THE SITUATIONS IN BURMA AND IN EAST TIMOR.

THAI OFFICIALS SAY THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE SPIRIT OF NOT ALLOWING GROUPS TO USE ONE ASEAN COUNTRY AS A PLATFORM TO CRITICIZE ANOTHER.

BUT IN A CLEAR CHALLENGE TO AUTHORITIES, ACTIVISTS VOWED TO GO AHEAD WITH THEIR MEETING. THEY SAY THE ARREST OR DEPORTATION OF FOREIGN PARTICIPANTS WOULD SHOW THAT THAILAND DOES NOT VALUE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS.

AMARAL ON PILGER FILM

MY RESPONSE TO THE FILM "DEATH OF NATION : THE TIMOR CONSPIRACY"

By FRANSISCO XAVIER AMARAL

London, 2 July 1994

My name is Francisco Xavier Amaral. I was the chairman and founder of the Fretilin - The East Timorese Liberation Party -- and later became the first President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

After seeing for the second time the film produced by John Pilger entitled "Death of A Nation : The Timor Conspiracy" and having been present at debate on East Timor at the Institute for Contemporary Arts (ICA) in London on June 30, 1994, a mixed feeling deep in my heart aroused. Honestly, in a way I am grateful to Mr. John Pilger as well as to all these who voluntarily give part of their precious time on behalf of East Timor and its people. East Timor had been unknown to the world in the colonial times, but now it is attracting people a good deal of attention from all over the world. At the same time, however, I am sad, concerned and angry because the issue is being used to pursue his and his internationalist friend and other activists at the expense of the real interest of my people.

Frankly speaking, I came from Jakarta expecting to be given a fair chance in the debate in the ICA. I had thought that as a Timorese deeply involved in the history of East Timor civil war, the panel, who claims genuine interest in the fate of my people, would be interested in what I have to say. Unfortunately, I found out that the panel did their very best marginalize my views, as well as the presence of my two Timorese brothers who, I happen to know were also important figures during the civil war. Paulino Gama was the Commander of the Fretilin's death squad, and Jose Martins was a leader of the four parties which, from the beginning, opted for integration with Indonesia. It occurred to me right away that this is not so much forum for a fair debate. It is form for certain non-Timorese activists in London to impose their own ideas and provide completely one-sided story on the situation of my land of birth. My impression is that the were too concerned in indulging themselves with their own voice and notion that they failed listen carefully to what the three Timorese had to say, which is quite ironic considering it is we, the Timorese, who have a much greater stake on Timor issue.

As far as I can see, there is a good number of facts on affirmation in this film which are groundless or at least lacking accuracy.

At the very least, the film by John Pilger exhibits glaring partiality. In that film, the main actors to be blamed are the Indonesians. However aside from the mistakes made by those Indonesians, it is the Portuguese Government at that time which should be condemned. It was they who instigated the fighting and killing among the Timorese, turning brother against brother and son against father. They deliberately left us in civil war so that they could leave and wash their hands clean; just like they did in Angola and Mozambique. This I know because I was one of the main participants in that civil war while struggling for the independence of East Timor.

I just do not understand why John Pilger also neglected many facts about the history of East Timor, but at the same time liberally corroborated the many lies, rumors and propaganda in his film. Any appraisal of the East Timor saga must acknowledge the cruel colonial experience of East Timorese, when the Portuguese came from the other side of the world, oppressed, exploited, divided and killed my people and eventually left us embroiled in civil war.

To relate some of my own history, I cannot and will not forget that after World War II -- that is in the year 1946. I was then 11 years old -- there was a big deportation of more than 1000 selected Timorese of the island of Atauro. (These "selected" Timorese were considered dangerous because they were able to read and write). Only 200 of them survived, including 2 of my cousins, one of whom is still alive. For the head of my elder brother, who escaped from the prison, the then Portuguese Governor, Captain Antonio Maria Da Serpa Rosa, promised a good reward. In 1959, in the aftermath of an uprising, a good number of women, children and old people were gunned down by Portuguese soldiers on the beaches of Watulari and Waturkabau. Some were killed in Dilli, Baucau, Weikeke (Viqueque). Others were deported to Angola, Mozambique, Portugal. Dear Goodness ! There goes another irony of history. How is it possible for John Pilger not to know this or perhaps he just want to neglect it altogether just like he ignored another important facts in the history of East Timor, such as the Portuguese abandonment of East Timor in the most irresponsible manner.

History also noted that in the beginning Portugal also refused to involve in the United Nations in East Timor after proclaiming it as an overseas province. Ironically, after they abandoned East Timor and events do not turn into their liking they turned to the UN to condemn Indonesia and they even wrote down in their constitution that Portugal remains attached to its respon-

sibilities toward the decolonization and independence of East Timor.

Today certain Portuguese politicians still continue and, in the process, they even try to sell our dry bones to get what they want. Behind us, they tried to make a deal on our sacred destiny. They also made all the efforts to lobby their internationalist friends and other activists to help them in dealing. Do they believe that after all they had done that the East Timorese can survive another civil war ? God forgive me, but I do not believe so. I am convinced that if Indonesian does abandon East Timor, it will only plunge the East Timorese into another civil war perhaps even more dreadful. Just look at what those people trying today. They are engaging in activities of turning Timorese youth against each other just like they did to my generation. 400 years of bitter life for us is not enough for them to acknowledge the lesson of history ? Why do they omit in the film the bloodshed of our ancestors throughout the riots, revolts, wars like took place in Lakeku/Kailaku, Suai, Maulaho -- just to mention the most important ones -- ant the abandonment of East Timor in civil war in 1975 ? To me, the reason is clear. To them the East Timor issue is a "political commodity" to be exploited to suit their own interest.

Look also at some of their claims. They said that East Timor is a closed territory. Not true: East Timor is open serious, fair minded visitors and professional human rights organizations. Various foreign journalists, members of Parliaments, diplomats, members of the ICRC and other organizations have been to East Timor. The fact that John Pilger and his friends themselves were able to be in East Timor is an evidence that the province is not closed to foreigners. But yes, you may also sat that East Timor is close : It is closed only to those who have openly and willfully hurled abuse and malicious accusation towards Indonesia and then demand that they also should also be allowed to see East Timor. Had I been a member of the Government, I would also restrict theirs access into East Timor. This is a form of blackmail pure and simple.

They said that East Timor is being "Islamized". Since Indonesia gained independence in 1945, was there ever any attempt by the Indonesian Government to Islamize its non-Moslem population in any part of the country ? Did the government over tried to Islamize West Timorese, who are also predominantly Christians, or any of the Christians population in the eastern provinces of Indonesia ? The answer is clearly negative. Despite the fact that Indonesia has the biggest Moslem in the world, it is not an Islamic state. Keep in mind that the 100,000 Catholics in East Timor at the

start of integration have now grown to 600,000. The number of churches have grown five-fold. East Timor also has the biggest cathedral in Southeast Asia,

It is being acclaimed that the Government of Indonesia is forcibly sterilizing Timorese women. This accusation does not match the fact that in 1989 the Indonesia Government received the Global Statement Award in Population from Washington, D.C. based Population Institute as well as the UN Population Award for its successful and responsible implementation of family planning programme. Furthermore, several Indonesian citizens have also won the World Health Organization Sasakawa Award and in 1991 the President of Indonesia himself received the Health For All Golden Medal Award from the WHO. If the accusation of forced sterilization was true, Indonesia would certainly not receive those international recognition of merits.

The film referred to East Timor as a "land of crosses". In the same breath, however, Pilger contradicts himself by saying that the Government banned the use of "cross" for funerals. Is it not puzzling ? That crosses are often seen in cemeteries in East Timor is quite true, but to explain this as proof of Indonesian atrocities" is simply ludicrous as for generations, and for centuries, Timorese have buried their loved ones in such tradition.

Now lets look at the tragic Santa Cruz incident which took place on November 12, 1991. John Pilger, echoing the voice of the his internationalist and other friends, maintained that the procession was a peaceful one, in contrast with this claim, the communiqué of the Fretilin secretariat on 24 February 1994, stated that the incident occurred "during a climate of extreme political and social turbulence", while confirming the presence of "provoking elements" with the crowd. My own inquiry, in which I contacted Timorese who were either directly involved, also confirmed with no trace of doubt that the demonstration was wild, unruly and provocative. Who knows better on the tragic incident ? John Pilger or the Fretilin Secretariat and myself ? Is John Pilger, like a proverb said, "trying to be holier than the Pope ?"

By saying this, I do not have the slightest intention to justify the shooting. I gravely regret the incident; it was the blood of my Timorese brothers which spilled at Santa Cruz. This profound regret was also shared by the people of Indonesia as well as their President. They went even further than that : they punished all the persons who were involved in the shooting. The President himself dismissed 2 senior military officials from their post just because it happened in the area where the security is under their

responsibility. Indonesia has taken steps in order to prevent such an incident to recur.

In spite of all these actions, John Pilger like his friends, is still trying to exploit such an incident for whatever purpose they may have against Indonesia. The nauseating thing as they go about this matter is that none of them condemned the people who were behind the scene to manipulating these youths who are still dawn at life and ignorant about politics.

Once I talked to one of the survivors :

"Why did you involve yourself in political demonstrations ?" I asked.

"Because," he said proudly, "As young Timorese, I have to fight for independence".

"You are too young to know what independence all about and all its consequences", I said.

"Never mind", he answered.

"Are you sure independence will come soon ?" I insisted.

"Yes", he said, "because according to the news I head that the Portuguese MPs will come to East Timor with the member of the UN".

"How ? Do you really think that the Portuguese will put political will and resources to put an end to a new civil war ? ", I asked again. "I don't believe so because they abandoned us before in order to get rid of us who they considered a burden those years. Look at Angola and Mozambique now. Are those Portuguese and those activists really helping to stop the suffering there ?" I added.

The boy gave me no reply.

The boy's silence made me conclude that the young Timorese had been disillusioned and manipulated. There are too many lies, rumors, malicious propaganda about East Timor, many of which were fabricated not because they want to help the East Timorese, but to serve their own purpose. Yes, we East Timorese have become "political commodities". John Pilger's film is part of their game.

I have been living outside East Timor since 1989. Once, I was asked to choose between staying in Indonesia or going abroad. I chose to stay. Since then, I have been living in the outskirts of Jakarta among the common people from the various islands of the archipelago with different backgrounds, culture, religion, belief and traditions. I have observed their behavior, their feeling towards me. There is no antagonistic feeling among them and between me and them. I am accepted by them and feel as one of them.

I had been fighting for an independent East Timor; in fact, I was among the few who began and led the fighting. But now I am proudly to say that I consciously accepted the Indonesian citizenship because after analyzing all the pros and cons the best

way for East Timor is to continue to live united to the other provinces of Indonesia under the same flag of red and white, and many East Timor did the same. After all, Indonesia is a country made more than 360 ethnic groups. We East Timorese belong to the same ethnic group of those living in West Timor who are part of the Indonesian family since the birth of independent Indonesia in 1945. Our ancestors were divided not because they wanted to, but because of the Dutch and Portuguese colonial design.

For 13 years I have left East Timor politics. But now I have to get involved again. I cannot accept John Pilger and his friends using East Timor to destroy Indonesia. I cannot let destroy East Timor or the Indonesian people who have accepted me and other Timorese as part of themselves. Although they themselves are not rich, they are willing to share whatever limited resources they have to build East Timor. They even give East Timor a priority in their development. Their aim is genuine and simple. They wanted East Timor to develop to the same level with the other 26 provinces of Indonesia. Yes, I will not rest and sit back to see those activists destroy a people and a country which now I proudly belong.

In conclusion, to my other Timorese friends, I would appeal this. We, the East Timorese, have to stop listening to shady promises and empty dreams given by those politicians and their internationalists friends. Integration means that not only East Timor belong to Indonesia, but it also means that the whole of Indonesia belongs to East Timor. Our Timorese youth should be pushed to work hard to construct -- not destruct -- their future and work hand-in-hand with our Indonesians brothers and sisters to build our native land, East Timor in particular and Indonesia in general. That is the dream we should work on and realize. This is the surest way we can survive and prosper in this less than perfect world.

Response from Paul Salim,
ETAN/Calgary

Calgary, 21 July 1994

Dear Mr. Francisco Xavier do Amaral:

It is my pleasure to have a discussion with you, Sir, on East Timor, and to respond to your letter 'My Response to the Film, Death of Nation : The Timor Conspiracy' distributed through the "indoz- net" mailing list.

My name is Paul Hartawan Salim, an Indonesian Citizen/Student in Calgary, Canada, who has been active at East Timor Alert Network/ Calgary.

In this article I just would like to draw your attention to an event which is still an UNSOLVED MYSTERY, particularly

about your statement about who initiated East Timor's civil war after UDT's coup d'etat on August 11, 1975:

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In that film, the main actors to be blames are the Indonesians. However aside from the mistakes made by those Indonesians, it is the Portuguese Government at that time which should be condemned. It was they who instigated the fighting and killing among the Timorese, turning brother against brother and son against father. They deliberately left us in civil war so that they could leave and wash their hands clean; just like they did in Angola and Mozambique.

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FIRST of all, despite political differences between UDT (which favoured self-determination for the East Timorese people oriented towards a federation with Portugal, with the intermediary stage for the attainment of independence) and Fretilin, your party (which favoured immediate independence for East Timor), both parties agreed to form a coalition on 22 January 1975. And, on 18th March 1975, you, as the Fretilin president, and Mr. Fransisco Lopes da Cruz, as the UDT president, signed and published a joined communiqué which read as follows [1]:

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"The Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (Fretilin) and the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) are the legitimate representatives of the people of East Timor, because of our intransigent defence of the right of the people to national independence. We insist that independence is the only possible way for real liberation of the people from exploitation and oppression of any form.

Fretilin and UDT are interpreting the will of the overwhelming majority of the people of East Timor for National Independence, thus we reject strongly any other form of domination and our position is INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH !

Fretilin and UDT also reject any questioning of the right of the people to independence implied in a referendum, a so-called 'act of free choice', because nobody should ask a slave if he wants to be free ! This means that the position of the coalition is unshakable and we shall fight to death for national independence, the legitimate right of all nations in the world.

Due to the economic and political limitations and with a deep sense of realities, the coalition has proposed the following program toward full independence:

1. A transitional government to be formed by a High Commissioner, representing the President of the Portuguese Republic and to consist of: equal representation of the Portuguese Government, Fretilin and UDT.

During this period, a period of all internal administrative and political structures will take place. 2. The minimum period of the transitional government will be three years; this period can be extended if this is determined by circumstances. 3. General elections for a Constitutional Assembly will take place after the process of decolonization has been completed.

The transitional government will be responsible for the implementation of the program of Reconstruction and Development of the country.

The transitional government will endeavor to promote friendship, goodwill and cooperation with all countries of the world, but particularly with Australia and Indonesia for the peace and security of the whole region."

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SECOND of all, on May 7, 1975, Fretilin-UDT, Apodeti, and the Decolonization Committee met and proposed elections for a popular assembly in Timor in October 1976. This proposal, which provided for Portuguese rule until 1978, subsequently became Portuguese Law No. 7/75 in July. Later in May the Portuguese government proposed a meeting in Macau of all interested Timorese parties. However, all prospects for the peaceful transfer of power became moot on 29th May 1975, WHEN UDT ANNOUNCED ITS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE COALITION WITH FRETELIN. According to UDT, Fretilin has threatened the political stability of the geopolitical context of Timor [2].

My question to you, Sir, is:

WHO has manipulated UDT to withdraw from the coalition with Fretilin on 29th May 1975 ?

In my opinion, it is hard to believe that UDT and Fretilin which had declared INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH for East Timor on 18th March 1975 suddenly fought against each other in just 2 months !!

The more distressing to the East Timorese people is the fact that in early August 1975, after several days of meetings with Indonesian officials, including the late General Ali Murtopo (deputy head of Indonesian intelligence, as well as the head of the 'Operasi Komodo') and Brigadier El Tari (governor of Indonesian Timor), the leaders of UDT announced that they had decided to follow a political line acceptable to Indonesia ! This event occurred only few days before UDT's coup on August 11, 1975. Therefore, my other question to you, Sir, is:

Was the civil war which broke out after UDT's coup NOT actually masterminded by the Portuguese Colonial Government, BUT A PRODUCT OF THE 'OPERASI

KOMODO' headed by the late Gen. Ali Murtopo ?

Thank you very much for taking your time to read this article and to make a comment. I wish that God would bless you always.

Amigos de Timor,
Paul H. Salim, ETAN/Calgary
References:

[1] Jolliffe, Jill, "East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism", University of Queensland Press (1978)

[2] Lawless, Robert, The Indonesian Takeover of East Timor, Asian Survey, 16(10), 948-964 (1976)

XAVIER DU AMARAL 1993 INTERVIEW

Jakarta Jakarta, 17-23 July 1993

Translated from Indonesian, Abridged
[Remark: In light of Xavier du Amaral's recent submission to the UN Decolonization Commission, it might be of interest to recall this poignant interview he gave to the Jakarta weekly 'Jakarta Jakarta' **last year**. GvK.]

Intro explains that Xavier du Amaral proclaimed East Timorese independence 28 November 1975 and led the resistance guerilla campaign for three years. But he was then 'couped' internally by Lobato and held in detention by his Fretilin rivals. Lobato accused him of communicating with the Indonesians. Indonesian troops in East Timor led by Dading Kalbuadi were aware of the coup and made determined efforts to capture the disarrayed Fretilin leadership. As it happened Xavier escaped from Fretilin detention and surrendered to Indonesian troops, while Lobato was killed in battle. Xavier gave valuable information about Fretilin operations. Dading afterwards kept Xavier as his personal war prize and he now lives on Dadings property in Jakarta, where both are in retirement. A few years ago Benny Murdani and Try Sutrisno contributed USD 5000 to build Xavier a modest home next to Dading's. He was at one time married to the sister of the present East Timor governor Abilio Jose Osorio Soares.

Extracts:

Q: 'Is your status presently prisoner of the Indonesian Republic?'

A: 'I have never felt like a prisoner. Although in fact I am a political prisoner. I did feel like a prisoner in the first week in Dading's home. At first there was pressure to give information about Fretilin. I thought I might be killed, or jailed for life, or perhaps exiled to some unnamed island...

I proclaimed East Timorese independence unilaterally on 28 November 1975 and became the first president. At that time practically everyone in East Timor was Fretilin.

We didn't even recognize the existence of UDT or Apodeti as parties. I thought perhaps if East Timor could stand alone it wouldn't be all that great, but from the point of view of political rights we had no choice but to take the risk of standing up by ourselves. Now I don't ask myself any more whether integration [with Indonesia] was forced or not, legal or not. I have chosen to become an Indonesian citizen so that I can be always close to my people the East Timorese, especially to the Fretilin people with whom I have a moral tie. I'll stay with the East Timorese, whether they live in heaven or in hell. But when Dading offered me to live in East Timor I chose to live in Jakarta instead, because I know not all East Timorese are happy with me. If I lived in East Timor many would think I'm there to beg for a position or a project. Perhaps my presence in East Timor might even provoke Fretilin members to rise up and fight again. So I live in Jakarta to guard against these possibilities. I always follow their struggle, even though I have no direct contact with Fretilin now. I may not feel their suffering on my body, but in my soul I share their suffering. But now they have to be realistic and think about the future. East Timor's struggle is unique. Everyone else had a neighbouring country that would help. But who has helped East Timor? Australia never helped. And we never had enough strength on our own. The East Timorese have had to choose between suicide or joining Indonesia. I still dream of an East Timor where people are free to say what they like and what they don't like'.

[He then explains the circumstances of his disagreement with Lobato. It's a matter of pride to him that he was not captured but surrendered to Indonesian troops. He seems to bear Lobato no grudge for the coup - it was a matter of different evaluations of the strategic situation. He says the information he gave on Fretilin was not as vital as the Indonesians thought because Fretilin is completely mobile and always moves to new places]

'I'm not disappointed in Fretilin, I always love Fretilin. When I was asked why I reject integration, I said: "Where are the rules that say we have to integrate? The only compulsion we are under is for freedom. As an ex-colony we were never offered integration. The first thing to do was to separate the area [from the colonizer]. Then to think of the next step. We've been enslaved by Portugal for a long time. Portugal was not yet satisfied and now they want to sell us to Indonesia". When I came down here, I was not sure that Indonesia could satisfy the desires of the East Timorese. Even after a long time the East Timorese people could not accept it wholeheartedly. For years

[former ET governor for the Indonesians] Lopez da Cruz tried to persuade me to travel overseas and explain Indonesia's position. But I answered: "If I can't even convince myself how can I persuade others?". I can't help it, I'm the one that called the East Timorese to freedom.

I'm close to Benny Murdani, Hendro Priyono, Sahala Rajagukguk, even Try Sutrisno. When I eventually did go to Europe to speak he paid for it out of his own pocket. He guaranteed that I would not "disappear".

12 November [1991 - the Dili massacre] shows how frustrated the people are - this is just their way of saying that they haven't yet got what they want. The Timorese have never been happy with the military. Even in Portuguese times the military were their number 1 enemy. I think Xanana is a hero, because he has his own views. Fretilin has always known what it wanted. It was I who brought him into Fretilin as a young man. But the arrest of Xanana does not mean Fretilin is broken. Just look at 12 November. These were not jungle fighters but young people from the city.

My life now is dependent on other people. I live like a parasite on the Dading family. Now it is best not to fight anymore. I'm like a parasite, with nothing to do. I ask for sweeping jobs, anything, but people won't give it me because they think it will lower me. I read a lot, I speak 7 languages, I talk with Mr Dading.'

[The same issue of Jakarta Jakarta also has a long interview with Dading Kalbuadi, the cowboy soldier who loves killing and hates politics].

TIMOR POLICY ATTACKED

The Irish Times, World News, 20 July 1994

(Reuter) Australia's Catholic primate criticised the government yesterday for its response to reports of human rights abuses in East Timor, saying Australia should treat human rights abuses in Indonesia as openly as it does in Vietnam and China.

Cardinal Edward Clancy said Australia's policy of not confronting Indonesia directly over human rights had failed to stop abuses in East Timor. Australia had confronted Vietnam and China on human rights and recently cancelled a parliamentary mission to Vietnam after Hanoi said the team could not examine human rights issues.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, but it's rule in the former Portuguese colony is not recognised by the United Nations.

International concern about East Timor mounted after troops shot and killed up to 200 marchers at a funeral procession in Dili in 1991.

Last Thursday hundreds of mainly Catholic protesters were beaten back by police in the most violent confrontation between troops and protestors since the Dili massacre.

The East Timor Catholic leader, Bishop Carlos Filipe Belo, called yesterday for an Amnesty International, rather than a diplomatic, presence in his country.

NGO BLACKOUT BY THAILAND

The Asian Age, July 19

Bangkok-- Thailand on Monday defended its decision to block foreign non-governmental organisations from attending a regional human rights conference during the annual ASEAN meeting this week. "I think (the meeting) would damage the relationship between Thailand and Indonesia," Prasong Soonsiri told reporters, "especially since Indonesia is an ASEAN country and we have a lot of projects ... trade and investment." The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) annual ministerial conference is to start here on Friday. A July 19-25 seminar, also in the Thai capital, was to focus primarily on Burma and East Timor, organisers from the Southeast Asian Human Rights Network said. A high-level government meeting in Bangkok Friday decided that the participation of foreign NGO members in such a meeting would require official work permits, to be applied for 30 days in advance. That move brought immediate protests from NGOs in Thailand and a pledge by an organiser of the seminar that the meeting would go ahead.

THAI MOVE TO BLOCK HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE BACKFIRES

The Asian Age, July 20

Bangkok -- Thailand's attempts to block a Southeast Asian human rights conference coinciding with this week's Asean ministerial meeting have backfired, drawing even greater attention to rights problems in the region.

Despite Thailand's efforts to keep human rights issues from interfering with the July 22-28 meetings of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, it was virtually inevitable rights questions would be raised by Asean members or dialogue partners, diplomats said on Tuesday.

Thai human rights groups told a crowded news conference on Monday that they will proceed with the conference later this week despite attempts to stop foreign guests from attending. The Southeast Asian Human

Rights Network will hold the meeting between July 20 and 25.

Among the guests and observers joining the Asean meeting is Burma, widely regarded by international human rights groups as Southeast Asia's worst rights violator.

Asean comprises Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

The controversy over the rights meeting, now hitting the front pages of Thailand's newspapers, is virtually a repeat of an episode in the Philippines in May when the government there, bowing to pressure from Indonesia, prevented foreigners from attending a meeting on East Timor.

"It is unfortunate that they did not learn the lesson from the Philippines, that by trying to block the conference they have given it much more publicity than it would have had in the first place," one political analyst said on Tuesday. The government announced that foreigners planning to attend the rights conference should have applied for work permits 30 days in advance.

Authorities refused to confirm newspaper reports that 11 East Timorese were blacklisted. Officials say the presence of the East Timorese activists would be an embarrassment to Thailand. It is a violation of the Asean spirit of not allowing one member to be used as a platform to criticise another.

INDONESIA REJECTS U.S. CONCERN OVER PROTESTS IN EAST TIMOR

The Asian Age, July 20.

[A variation of this article, headlined "ALATAS SCOFFS AT CATHOLIC FEARS", appeared in The Canberra Times the same day.]

Dili, East Timor -- Indonesia rejected on Tuesday U.S. concerns about its handling of East Timor protests and poured scorn on charges it was stoking religious repression in the tiny Catholic enclave. Speaking in Jakarta at his first news conference since a heart attack two months ago, foreign minister Ali Alatas said Indonesia handled last month's Catholic youths' protest with restraint.

"All the facts show that there was restraint, an appropriate response by police that tried to manage the demonstration. No one was seriously hurt because all the time now riot gear is used. No shooting, nothing," he said.

In Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony which was taken by force in 1975, students and the local bishop rejected 18 years of integration into Indonesia and said last week's protest was merely a reaction to continuing intimidation.

Indonesia formally annexed the eastern half of Timor island on July 17, 1976. It commemorated the event on Monday. Residents say police used tear gas and sticks last week to break up a protest march by students on the local Parliament in Dili after two Catholic nuns were insulted by four men.

[Residents have accused police of using tear gas and sticks to break up last week's protest march by students on the local parliament in Dili after two Catholic nuns were insulted by four men. -- Canberra Times.]

The United States, which had not received a full report on the incident yet, said it had expressed concern in Jakarta and urged local security forces to use restraint. Residents said 14 people were detained and about 20 injured in the clash, the worst since troops gunned down up to 200 demonstrators at a Dili cemetery in late 1991.

"The people of East Timor want justice, peace and human rights ... Not merely more buildings," the province's Catholic leader, Bishop Carlos Felipe Belo, said in an interview.

"It's like war here ... And I try to be the voice of the voiceless," said Belo, a symbol for many East Timorese of efforts to preserve the Catholic faith and keep their cultural identity in the midst of mainly Islamic Indonesia. Jose Gusmão, Southeast Asian representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance said on Tuesday the Indonesian army was instigating religious violence to deflect attention from corruption and pro-democracy issues.

"The latest acts of violence against the East Timor population are clearly linked to the deteriorating situation of Indonesia."

BRITISH AID TO INDONESIA

Report from British Coalition for East Timor, Jul 20, 1994

Britain has dramatically increased its level of aid to Indonesia, becoming the third largest bilateral donor. At the recent CGI meeting in Paris, Britain pledged U.S. \$150.49 million in aid, up from \$98.6 million last year, and \$35 million the year before. The only countries to exceed this level of aid are Germany, at \$157.41 million, and Japan, at \$1.76 billion.

Though Germany and Japan are still larger donors than Britain, neither has shown such a dramatic proportional increase in aid.

It is unlikely that this jump in aid is unrelated to recent British arms sales to Indonesia, or to Indonesia's statement that they will turn to Great Britain for arms in the wake of the U.S. Senate vote to ban small arms sales.

JAKARTA WARNS BISHOP ON TIMOR

By Patrick Walters, THE AUSTRALIAN, Wednesday, July 20, 1994

INDONESIAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER, Mr ALI ALATAS, yesterday described as irresponsible claims by the outspoken CATHOLIC BISHOP AT EAST TIMOR, BISHOP CARLOS BELO, that CHRISTIANS WERE BEING PERSECUTED IN THE PROVINCE. "MY ADVICE TO HIM IS TO BE VERY CAREFUL IN MAKING STATEMENTS OF THIS KIND FOR POLITICAL IMPACT," Mr ALATAS told a press conference Jakarta.

"I THINK HE KNOWS THAT IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THERE IS RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN EAST TIMOR THERE IS GREAT RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN INDONESIA, ESPECIALLY IN EAST TIMOR, OTHERWISE THE CATHOLIC CHURCH WOULD NOT HAVE FLOURISHED AS IT HAS DONE".

BISHOP BELO last Sunday described THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR AS HELLISH. "CHRISTIANS ARE CONSTANTLY BEING ARRESTED, BEATEN AND INTIMIDATED BY POLICE," he said. About 90 per cent of EAST TIMORESE ARE CATHOLIC. Back AT HIS DESK after HEART SURGERY last month, Mr ALATAS described AS "VERY UNFORTUNATE" THE INCIDENT IN LATE JUNE THAT LED TO LAST WEEK'S PROTESTS IN DILI.

On June 28 [1994] TWO MUSLIMS SOLDIERS ENTERED A CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE VILLAGE OF REMEXIO, TOOK COMMUNION AND THEN, ACCORDING TO LOCAL REPORTS, STAMPED ON COMMUNION WAFERS. "IT WAS VERY UNFORTUNATE THAT TWO MEMBERS OF ABRI (THE ARMED FORCES) WENT INTO A CHURCH," Mr ALATAS said.

"THEY ARE BEING COURT-MARTIALED. WE HAVE TO LIVE WITH THIS. WE ARE A LARGE COUNTRY.....THERE WILL ALWAYS BE SOME IRRESPONSIBLE PEOPLE AND SOME STUPID PEOPLE DOING STUPID THINGS". He said THE POLICE HAD USED RESTRAINT IN DEALING WITH DEMONSTRATIONS LAST THURSDAY, AND NO ONE SERIOUSLY HURT. THE PROTEST HAD AGAIN BEEN BLOWN OUT OF PROPORTION IN THE NEWS MEDIA BECAUSE IT HAD OCCURRED IN

EAST TIMOR, he said. Mr ALATAS said RECENT EVENTS DID NOT DEFLECT FROM THE GENERAL POSITION THAT THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR WAS CONTINUALLY IMPROVING.

Earlier, THE COUNTRY'S DEFENCE MINISTER, GENERAL EDI SUDRAJAT said THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES MUST BECOME MORE PROACTIVE IN ADJUSTING TO THE CHANGING POLITICAL CLIMATE IN INDONESIA AND ABROAD. Addressing the armed forces leadership at a three-day meeting in Jakarta, GENERAL SUDRAJAT said ABRI SHOULD NOT BECOME DEFENSIVE ON MATTERS SUCH AS DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS. "IF WE ALWAYS

STAY DEFENSIVE, THEN THE ATTACKS AGAINST US ARE BOUND TO BE MORE AGGRESSIVE AND GRIPING. THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS, INCLUDING ABRI, MUST BE PROACTIVE IF IT DOES NOT WANT TO BE CAUGHT OFF GUARD BY PROGRESS AND CHANGE," he said, according to THE JAKARTA POST.

GENERAL SUDRAJAT said THE MILITARY HAD BEEN CRITICISED IN CERTAIN QUARTERS BY PEOPLE WHO ARGUED THAT ABRI WAS TRYING TO OBSTRUCT DEMOCRACY. He said OFFICERS SHOULD, IN THE LIGHT OF SUCH CRITICISM, CONSIDER WHETHER THE ARMED FORCES HAD CARRIED OUT ITS FUNCTIONS APPROPRIATELY. "I DON'T JUST MEAN THOSE IN JAKARTA, BUT ALSO THOSE IN THE REGION," the general said. "THERE STILL SEEMS TO BE SOME TRAUMA FROM THE DILI INCIDENT ["PERISTIWA DILI"], SO THAT SOME COMMANDERS APPEAR TO BE TOO CAUTIOUS".

ALATAS CLAIMS 'PROGRESS' ON TIMOR:

FINANCIAL REVIEW, Wednesday, July 20, 1994, By Greg Earl

INDONESIA HAS REJECTED NEW CRITICISM FROM THE UNITED STATES OVER ITS HANDLING OF PROTESTS IN EAST TIMOR AND A CHARGE FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH THAT IT IS FANNING RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN THE DISPUTED PROVINCE. The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr ALI ALATAS, yesterday used his press conference after returning from a heart operation TO

STRONGLY DEFEND THE OVERALL APPROACH TO TIMOR. He said THE DESPITE RECENT CONFLICTS, OVERALL CONDITIONS IN THE PROVINCE WERE IMPROVING AND PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE - BOTH IN INDONESIA AND OVERSEAS - TOWARDS A SOLUTION.

Also this week THE MINISTER FOR DEFENCE, Mr EDI SUDRAJAT, HAS URGED THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES TO BE LESS DEFENSIVE IN RESPONDING TO CRITICISM. "IF WE ALWAYS STAY ON THE DEFENSIVE, THEN THE ATTACKS AGAINST US ARE BOUND TO BECOME MORE AGGRESSIVE AND MORE GRIPPING," THE JAKARTA POST yesterday quoted him telling a meeting of the armed forces leaders.

Mr ALATAS's REJECTION OF THE LATEST US CONCERN COMES AHEAD OF THE NEXT WEEK'S ASEAN SUMMIT WHERE US AND INDONESIAN OFFICIALS WILL MEET DURING THE REGULAR POST-MINISTERIAL TALKS AND AFTER AN EXPRESSION OF CONCERN OVER TIMOR FROM THE US EMBASSY IN JAKARTA.

The US decision to step up human rights pressure has come almost immediately after now moves in the US to devote more resources to improving the prospects for US companies in Indonesia. After some earlier indications that CLINTON ADMINISTRATION WAS IGNORING INDONESIA'S LONG-TERM POTENTIAL AS A TRADING PARTNER AND INVESTMENT LOCATION, the US recently decided to open A Southeast ASIAN REGIONAL BUSINESS PROMOTION CENTRE IN JAKARTA.

Responding to US criticism of police tactics during last week's demonstration, Mr ALATAS said: "ALL THE FACTS SHOW THAT THERE WAS RESTRAINT, AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE BY THE POLICE THAT TRIED TO MANAGE THE DEMONSTRATION. "NO-ONE WAS SERIOUSLY HURT BECAUSE ALL THE TIME NOW RIOT GEAR IS USED. NO SHOOTING, NOTHING".

He also rejected comments from Timor's Catholic leader, ARCHBISHOP BELO, ABOUT INDONESIAN EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE CATHOLIC CULTURAL IDENTITY IN THE PROVINCE. "I THINK HE [BELO] KNOWS THAT IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THERE IS RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN EAST TIMOR AND HE SHOULD KNOW EVEN BETTER THAN ANY- ONE ELSE THE FIGURES SHOW THAT CATHOLICISM HAS FLOURISHED IN

EAST TIMOR SINCE INTEGRATION ["ON 31 MAY 1976"]. "IT IS IRRESPONSIBLE FOR ANYBODY TO MAKE A RELIGIOUS ISSUE OUT OF THE RECENT CASE"

BRISBANE PROTEST CONDEMNS CRACKDOWN IN EAST TIMOR

By Nick Everett, Green Left Review, July 20

BRISBANE - Fifty people attended a speak out in support of East Timor in the Queen Street Mall on July 15. The protest was called in response to the previous day's violent crackdown by Indonesian troops on a protest in Dili. The activists also demanded that Australian oil companies get out of the Timor Gap.

On July 14, Indonesian military and police violently dispersed a 500-strong march by students in Dili, killing at least three students and injuring more than 30. The students, who tried to stage a peaceful march from the university to the parliament building, were beaten with clubs by police and troops as they tried to flee.

Armindo Mayo, vice-president of the University of East Timor, said that the protesters had planned to meet with local parliamentary officials to demand action be taken against two soldiers who abused the sacraments during Mass at a local Catholic church. Mayo, who led the protest, also demanded that the Indonesian military authorities allow East Timorese freedom of religion.

At the speak out, Verdy Maia, a member of the East Timorese community, described how his people had been denied basic human rights since Indonesia invaded in 1975. He said the latest incident was part of an ongoing war against the people of East Timor. Verdy also accused the federal Labor government of doing nothing for his people.

Amy Stockwood, a member of AKSI, Indonesia Solidarity Action, described the history of occupied East Timor and Brenden Greenhill, a ZZZ journalist, brought people up to date with events in Dili.

Greenhill described the emergence of the PRD (People's Democratic Union) in Indonesia as "extremely significant". The PRD, a new mass formation of students, workers and peasants, has voiced strong support for the East Timorese struggle. It has also been central to the current protests against media censorship in Indonesia.

On the same day, a picket was held outside the oil company Petroz NL. Next month, Petroz, in conjunction with BHP Petroleum, will start drilling in the Timor Gap. This follows the 1989 Timor Gap deal

signed by the Keating and Suharto governments.

"We call on Petroz and BHP to halt their activities in the Timor Gap and demand that the federal government recognise the sovereignty of the East Timorese," said Lynda Hansen, spokesperson for AKSI.

Protesters plan to continue the campaign against Petroz and BHP's activities in the Timor Gap and are working towards a national day of action.

1995 CGI PLEDGES TO INDONESIA

Here is the breakdown of CGI aid figures for 1994/5 by country, as reported in the Jakarta Post. All figures are in U.S. dollars.

Japan -- 1.76 billion
World Bank -- 1.5 billion
Asian Development Bank -- 1.1 billion
Germany -- 157.41 million
U.K. -- 150.49 million
France -- 140.57 million
U.S. -- 89.6 million
Islamic Development Bank -- 65 million
UN agencies -- 50 million
Australia -- 47.66 million
Nordic Investment Bank -- 35 million
International Fund for Agricultural Development -- 26.07 million
Canada -- 25.33 million
Spain -- 24.51 million
Switzerland -- 23.41 million
UNICEF -- 14 million
South Korea -- 9.56 million
New Zealand -- 3.03 million
Finland -- 0.99 million

LE MONDE'S NEWS ITEMS

From Bruno Kahn, July 21.

A rather unusual series of short news items ("entrefilets") on East Timor in Le Monde over the last 10 days, showing in homeopathic doses a heightened interest from a traditionally contemptuous daily.

Translated from French.

Previously posted items of July 8 not reproduced.

8 July

East Timor: demonstration in Paris. - At the occasion of the meeting in Paris of the Consultative Group on Indonesia, formed of State and institution donors to this country, about 50 people demonstrated, Thursday, July 7, in front of the World Bank's head office, avenue d'Iena, to protest Jakarta's policy towards ethnic minorities in the archipelago. Protesters responded in this way to an appeal from the association Tribal Act, which together with a dozen other organisations launched the "50 years is enough" campaign.

13 July

East Timor: a correction. - We had written by mistake in our July 8 issue that the "4 months for East Timor" campaign had been organised by the sole association France Libertes. In fact, it was launched by a collective of 12 organisations among which Peuples Solidaires, Agir pour Timor, Ci-made, Justice et Paix, the International Federation for Human Rights, the trade unions SNES and CGT...

14 July

East Timor: demonstration of Catholics against a sacrilege. - Some 300 inhabitants of East Timor demonstrated, Monday, July 11, in Dili, the capital city of this former Portuguese colony, against a sacrilege committed in a catholic church by Moslem Indonesian military. On June 28, two soldiers had trampled on communion wafers during a mass in Remexio, near Dili. They were arrested, and the garrison chief presented apologies, but their gesture created upset in a territory where the vast majority of the 700,000 inhabitants are Catholics. - (AFP)

-- East Timor. In a lost corner of Asia, in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976 after its invasion a few months earlier, the Indonesian army had done at least as well: one hundred thousand deaths -- perhaps the double or the triple -- over a population of 700,000, victim of repression or the terrible sanitary and food conditions which usually go along with conflicts. [This photocopied item seems part of a bigger one.]

15 July

East Timor: clash between military and students. - Soldiers and policemen dispersed, Thursday July 14, a demonstration in Dili, the capital of East Timor, hitting students that tried to reach the local assembly, inhabitants reported. About 60 demonstrators were arrested. According to witnesses, the army surrounded their university when about five hundred students tried to go to the Parliament. - (Reuter)

16 July

East Timor

A demonstration is violently suppressed by the Indonesian army. An apparent calm reigned, on the evening of Thursday July 14, in Dili, the capital of East Timor, a former Portuguese territory annexed by Indonesia, after clashes between demonstrators and security forces. Five hundred students wanted to march in the streets to protest against the behaviour of two Indonesian military, who had trampled on sacred communion wafers in a church on June 28, 1994 (Le Monde, July 14). According to AFP, the toll would be eight wounded and twenty arrested, but according to the American agency AP, soldiers and policemen would have killed three demonstrators. The terri-

tory is essentially catholic, while the rest of the country (sic) is in majority Muslim. The Portuguese minister of foreign affairs called on the international community to react "with firmness" to this "intolerable situation". According to Jose Manuel Durão Barroso, this is "a new case of a violent repression of East Timorese students who protested provocations from the Indonesian authorities, not only against the East Timorese themselves, but also against the catholic religion.

17/18 July

East Timor: release of most arrested demonstrators. Tension decreased, Friday July 15, in Dili, after the release of thirteen of the fourteen people arrested the eve during an anti-Indonesian demonstration (Le Monde, July 15). Nine persons are still missing, among whom three would have been killed by the military. Besides, Jakarta rejected conditions set by the US Senate for arms sales. Thursday, July 14, the latter had banned the export of light arms towards Indonesia as long as "significant progress" will not have taken place in East Timor in the domain of human rights. - (AFP)

UNTIM RECTOR ON 14 JULY INCIDENT

Dili, 17 July 1994 Original document, July 17, Dili

[Readers kindly note: The name of the rector identifies him as an Indonesian, probably Sundanese.]

UNIVERSITY OF EAST TIMOR

Jalan Kaikoli, Dili.

Telephone: 21027

Statement by the Rectorate of the University of East Timor on the events on 13 and 14 July at the campus of the University of East Timor

Many circles have already commented on the events on 13 and 14 July at the University of East Timor. The East Timor Chief-of-Police, Lt Col. (Police) Drs S. Sugianto Andreas, issued an official statement on 14 July [Suara Timor Timur, 15/7]. On 15 July, the Information Centre (Puspen) of the Armed Forces (ABRI) and the Information Section of the Department of Foreign Affairs issued statements to the press which were substantially the same (Kompas, Surya and TVRI, 16/7).

Meanwhile, the international community, the Indonesian public (including people here in East Timor) and in particular people in Dili, have not only received information from the security authorities but also from various unofficial sources. In the past few days, the Indonesian media, while publishing reports about the events, have not published any official statements from the Uni-

versity of East Timor, which means that these reports are not complete and give a one-sided account.

In view of the above and bearing in mind that the University of East Timor has the Right of Reply (as the body directly affected by these reports), in keeping with Article (1), Number 15, paragraphs 1 and 2 of Law No 21, 1982 which reads:

Number 15 (1) The Right of Reply is the right of any individual, organisation or legal body who feel that they have been damaged by a report or reports, to ask press publications in question to publish statements and assessments regarding reports that are disseminated or made public.

(2) Within reasonable limits, press publications are under an obligation to respond to requests by their readers to make use of their Right of Reply.

The Rectorate of the University of East Timor has therefore issued the following statement:

REGARDING THE PRESS STATEMENTS ISSUED BY THE INFORMATION CENTRE (PUSPEN) OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY

The Information Centre of the Armed Forces and the Department of Foreign Affairs issued statements on the University of East Timor incident which were reported and quoted by various Indonesian print and electronic media on 16 July 1994.

In its press release, the Information Centre of the Armed Forces stated that it considered it necessary to provide accurate information to the public, including the motive and background. The statement, the need to provide accurate information is, in our view, unwise and one-sided because the University itself has never been asked for information by the Armed Forces Information Centre regarding what the ABRI Information Centre officially refers to as accurate information. The University as the body that was intimately connected with the said events is itself still investigating the events, searching for evidence, examining and studying the background, as well as the process of events as they took place and are still taking place, in order to be able to reach a point at which it has obtained information that approaches the truth (not the whole truth).

According to the ABRI Information Centre, the demonstration was initially calm and peaceful, taking the form of a rally and the unfurling of banners, accompanied by protests and yells. But as a result of being swayed by issues injected by irresponsible elements, the demonstration became highly emotional and brutal and that therefore, the security forces had to restore order so as to prevent undesirable things from occurring.

According to the Department of Foreign Affairs, the demonstrators did not heed the security forces, as a result of which a clash occurred at 09.15 in front of the premises of the local Department of Health, preceded by the demonstrators throwing stones. It was this stone-throwing that resulted in fifteen persons being injured, of whom 4 were seriously injured while the others sustained slight injuries.

These two statements are not entirely correct. It is true that the demonstration initially proceeded in an orderly and peaceful fashion, as it had been granted a permit by the local Police Force which knew that the demonstrators wanted to have a meeting with their representatives on the local assembly (DPRD). It is not true that the mass rally that made its way towards the DPRD turned brutal and highly emotional because of issues and incitements by irresponsible elements. It is not true that a physical clash with the people on the march began with the throwing of stones by the demonstrators. Nor is it entirely true that it was only the stone-throwing that caused the demonstrators to sustain injuries.

According to the facts and our own witnessing of the event and eye-witness accounts which we have been able to gather, it is our impression that the initiative for the physical clash started with the security forces violently attacking the demonstrators, which they did first with batons, kicks and striking people with their shields, tear-gas and attacks by two sniffer dogs. The East Timor chief-of-police (Lt.Col S. Sugianto Andreas) in his press conference on 14 July, on which occasion he was accompanied by the deputy governor of East Timor, the military commander and the deputy military commander, even admitted (see STT, Chief-of-Police: No-one died in the events at the University of East Timor) that the wounded people were bruised all over and that their bodies were lacerated.

We were witness to, we saw, we were close to the event as it unfolded and were witness to the fact that the violence was not initiated by the demonstrators, that the injuries inflicted on the wounded were not only the result of stone-throwing but were more the result of the violence perpetrated by the security forces. Some stone-throwing did indeed take place but those who did so have not been identified nor is it clear who it was who were throwing stones at each other. The most serious injuries were sustained by those who fled, jumped over the hedge and entered the complex of Company C/Weaponry and were thrashed by members of the Armed Forces from Company C.

This official statement has been compiled on the basis of notes and remarks, statements by witnesses and evidence that we

have gathered. Having seen this, we hope that our readers will understand what happened during the University of East Timor Incident. It should also be noted that this incident is only part of a chain of events (some large some small, some having being reported, some having been concealed, whether accepted or refuted) that have already occurred and that will occur in the coming days.

Hopefully we will all learn to have the magnanimity to accept the facts however bitter, to be honest however bitter, to be open and honest to ourselves, to our fellow human beings and to God, before whom no-one can lie. We are confident that the truth cannot be hidden and that a time will come when everything will become clear.

Signed, and marked with the seal of the University of East Timor,
Pastor Drs Bratasudarma, SJ, Rector

NINE FRENCH PARLIAMENTARIANS REACT TO "4 MONTHS" CAMPAIGN

Report from Agir Pour Timor, Jul 21, 1994

Nine French parliamentarians (4 Deputies and 5 Senators) have responded to the current campaign "4 months for East Timor", either directly to the Campaign Secretariat or to individual activists who contacted them. Responses range from "I took note of this important question" (Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, president of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission) to a written question to the Foreign Ministry (Jacques Legendre, a RPR - majority - senator), via "I seized my group in the Senate" (Roger Quillot, a PS - opposition - senator). One of the strategies of the Campaign was to send information to members of the France/Indonesia friendship group (National Assembly) and France/South East Asia friendship group (Senate) on a regular basis. It is the first time since the invasion so many members of parliament react to the East Timor issue in France.

The Quai d'Orsay has answered the written question mentioned above, as well as letters from individuals. All answers are relatively similar, even though the respondents are different (Minister's Cabinet, Sub-Director for South-East Asia, Director for Asia. We reproduce here the answer to the written question of Jacques Legendre, which was published in the Journal Officiel of May 26, 1994, Parliamentary Debates, Senate (Questions) (original: French; translation: Agir pour Timor).

Policy of France to favour the respect of human rights in Indonesia (sic)

5695. - April 14, 1994. - Mr Jacques Legendre is concerned by the violent repres-

sion by Indonesia in the occupied territory of East Timor. He asks the Foreign Affairs Minister to tell him what precise steps France is taking to guarantee the protection of persons and the respect of international law in this territory.

SERVICE OF THE SESSION

Questions Division

As the honorable Parliamentarian knows, the decolonisation of East Timor, initiated by Portugal in 1974, was interrupted by the Indonesian army on December 7, 1975. The International Community condemned this military occupation by Indonesia and demanded that the integrity of the territory of East Timor be respected (resolutions unanimously adopted by the United Nations Security Council on Dec. 22, 1975 and April 22, 1976).

France fully supports bilateral negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the UN Secretary General to bring a solution to the question of East Timor's status. The next meeting between the two parties will take place in May in Geneva.

The human rights situation in East Timor remains of concern in spite of the steps recently taken by the Indonesian government to open the territory, as a reaction of pressures from the International Community and more particularly the European Union, following the DILI events. France and its partners from the European Union were at the origin of the statement made by the President of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva in March 1994, asking that the enquiry on exactions by the Indonesian army be completed to completely clarify the disappearances related to the DILI troubles, and that the opening of the territory (suppression of the special command, right of visit to prisoners by the Red Cross, access of NGOs and journalists to the territory) be pursued. Indonesia committed itself, when this text was adopted, to accept the visit of the special UN rapporteur on extra-judicial executions.

France takes all opportunities to express to the Indonesian authorities its concerns on Human Rights violations in East Timor. The Foreign Minister personally talked about this with his Indonesian colleague in New York, besides the UN General Assembly in September 1993.

France intends to pursue its action in this direction to obtain a better protection of persons in East Timor.

The Deputy-Director to the Minister's Cabinet Maurice GOURDAULT-MONTAGNE

NEITHER SCHOLARSHIP NOR A LIFE - SIX MONTHS ON, TIMORESE STUDENTS STILL AWAIT THE SUPPORT PROMISED BY PORTUGAL

*Publico, 28 June 94. By Antonio Marujo.
Translated from Portuguese, abridged*

Lisbon -- Six months ago, Minister Durão Barroso promised scholarships to 7 Timorese students who arrived from Indonesia, having dramatically sought refuge at the Swedish and Finnish embassies in Jakarta. Today, along with two others who arrived in January, they are still waiting. They were housed in a run-down room and given 16,000 escudos (\$110) a month to live on which has meant a life of shameful poverty and frequent hunger. They feel let down: "Living like this we feel we are giving trumps to the Indonesians".

Luis Cardoso, CNRM representative in Portugal, explains: "They (the Indonesians) have always said that the Timorese were better off there than here in Portugal". Aviano Faria, one of the nine, expresses himself haltingly "I want to stay here, but if Portugal doesn't keep its promise...".

In the Lisbon suburb of Amadora, I spoke to the young Timorese in a shabby room with two bunk beds, a wardrobe, a fridge and four occupants. In the 6 apartments in the building, live a total of 60 people. There are around 10 or 12 Timorese to each apartment, 3 or 4 to a room. Clothes have to be hung from nails driven into the walls and rags are used to fill the holes in the foam mattresses.

The group of nine all took part in the demonstration which culminated in the Santa Cruz massacre and three of them were seriously wounded (see *Publico* 24/2/94). Seven of them arrived in Lisbon last December after the occupations of the embassies in Jakarta, while the remaining two followed in January.

Their current living situation here is identical to that of the majority of Timorese who come to Portugal and which brings so many of them to choose Australia as their country of residence. Luis Cardoso says that dozens of young Timorese, mainly secondary school students, live in similar conditions. There are no "integration mechanisms" for these young people, in spite of the fact that Portugal considers that the process of decolonization which began some 20 years ago still has not been completed. There are many bureaucratic difficulties that the Timorese face when they come here. For example he cites the case of the former civil servant in the Portuguese administration of the territory who, having recently arrived in

Lisbon, was not admitted into the civil service here, as the law envisages, because he was unable to produce his certificates of academic qualifications. Other problems have to do with difficulties in obtaining a Portuguese ID card because the only documentation they are able to present is an Indonesian passport.

Timorese organizations and solidarity groups also refer to another problem: Portugal has not promoted the training of personnel who could form the basis of an infrastructure in a future independent Timor. These recently-arrived young people also bring up the same subject 'The Portuguese State should provide opportunities for Timorese to continue the future, because they are the future of our nation'

The good news for this group, which they have heard today, is that they are to be moved to other lodgings and that breakfast and dinner is going to be provided. But next Friday, they do not know whether they will encounter a setback as they come to the end of their six-month subsidy of 16,000 escudos from the Social Security.

Their case has been on the desks of various state and civil service departments at various times and *Publico* has ascertained that as well as the new accommodation, provision of a living allowance is being looked into at present.

They are reluctant to say much about the conditions in which they have been living. Up to the beginning of this month they had nothing to do all day. Their first meal of the day at the moment is a snack at lunchtime at a Ministry of Education canteen which they pay for.

At the start of June they began language training (organized by Civitas, Organization for the Promotion and Defence of the Rights of the Citizen, by CIDAC and by Peace is Possible in East Timor) although they say it is not enough 'we want to really study and we are still only able to speak "black peoples' Portuguese"' says Joao Antonio. They explain that it is very difficult to obtain any work because they do not speak Portuguese well.

Although these young people are worried about the problems of their accommodation and scholarship, they are more concerned about the future of Timor and the preparation which Portugal may or may not give them to play their part in the independence they dream about. Luis Cardoso remarks that 'one of these days it could well be one of them who will be responsible for liaison between Portugal and an independent Timor'.

In their cramped room in Amadora, they all say they want to remain in Portugal. 'It is Portugal, not Australia, that is responsible for us and for Timor.'

POPULATION BACK REVOLT - ORDERS TO CRACK DOWN ON STUDENTS OVER-RULE POLICE CHIEF

15 July 94

By Adelino Gomes. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Lisbon -- Riot police broke a cross, ripped the Vatican flag, beat up and detained around 400 students yesterday in Dili. There have been disappearances and, perhaps, deaths. There has not been violence on this scale since the Santa Cruz massacre. The Vatican still has not reacted. Portugal, doubtful of its chances of influencing Washington, attempts to make up on the European diplomatic front.

Nobody in Dili would be surprised if violence erupted again today on the streets of the capital. Undeterred by the violence to which they were subjected yesterday morning, protesters have promised to return to the university campus. The fact that this is the period of examinations there, has facilitated in the mobilization of the students and they have been joined by members of the public who view the events of the last two and a half weeks as an 'outrage' against the Catholic religion.

The police intervention took place shortly after 8 o'clock in the morning when hundreds of students went to the Legislative Assembly (the provincial parliament) to call for an explanation from vice-chairperson, Maria Quintao, who they considered had insulted them the day before.

The building is situated less than 500 metres from the University. However, the students had gone no more than 100 metres when, in spite of guarantees given on the previous evening (Wednesday) by the Dili chief of police in a meeting with local clergy and political figures, police armed with shields and batons forcibly broke up the group and used tear-gas to disperse the marchers.

When the police chief was questioned by Manuel Carrascalão, who had acted as one of the intermediaries between the students and the local civil and military authorities, he admitted that the riot police had acted on 'orders from above' which had over-ruled him.

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE REGIME

Cross checking the various, and at times contradictory, sources of information reaching Lisbon from Timor yesterday suggests that the number of wounded and detained came to around fifty. Mediators and two Red Cross personnel identified 16 wounded (eight in the hospital and the others at a

military unit) as well as 14 detained but as yet there have not been figures on disappearances. Rumours that there had been three deaths have not been confirmed by independent sources but the fact that the general public adhered to the students' protest in large numbers does make this a real possibility. 'We won't know anything concrete very immediately' one of the figures involved in the negotiations told the *Publico*.

A key element in the situation, Bishop Belo, happened to be away from the capital when the events of this week were taking place. At first he was in Kupang, capital of Indonesian West Timor, and later on Wednesday and Thursday (available data is not very clear) in Lete-Foho, a town about 80 km from Dili where he was due to preside at the ceremony marking the opening of a new parish today. Accompanying him is the Bishop of Melbourne, Hilton Deakin, who in the past has criticized in Lisbon the pro-Indonesian policy of the Australian government.

'What the Indonesian authorities did yesterday is unjustified violence' said Manuel Carrascalão. The brother of pro-Indonesian ex-governor Mario Carrascalão and a supporter of the annexation of Timor, Manuel, who will be 18 in a few days time, thinks that it would be an exaggeration to speak in terms of a religious war but he considers that the rash of religious incidents has not come about by chance. 'I have a suspicion that we are seeing attempts by extremist Muslim groups to discredit the church so that they can infiltrate it. I also think that there is a pro-Indonesian group that wishes to maintain a state of unrest here so as to prolong the presence of the armed forces stationed here.'

Some members of humanitarian organizations and some Portuguese observers interpret these incidents as evidence of the deep divisions within the Indonesian regime, and see this as yet another show of strength by the military.

'Now that the guerrilla force is semi-decapitated, the Church is the next natural target', comments Barbedo Magalhaes, coordinator of the annual Timor Seminars at Oporto University. 'In the past the military were able to provoke incidents of this type in Indonesia, using Islamic extremists, so as to later represent themselves to the Church as the peacemakers.'

Barbedo Magalhaes criticized the duplicity of the Portuguese Government which passed a unanimous vote of protest at the incidents yesterday while at the same time continuing to defer the implementation of concrete initiatives to support the Timorese cause such as the International Conference of Parliamentarians and Public Figures.

VATICAN CAUTION

Durão Barroso instructed the Portuguese ambassador at the UN to lodge a protest at the 'intolerable situation in Timor'. He has also circulated the embassies of all Portugal's community partners and the Vatican requesting that the matter be raised so that the EU takes a common position on the matter. On RTP television tonight the minister did not express any great conviction that there such a position will be taken. The first country to respond, although indirectly, was Ireland which, in the framework of the European Political and Cooperation network requested more information from its partners concerning this new wave of repression by Indonesian forces against Timorese protesters. The Portuguese diplomat responsible for the Timor brief, Rui Quartin Santos, happened to be in New York for the UN Decolonization sessions and included the new information in his speech there.

At the Vatican, there has as yet been no public response - the press room is merely ticking over with its spokes-person on holidays but its diplomatic channels are likely to be taking up the matter. Observers contacted by *Publico* think that the Holy See is only likely to react in the diplomatic field.

The habitual caution of the Vatican regarding the taking of public positions is redoubled in this case given the religious dimension of the events. The Vatican is not likely to want the matter to get blown up into a 'religious issue' in spite of the indications that this may be the case. 'Any kind of public intervention would be adding tinder to the fire', say observers.

What may happen, is that Pope John Paul II mentions the events in one of his Sunday appeals when he prays for concrete situations of conflict.

In Portugal, *Publico* contacted diverse members of the Bishops' Conference but the only comment came from Albino Cleto, auxiliary bishop of Lisbon, who commented as he left an audience with President Soares that it was regrettable that 'the Church is being disrespected and diminished in East Timor'. 'I regret that other faiths do not respect the Church' he told journalists, assuming a religious dimension in the matter which still has not been fully clarified. The bishop added that the Indonesian government would not wish to 'step on the Catholic soul of the people of Timor, seeing as this would aggravate other matters'. The Portuguese Catholic hierarchy has refused to comment 'until it has been established that the matter is one of religion'.

JAKARTA SIGNALS PHILIPPINE RELATIONS OK AFTER TIMOR CONFERENCE

From Indonesian Government, Abridged July 20, 1994

Manila (dpa) --Indonesian President Suharto signalled in a letter released by Philippine President Fidel Ramos Wednesday that relations between the two countries were not harmed by a conference on human rights in East Timor hosted by Manila activists last month.

In the letter, which was addressed to Ramos and dated July 5, Suharto thanked the Philippine president for his efforts in trying to quash the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor.

"I appreciate fully the steps which were taken by your excellency's government in endeavouring to counteract the effect of the holding of the conference, specially the prevention of its recurrence in the future," Suharto wrote.

"I am pleased that your excellency shares the view that we the member nations of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations)... shall always be guided by that lofty principle, namely mutual support for each other's sovereignty and therefore opposition to secessionist movements," the Indonesian president added....

INDONESIA DENIES ABUSES IN TIMOR

By Jon Land, Green Left, July 20

Indonesian authorities have reacted angrily to a film by British journalist Max Stahl which documents a second massacre soon after the shootings at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on November 12, 1991.

Stahl, who appeared on the ABC's Foreign Correspondent program on July 12, told of how he entered East Timor at the end of 1993 and interviewed survivors of the massacre as well as Konis Santana, the head of the Timorese armed resistance.

The program, which was beamed into Indonesia from Australia on July 14, details the killing of over 300 people who were either stoned to death or administered lethal injections of formaldehyde at a military hospital in Dili. Indonesian foreign affairs spokesperson Irawan Abidin maintains that only 50 people were killed, and that claims contrary to this are "innuendos, half truths and lies".

The film, *Death of a Nation*, which was co-produced by Stahl and John Pilger, was the first time the second massacre had been exposed. On July 8, after Channel 9 screened an unedited version of *Death of a*

Nation in a late night time slot, there were 3000 telephone calls from people wanting to assist East Timor solidarity groups.

According to Gil Scrine, the film's distributor, \$30,000 has been pledged to help with East Timor campaign and aid work. "This shows the issue of East Timor is a growing concern for the Australian public," Scrine told Green Left.

Xanana Gusmão, leader of the East Timorese resistance, condemned the close economic ties, between the Indonesian and Australian governments. He said that a "million dollar bridge" has been put ahead of the lives of the East Timorese people.

Gusmão recently meet with his wife and children for the time since 1975. In a statement smuggled out of Indonesia, he said that negotiations with Indonesia could only come about after a referendum to allow the East Timorese to determine their future.

THAI HUMAN RIGHTS MEETING POSTPONED A DAY

AFP, 20 July 1994. Abridged

Bangkok -- A regional human rights seminar which the Thai government has said could jeopardise relations with neighbouring countries was delayed on Wednesday at a last-minute appeal by the police. Organisers said they would meet foreign minister Prasong Soosiri later in the day to try to negotiate for permission to hold the meeting.

Police ringed the venue of the seminar in the northern suburbs, but organiser Pairoit Poldet, reached by telephone said that about 20 foreign participants had arrived without incident at the conference focusing on human rights issues in Burma and East Timor, Mr Pairoit said.

Last week the Thai government announced that it would require working visas for the foreign participants in non-governmental organisations. Since such visa must be applied for 30 days in advance, this would effectively have barred foreigners from the seminar, but organisers said they would defy the ruling as foreign NGOs could not be considered workers

LET'S STOP RATting ON THE TIMORESE

Sydney Morning Herald, 21 July 1994. By Tony Wright

A few years ago, during a long Anzac Day, I fell into conversation with an old bloke who had spent a dreadful slice of his youth as soldier on Timor during World War II.

He wanted only to talk of the Timorese. He called them his guardian angels. They were, he said, the bravest and most generous people he had known.

His story was familiar to Australians a generation or two ago. Trapped on the island, hunted by the Japanese, Australian foot-sloggers were fed, hidden and protected by the Timorese, many thousands of whom were themselves killed, often because they refused to lead the invaders to the Australians.

The conversation occurred several years after the Indonesians had invaded and annexed East Timor. The old diggers was both saddened and angered by the stories of wholesale mistreatment and killing. He thought Australia "should do something about it", though he did not know precisely what Australia could do. As the Anzac Day spirit loosened him and overwhelmed him with memories, he became more vociferous.

"You know what makes Australian special?" he demanded. "We believe that you never let your mates down. You never rat on 'em. When you owe a mate something, you never forget it."

Next year is the 50th anniversary of Victory in the Pacific, marking the end of the World War II.

The Prime Minister is already planning to milk the occasion for all it is worth.

There will be stirring speeches about how Australians, for the first and only time, were forced to defend their own territory in war, and how they did it with honour and pain. There will very likely be pilgrimages to the places in the Asia-Pacific where Australian blood was spilled. There will be endless heavy hints that the war in the Pacific taught Australia the true meaning of independence after dependence on Britain's apron strings, and that this, really, was the start of the road to a republic.

It will, in short, be a Symbolic Occasion, the sort of grand show that Paul Keating loves and does so well.

Indeed, Keating was expansive on this very point yesterday when he visited Townsville, a city crawling with members of the armed services.

"...the battle for Australian and the battle for the Pacific was something that our nation should never forget and (we) should rejoice in our victory and appreciate the people who were involved in it," he told Townsville radio 4TO.

One wonders how the Timorese will figure in all this. There will surely be some nervous shifting of official feet if the subject is actually raised.

East Timor nags at Australia like a guilty conscience. It will continue to do so, because Australia has a very guilty conscience about what has happened there. In the vernacular

of the old digger, Australia has ratted on its mates in East Timor. It did so in 1975 by turning a blind eye and indulging in diplomatic double-speak when Indonesian invaded, and it has continued to do so by issuing half-hearted, impotent protests only when the most outrageous examples of brutality have surfaced.

Australia has hardly been alone in this. The United States and Britain happily fed arms to Indonesia, knowing they would most likely be used against the East Timorese, and the Americans' use of diplomatic double-speak in the days leading to the invasion and its aftermath fairly takes the breath away.

Now Australia is being accused of double standards on human rights, and Gareth Evans and Paul Keating are angered by the slur. Australia regards all human rights as universal and, in our approach to other countries, we've made no distinction in regard to their trading relationship with us, says Evans.

Perhaps he protests too much. Australian, one recalls, actually went to war with Iraq over its invasion of oil-rich Kuwait.

Australia naturally wants a friendly and commercially beneficial relationship with Indonesia.

To that end, Keating's preference is to "express concern" at its behaviour in East Timor "in the context of an environment of a broad relationship that matters to us and matters to Indonesia".

"I think throwing stones from a distance doesn't have any impact at all," he says.

Neither, apparently, have 19 years of calm appeasement in the context of a broad relationship, as recent events in East Timor continue to show.

Perhaps as we near the 50th anniversary of Victory in the Pacific, Australia might remember the old debt to the East Timorese. With the US finally beginning to confront its own guilt by banning small-arms sales to Indonesia and making serious rumblings about human rights, the time may finally be right to tell the Indonesians to clean up their act.

Even if this means upsetting the relationship, Australians could do worse than remember the old digger's words: "When you owe a mate something, you never forget it".

A FATHER'S DREAM TWICE BETRAYED IN EAST TIMOR

The Age (Letters to the Editor) 21 July 1994
from Nooray "Paddy" Zakaria

I have been watching the happenings in East Timor with a double feeling of shame and sorrow. I am an Australian with an Indonesian father.

At the age of 18 my father took part in the 1926 uprisings against the Dutch and was sent to Irian Jaya for an exile from his homeland that was to last 19 years.

After independence he was finally able to return home, full of hope for the future of his country, but years in the malaria-infested swamps of Irian Jaya took their toll and he died shortly afterwards.

My father committed all of his short life to a free and just Indonesia and I am glad that he did not live to see the betrayal of his vision by the military regime that now controls Indonesia. He would have been appalled by the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, just as I am deeply ashamed of Australia's complicity by silence, in the genocide there.

There is increasing international concern over East Timor, along with calls for action from Max Stahl, John Pilger, the Portuguese Government, Vice-Rector Armindo Maia, Bishop Belo and, from Australia, Cardinal Clancy and Father Peter Hosking. Even the US has taken the unprecedented stand of withholding the sale of small arms to Indonesia. Yet still, all the Australian Government can offer is Gareth Evan's mealy-mouthed, apologist excuses for doing nothing.

Australia earns no respect from Indonesia, or anyone else, for its weakness on East Timor.

All it does is how us to be immoral, greedy and unprincipled, and pathetically immature and unready to be a "regional partner" in Asia.

Hypocritically selective in our condemnation of human rights abuses, we are without credibility as a moral commentator on Asia and our failure as a global citizen is the more reprehensible because of our past association with East Timor and our wartime debt to its people.

WHERE INDONESIA GETS ITS SMALL ARMS

Report from Martin Broek, co-ordinator, European Network Against Arms Trade campaign: STOP ARMING INDONESIA; Pesthuislaan 39, 1054 RH Amsterdam, the Netherlands, tel/fax: +31 20 6164684. Email address: Martin%aps@amokmar.hacktic.nl

Indonesia acquired small arms from Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Germany, Swiss, Austria, the USA and South Korea (for more specific information see below) and is producing small arms at the state owned (Habibie) PT Pindad plant in Bandung. This US decision must not be the reason for more exports from European countries who have had the lion share in the exports of personnel weapons to Indonesia in the past. In the

Dutch paper "the Volkkrant, 16-07-94" a Indonesian official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated: "When this text got the power of a law, Indonesia has no other choice then to acquire elsewhere".

German groups organising a shadow conference at September the 17th before the Karlsruhe meeting of ministers of Foreign Affairs of ASEAN/EU on September 22-23 asked to lobby in the European countries (not only Ireland and Portugal) for a critical approach of the situation in East Timor. The ban of arms sales and the stop of licence production should be an aim to lobby for.

Annex:

Information from Military Powers Encyclopedia; South-East- Asia, 1991 on small arms page 93 (army personal weapons):

Austria:

Assault rifles (army, with the parachutists and the counter-terrorist police units): * NATO 5.56 mm: Steyr Mannlicher AUG (Austria)

Belgium:

Pistols (army): * Parabellum 9 mm x 19: Pindad (Belgium-Indonesia). Rifles (army): * 7.92 mm: FN Herstal M-49

Assault rifles (army): * NATO 7.62 mm: FN Herstal FAL * FNC FN Herstal (Belgium-Indonesia).

Light and heavy machine guns: * NATO 5.56 mm: FN Herstal Minimi (army) * 12.7 mm Ramo and FN Herstal M-2HB (USA-Belgium)

Germany:

Assault rifles (army): * Heckler und Koch G-3

Italy:

Submachine guns (army): * Parabellum 9 mm x 19: Beretta Mod. 12 (Italy-Indonesia)

Rifles (army): * NATO 7.62 mm: Beretta BM-59 (Italy-Indonesia)

South Korea (see USA):

Swiss: Assault rifles (army): * SG-540/-541

Sweden: Submachine guns (army): * Mod.45

USA: Assault rifles (army): * Colt (USA and Daewoo Heavy Industry (ROK): M 16 A1.

Light and heavy machine guns: * NATO 7.62 mm: Saco M-60 (both army) * (See Belgium)

TIMOR UNIVERSITY REJECTS OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF UNREST

by Jeremy Wagstaff, Reuter

Jakarta, July 22, 1994 -- East Timor's university has rejected official accounts of last week's protests, accusing Indonesian security forces of initiating violence that left

dozens injured, a university official said on Friday. Armindo Maia, vice rector for academic affairs, told Reuters by telephone from Dili the university had issued its own version of events, in which it rejected military and foreign ministry accounts blaming students for the clash. A translation of the document was obtained by Reuters.

"We saw the event as it unfolded and were witness to the fact that the violence was not initiated by the demonstrators, that the injuries inflicted on the wounded were not only the result of stone-throwing, but were more the result of the violence perpetrated by the security forces," it said. More than a dozen students and Catholic youths were injured after security forces wielding batons, shields and tear-gas broke up a march on the local parliament in protest at the alleged harassment of two Catholic nuns on the campus. It was the worst reported incident there since troops in late 1991 gunned down up to 200 demonstrators at a Dili cemetery. The United States has expressed concern about recent developments in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, which was invaded in 1975 and later annexed by Indonesia. Indonesian forces have since faced rumbling unrest among the mainly Catholic community and a low-level guerrilla campaign which many East Timorese say they tacitly support. Maia confirmed the contents of the document and said Pastor Bratasudarma, the University's rector, had decided to publish the document after the government denied security forces had violently broken up the protest. "We don't want to be involved in any protest with the government but we want to tell the truth," Maia said. The account contradicts parts of official military accounts and remarks by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who told reporters this week that security forces had used restraint. "All the facts show that there was restraint, an appropriate response by police that tried to manage the demonstration. No one was seriously hurt because all the time now riot gear is used. No shooting, nothing," Alatas told a news conference.... Indonesia, which has battled to improve its image over the tiny half-island territory, has faced sporadic international concern over the issue and criticism from human rights groups. Military officials have denied there was any effort to surround the university and argued that those injured fell off walls or were hit by stones thrown by fellow protesters. But Bratasudarma, an Indonesian from the main island of Java, said the security forces initiated the clash, sending many youths fleeing back into the campus or into nearby military barracks where they were hit by troops. "The most serious injuries were sustained by those who fled, jumped over the hedge and entered

the complex of Company C and were thrashed by members of the Armed Forces," he said. Maia said up to six people were still missing but he said it seemed unlikely any of them had been killed. The University and the International Committee of the Red Cross said earlier they were investigating reports of killings. While Maia said the situation had calmed in recent days, the statement said last week's violence was merely one in a series of confrontations with the government. "It should be noted that this incident is only part of a chain of events, some large, some small, some reported, some concealed... that have already occurred, and that will occur in coming days," the statement said.

THAILAND DEPORTS 2 AUSTRALIANS, FILIPINO,

Reuter, July 22, 1994 [Abridged]

Bangkok -- Thailand has deported two Australians, one of them a press aide for East Timorese opposition groups, and a Filipino, who had all been attending a controversial human rights conference, diplomatic sources said on Friday. "Their permission to stay in the country was revoked," an Australian diplomat told Reuters. "Our understanding is that they have already left the country but we have not yet had that confirmed by the Thai authorities," the diplomat added. Margherita Tracanelli, media director for East Timorese opposition groups, film-maker Frank Coreo and Lito Ocampo, a Philippine photographer, were picked up by immigration officials at their hotel on Thursday and taken away for questioning. A friend of the trio told Reuters they had been held at Bangkok airport overnight and left on a flight to Sydney on Friday morning. The three arrived in Thailand this month and travelled to the Thai-Burmese border where they made contact with Burmese opposition groups on the Burmese side of the frontier. They returned to Bangkok this week to attend a Southeast Asian human rights meeting coinciding with the annual ministerial meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). ... East Timor activist Jose Ramos Horta told reporters on Thursday that Indonesia had put heavy pressure on Thailand to stop the rights meeting. Horta said Jakarta had threatened to delay implementing a joint development project in a so-called growth-triangle if Thailand let Timorese activists attend the conference. "It is not true. His (Horta's) voice is only to draw world attention," Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman Irawan Abidin said. The conference was forced to change venues

twice but is underway at a small guest house in a Bangkok suburb....

CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM CLASHES IN EAST TIMOR RAISE TENSIONS, U.S. CONCERNS

by William Branigin, Washington Post, 7/22/94

JAKARTA, Indonesia - Disturbances in the disputed Indonesian-ruled territory of East Timor have fanned religious tensions between Christians and Muslims there and intensified U.S. concerns about human rights. Indonesian authorities are trying to play down the latest clash, in which security forces broke up a march by East Timorese students last week in Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony that was forcibly annexed by Indonesia in 1976. But the government appears nervous about growing perceptions that its conflict with East Timorese opponents is taking on religious overtones. The turmoil comes at a sensitive time for Indonesia, which is preparing to host a meeting of Asian and Pacific leaders, including President Clinton, in November. The issues of human rights and East Timor are expected to come up next week in talks between Indonesia and the United States following a meeting of Southeast Asian foreign ministers in Bangkok. On July 14, the U.S. Senate voted to continue a ban on sales of light arms and crowd-control equipment to Indonesia until several conditions relating to human rights and East Timor are met. The Clinton administration opposes the language in the measure, which is still under congressional consideration. Despite Indonesia's insistence its annexation of East Timor is irreversible, the impoverished territory of 800,000 inhabitants, mostly Roman Catholics, remains a major problem for the world's largest predominantly Muslim country. Although Indonesia on Sunday celebrated the 18th anniversary of the annexation, East Timorese say there is still widespread resentment of Jakarta's rule, even among youths who have grown up knowing nothing else. After invading in 1975 in the midst of a civil war set off by Portugal's pullout from the territory, Indonesian troops brutally suppressed the leftist Fretilin independence movement and imposed a military occupation. More than 100,000 East Timorese are estimated to have died in the fighting and a subsequent famine. Now the lingering resentment of many East Timorese is being fed by what residents and diplomats describe as rising religious tension. "East Timor is like hell," Bishop Carlos Filipe Belo, the territory's Roman Catholic leader, told the Reuter news

agency in Dili Sunday. "Christians are constantly being arrested, beaten and intimidated by police." An East Timorese aid worker said there is a widespread perception that Indonesian authorities are trying to undermine the influence of the church, which has significantly grown in recent years as East Timorese have rallied to it in an effort to preserve their identity. In a news conference here Tuesday, however, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas strongly disputed charges of religious persecution in East Timor, calling them "very irresponsible." Since 1976, he said, "figures show that Catholicism has flourished in East Timor." Dili residents said 18 students were injured, four seriously, when security forces broke up a peaceful protest march July 14 and arrested 15 people. All but one have been released. It was the biggest confrontation since November 1991, when Indonesian troops gunned down up to 200 protesters at a Dili cemetery. The July 14 march was in response to an incident at the university the day before in which four Muslims reportedly insulted two Catholic nuns who were registering for classes. Students then began fighting with the men. On June 28, two Muslim soldiers outraged Catholic worshippers when they visited a church south of Dili and trampled on communion wafers. The military commander in East Timor, Col. Johnny Lumintang, apologized for the incident and promised to punish the soldiers, who were detained pending a court martial.

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC SOCIAL JUSTICE COUNCIL REITERATES HUMAN-RIGHTS PROPOSAL

MEDIA RELEASE, ACSJC, Sydney, 22 July 1994

On 20th July, the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council (ACSJC), the peak social-justice and human-rights body of the Catholic Church in Australia, re-stated its request for a human-rights delegation to visit East Timor. Bishop Kevin Manning, Bishop of Armidale, faxed a letter to His Excellency Sabam Siagian, Indonesian Ambassador in Canberra, with copy to Australia's Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans.

Bishop Manning said today that the request was first made in 1992 and had been followed up several times with an official call at the Indonesian Embassy, telephone calls and further letters. Following Cardinal Clancy's mention of it on last Friday's PM programme after the Dili University incident, and Senator Evans' support for it on Channel 9s Sunday programme the Council has once again contacted the Indonesian Ambassador.

"Bishop Belo's recent statements paint a grim picture of frequent human-rights violations," Bishop Manning said. "The ACSJC wants to go East Timor to see the situation first-hand".

The delegation would plan to send reports of its observation and conclusions to the Government of Indonesia, Senator Evans and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso.

"We hope the mission will lead to improvements in East Timor" Bishop Manning concluded. "I feel sure the delegation will approach the visit in a positive and constructive way".

CONTACT

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PRESSURE JAKARTA, AUSTRALIAN CARDINAL URGES

THE AGE, 16th July 1994. By Mark Baker, political editor Canberra

Australia's most senior Roman catholic prelate, Cardinal Edward Clancy, has criticised the Federal Government for failing to take a strong enough stand against human rights abuses in East Timor.

In the wake of the week's violence in Dili, Cardinal Clancy said the Government responses had been superficial and left "a lot to be desired".

"I think the whole situation needs to be examined much more carefully and much more closely and I would hope the Government will do that," he said in an interview with ABC radio.

He said the Government should increase pressure on the Indonesian Government to permit a delegation from the Catholic social justice council to visit the territory to discuss human rights conditions.

More than 20 people were injured when troops violently broke up a protest march in Dili on Thursday. It was the latest in a series of anti-government demonstrations in the territory in recent days.

A spokeswoman for Senator Evans said yesterday that the latest violence was "very regrettable" and the Australian embassy in Jakarta was seeking more information from contacts in Dili.

She said the Government was likely to raise its concerns formally with the Indonesian Government once it had clarified details of the incidents.

A senior labor MP yesterday called on Senator Evans to press for an end to Indonesia's "military occupation" of East Timor following the latest trouble.

Mr Warren Snowden, the member of the Northern Territory and parliamentary secretary to the Minister for employment, said the only way to end the long-running conflict in East Timor was for the estimated 10,000 Indonesian troops deployed in the territory to be withdrawn.

Both Mr Snowden and Cardinal Clancy said the Government should also renew pressure for the opening of an Australian consulate in Dili.

Mr Snowden said he would write to Senator Evans to emphasise "the necessary for an end to the Indonesian military occupation of East Timor and for the urgent need to normalise the administration in this trouble territory".

He said Australia should press Jakarta to pull its troops out of East Timor.

"If Indonesian are to secure the confidence of the international community that conditions in East Timor are improving they should withdraw the military and normalise the situation there," Mr Snowden said.

CONFUSION ON DILI CLASH FUELS TENSION

The Age, 16th July 1994. By Lindsay Murdoch

Conflicting reports are coming out of East Timor about whether security forces killed any students when they violently dispersed a protest march in the capital Dili yesterday.

Officials of the Red Cross and Dili's University where the trouble started said they were investigating claims that several people had been killed but admitted they had no evidence.

The Indonesian military has denied anybody was killed.

Tensions remained high in the former Portuguese colony but residents said there were no further incidents today.

a delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Dili told the Reuters newsagency: "it is important to know what has happened and the authorities have assured me repeatedly that nobody has been killed."

Officials from the University said they had received reports that two youth had been killed but stressed they had not been able to confirm this.

Mr Armindo Mayo, vice-rector of academic affairs at the University, told an ABC reporter in Australia that one student had died when soldiers started beating protesters who were intending to march to the local parliament building to protest about insults to the Catholic Church.

However, Mr Mario later indicated that the information had changed and there was no confirmation of any death.

Yesterday the Associated Press news agency quoted a representative of a private foundation that works to improve the lives of Timorese as saying that three students had been killed "on the spot".

Residents told journalists that about 30 people were hurt when troops and police wearing riot gear attacked Catholic protesters with sticks. The crowd of about 500 panicked and fled.

Reuters quoted residents as saying that troops smashed a cross, ripped Catholic banners and tore rosary beads from the necks of protesters.

The demonstration was organised in part to protest acts of sacrilege committed by two Muslim soldiers in a Catholic Church on Dili's outskirts on 28 June.

The Indonesian military has apologised for the incident and said the soldiers would be dismissed if found guilty.

Earlier this week, Anti-Muslim sentiment among East Timor's predominantly Catholic population came to the surface when a group of Muslim students allegedly offended two nuns at the University. Indonesia is predominantly Muslim.

Speaking by telephone from Dili, Major Laeden Simbolon said 12 people, two of them students, were still being held for questioning but would be released later.

Australian diplomats in Jakarta are worried about a diplomatic falling-out with Jakarta after the ABC-run Australia Television last night screened a segment of East Timor that was shot last year by producer Max Stahl.

The film has angered Indonesia's Department of Foreign Affairs. Mr Stahl was in East Timor in 1991 when soldiers killed scores of protesters in what has been known as the Dili massacre. Mr Stahl's latest footage alleges a second massacre.

EDITORIAL OPINION -STOP THE BEATING

The Age, 16TH July 1994

Nearly 20 years after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, the intimidation, beating and killing appear to be routine. This week, the people of the former Portuguese colony experienced another taste of intolerance when dozens of protesters came under assault from the security forces. What has Indonesia fear from these oppressed and unhappy East Timorese, so few in number, that it feels the need to bash them - or worse-whenver they expressed their discontent in public? It is deeply unfortunate and reprehensible that this should be so, not

just for those who feel the pain, but for those who wish to see Indonesia put such behind it. Every time another blow lands on an East Timorese, Australia winces at what such flagrant disregard for universal values may do to relations between Canberra and Jakarta.

The Keating Government has gone out of a limb by relegating human rights to a position many would regard as secondary to the interests of trade. So persistent is the evidence of brutality, however, that it becomes increasingly difficult for Mr Keating and Senator Evans to maintain their poise. East Timor is not, as they would wish, going to stop being a thorn in one of Australia's most important bilateral relationships until the Indonesian authorities bring their troops under control.

There is no need, no conceivable excuse, for their atrocious behaviour. The Bishop of Dili, in a interview published in 'The Age' early this week, made a point of complaining that western governments over the years had let the Indonesian forces get away with murder. Such prods to the conscience make it all the more necessary for Australia to make its displeasure known at the latest deterioration of conditions in East Timor. Pragmatism, Mr Keating should acknowledge, has its limitations.

EVAN'S INVECTIVE CAME FIRST - PILGER

The Age (letters to the editor), 21 July 1994

Mark Baker's reference to my "shrill invective" ('The Age', 16/7) in my criticisms of Senator Gareth Evans's position on East Timor is gratuitous.

Indeed, it is reminiscent of the kind of casual smear that some members of the press gallery in Canberra have allowed Senator Evans to get away with for far too long.

It was the Foreign Minister's invective against me - not the other way round - that sought to undermine important evidence in my film, 'Death of a Nation'. Moreover, his abuse was delivered without his having seen a single frame of my film.

As Mark Baker will know, this technique can be effective; the abuse becomes headlines and the abuser is not often called upon to substantiate his remarks if he is an authority figure with a court.

I don't recall Mark Baker challenging Senator Evans's quite shameful behaviour at the time. Fortunately, as the letter columns of 'The Age' demonstrate, your readers understand well the Australian Government's complicity in Indonesia's crime in East Timor and the threat posed by unpalatable facts reaching a popular audience.

John Pilger

EAST TIMOR MARBLE POTENTIAL INVITES INVESTORS

(From Indonesian government news agency, July 18)

DILI, July 18 (Oana-Antara) -- East Timor is wooing investors to take part in its marble business. "We have invited domestic as well as foreign businessmen invest in the marble business in East Timor," the Local Investment Coordinating Board head, T. Sinaga, said here yesterday. The board, he said, has provided complete and accurate information about the potential and business analysis of marble in East Timor. According to him, entrepreneurs in the marble business in the province have reaped big profits. A research in 1993 found deposits of 15.6 billion cubic metres of colourful marble in East Timor's regencies of Kovalima and Manufahi.

-- Oana-Antara

EVANS BACKS INDON WAR GAMES IN DARWIN

The Age, 20 July 1994

By Mark Baker, political editor, Canberra

The Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, yesterday defended an invitation for the Indonesian armed forces to take part in joint exercises with the Australian military across northern Australia next year.

Senator Evans rejected claims that the move compromised the Government's protests at last week's violent suppression by Indonesian troops of demonstrations in Dili and its calls for the demilitarisation of East Timor.

He said efforts to engage Indonesia in a broad relationship - including closer defence cooperation - helped Australia's credibility and effectiveness in seeking improved human rights in East Timor.

But a senior Labor MP said yesterday that he was uncomfortable with the invitation and predicted a strong reaction from the Australian Timorese community.

Mr Warren Snowdon, the member for Northern Territory and parliamentary secretary to the Employment Minister, said he was concerned at the implications of inviting Indonesian troops to Australia while the "military occupation" of East Timor continued.

A Timor activist, Mr Rob Wesley-Smith, said the sight of Indonesian soldiers in and around Darwin would open "deep psychological wounds" for Australian Timorese living there, many of whom lost relatives in the 1991 Dili massacre.

Indonesia and a number of other Asian nations have been invited to take part in the Kangaroo '95 exercises, the big triennial land, air and sea forces.

A Defence Force spokeswoman said yesterday that the Indonesians, who have been observers at previous Kangaroo exercises, had not yet responded to the invitation.

The Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, Mr Gary Punch, said he understood the "niceties" involved with Darwin's big Timorese community: "I know it's very difficult for those Timorese families (but it) has to be seen in the broader overview of long-term progress... I think we have to understand that Indonesia is the next door neighbour."

Senator Evans said it had to be understood that Australia has a "multi-faceted" relationship with Indonesia that covered the broad spectrum of economic and political issues.

"Any concerns we express on the subject of East Timor are likely to be more effective than would be the case if we had no relationship at all with Indonesia," he said.

Both Senator Evans and the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, yesterday also rejected a claim by the deputy Thai Foreign Minister, Mr Surin, that Australia adopted double standards in raising human rights issues.

Senator Evans said Australia made no distinction of principle on universal human rights standards, but did take account of "different backgrounds and sensitivities" of individual countries to ensure that its representation were productive.

"Human rights is always a no win situation," he said. "There is always someone either complaining that you are not going in hard enough...or else, on the other hand, that we are going in a much too strident fashion."

Mr Keating said Australia's human rights record was "as good as any in the world" and was one of the country's great strengths here and abroad". (with AAP)

EVANS: INDONESIA HEAVY-HANDED

Voice of America, 7/21/94

BY ROBIN POKE, CANBERRA

INTRO: AUSTRALIA'S MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SENATOR GARETH EVANS, SAYS INDONESIA CONTINUES TO BE HANDICAPPED ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE BY ITS HEAVY-HANDED APPROACH TO EAST TIMOR. IN A SPEECH LATE WEDNESDAY, HE ALSO SAID THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS USED COERCION AND MALPRACTICE IN MAINTAINING

POWER. ROBIN POKE REPORTS FROM CANBERRA.

TEXT: SENATOR EVANS MADE HIS REMARKS AT THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY WHEN LAUNCHING A BOOK BY ACADEMICS THERE ABOUT INDONESIA'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS UNDER THE NEW ORDER. HE SAID THE MAIN THEME OF THE BOOK IS THE TRANSFORMATION OF INDONESIA FROM THE CHAOS AND TURMOIL OF THE YEARS UNDER PRESIDENT SUKARNO TO THE PRESENT ERA OF POLITICAL STABILITY.

AUSTRALIA'S MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ALSO SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THIS STABILITY HAD BEEN BOUGHT AT A PRICE. HE SAID AMONG THE MORE REMARKABLE ASPECTS OF THIS PROCESS HAD BEEN THE MANAGEMENT OF POLITICAL CHANGE; THE PROGRESSIVE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF THE NEW ORDER ; AND THE PARALLEL GROWTH OF BOTH STATE POWER AND THE PERSONAL AUTHORITY OF PRESIDENT SUHARTO. SENATOR EVANS SAID THAT IN ASSESSING THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THAT PROCESS, THE BOOK'S AUTHORS HAVE BEEN VERY FRANK.

// BEGIN ACT //

POINTING FOR EXAMPLE, TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH COERCION AND FINANCIAL MALPRACTICE CONTINUE TO BE RELIED UPON IN SUSTAINING A POLICY THAT IS AT THE SAME TIME UNQUESTIONABLY MORE STABLE AND EFFICIENT THAN ITS PREDECESSOR, AND THE WAY IN WHICH THEY POINT TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH INDONESIA CONTINUES TO MAKE A ROD FOR ITS OWN BACK INTERNATIONALLY BY ITS HEAVY-HANDED APPROACH TO EAST TIMOR.

// END ACT //

SENATOR EVANS WENT ON TO SAY INDONESIA WAS AN EXTRAORDINARILY DIVERSE SOCIETY, WHERE THE DARKER SIDES ARE MATCHED AND COUNTERED BY SOPHISTICATED, LIBERAL AND INTERNATIONALIST TRENDS ACCEPTABLE IN MOST OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. HE SAID THIS BECAME EVIDENT TO HIM ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO INDONESIA, JUST AFTER THE DECISION BY THE GOVERNMENT TO CLOSE THREE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS.

HE SAID WHILE THE MOVE HAD CAUSED GREAT UNHAPPINESS, THERE WAS ALSO ACCEPTANCE THAT SUCH MEASURES WOULD SOON BE A THING OF THE PAST.

THE EDITOR OF THE BOOK, HAL HILL, SAID THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA WERE RIGHT TO PURSUE THE ISSUE OF INDONESIA'S ACTIONS IN EAST TIMOR. HE AGREED THERE HAD BEEN A DRAMATIC SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IN INDONESIA AND POINTED TO THE WORLD BANK'S ASSESSMENT LAST YEAR THAT INDONESIA WAS AN EAST ASIAN ECONOMIC MIRACLE.

// BEGIN ACT //

NEVERTHELESS, EAST TIMOR IS A CONTINUING PROBLEM, FOR THE TIMORESE THEMSELVES AND, I SUPPOSE, A CONTINUING THORN IN THE SIDE FOR THE INDONESIANS THEMSELVES INTERNATIONALLY.

// END ACT //

THE REMARKS BY SENATOR EVANS FOLLOW RECENT CRITICISM OF AUSTRALIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES. THE COUNTRY'S LEADING CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN, CARDINAL EDWARD CLANCY, ACCUSED THE GOVERNMENT OF INCONSISTENCY, SAYING IT SHOULD SHOW THE SAME CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR AS IT DID IN VIETNAM OR CHINA.

THAILAND'S DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. SURIN PITSUWAN, ALSO ACCUSED AUSTRALIA OF USING DOUBLE STANDARDS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. HE SAID AUSTRALIA PREFERRED NOT TO RAISE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN SOME COUNTRIES IF ITS INTERESTS THERE MIGHT BE JEOPARDIZED, BUT AT OTHER TIMES WAS MORE FORCEFUL. SENATOR EVANS SAID HE LOOKED FORWARD TO CLARIFYING THE ISSUE WHEN HE ATTENDS AN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH-EAST ASIAN NATIONS MEETING SOON IN BANGKOK.

HORTA CRITICIZES ASEAN

Voice of America, 7/21/94

BY DAN ROBINSON, BANGKOK
INTRO: AN EAST TIMORESE INDEPENDENCE ACTIVIST HAS CRITICIZED INDONESIA AND THAILAND FOR TRYING TO PREVENT A CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS FROM TAKING PLACE IN BANGKOK. JOSE RAMOS-

HORTA ACCUSED MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN) OF IGNORING REPRESSION IN EAST TIMOR IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA. V-O-A'S DAN ROBINSON HAS A REPORT:

TEXT: AN AUSTRALIAN-BASED CAMPAIGNER FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF EAST TIMOR, MR. RAMOS-HORTA SAYS THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT EXERTED DIRECT PRESSURE ON THAILAND TO BAN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SEMINAR AND PREVENT ACTIVISTS FROM ATTENDING.

THAI GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS DENIED ANY PRESSURE FROM JAKARTA, BASING THEIR ACTIONS ON WHAT IS CALLED THE ASEAN SPIRIT WHICH SAYS ONE COUNTRY SHOULD NOT ALLOW ITS TERRITORY TO BE USED TO CRITICIZE ANOTHER MEMBER.

HOWEVER, ON HIS ARRIVAL IN BANGKOK FOR THE ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING, INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALI ALATAS PRAISED THAILAND AND DISMISSED THE ACTIVISTS AS NOT REPRESENTING EAST TIMOR.

AT A NEWS CONFERENCE, MR. RAMOS-HORTA NOTED THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE WAS GOING AHEAD, BUT PARTICIPANTS WERE UNDER SURVEILLANCE AND BEING HARASSED.

DESCRIBING INDONESIA AS, IN HIS WORDS, A REGIONAL BULLY HE SAID INDONESIA HAS ONLY SUCCEEDED IN DRAWING MORE ATTENTION TO EAST TIMOR. THAILAND, HE SAID, BETRAYED ITS OWN PRINCIPLES BY TRYING TO BLOCK THE CONFERENCE:

// RAMOS-HORTA //

THAILAND, BY ITS BEHAVIOR ON THIS HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE BECOMES A LAUGHING STOCK. NOBODY TAKES THAILAND SERIOUSLY IF IT IS NOT PREPARED TO STAND UP FOR ITS OWN CONSTITUTION. IT IS A BIT DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION, LIKE THE ONE IN THE PHILIPPINES AND THE ONE NOW IN THAILAND, WHICH UPHOLDS FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND ASSEMBLY WITH THIS SO-CALLED ASEAN SPIRIT IN NOT ALLOWING THEIR COUNTRIES TO TALK ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND LIBERTY IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

// END ACT //

LAST MAY, INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT PRESSURE AND FORCED THE PHILIPPINES TO BAN FOREIGN PARTICIPANTS FROM A MEETING ON EAST TIMOR IN MANILA.

THAI AUTHORITIES HAVE ALLOWED THE BANGKOK SEMINAR TO PROCEED. BUT IT WAS FORCED TO RE-LOCATE TWICE AFTER A MAJOR UNIVERSITY AND A HOTEL DECLINED TO HOST THE GATHERING AFTER GOVERNMENT WARNINGS.

THE MEETING FINALLY BEGAN AT ANOTHER SMALL HOTEL NEAR BANGKOK AIRPORT. HOWEVER, POLICE CHECKED PASSPORTS OF PARTICIPANTS. MR. RAMOS-HORTA SAID THREE OF HIS COLLEAGUES WERE BEING QUESTIONED THURSDAY BY IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS.

THAILAND'S PRIME MINISTER, CHUAN LEEKPAI, HAS SAID HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS WERE TRYING TO CAUSE PROBLEMS IN THAI-INDONESIAN RELATIONS. HE DESCRIBED EAST TIMOR AS, IN HIS WORDS, NONE OF OUR BUSINESS.

// REST OPT //

MR. RAMOS-HORTA PRAISED WHAT HE CALLED A HARDENING OF U-S POLICIES TOWARD INDONESIA OVER HUMAN RIGHTS, AND A U-S SENATE VOTE TO BAN THE SALE OF SMALL ARMS BECAUSE OF THE EAST TIMOR SITUATION. HE CALLED FOR MORE INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON JAKARTA.

THE TOP U-S OFFICIAL FOR EAST ASIA WINSTON LORD SAID (THURSDAY) THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION IS CONCERNED ABOUT EAST TIMOR AND CONTINUES TO RELAY THESE CONCERNS TO JAKARTA.

CLINTON & CO.: "WHAT EVIL LURKS?"

By David Corn

The Nation magazine (US), July 25/August 1, 1994.

[Most of the column discusses the Fiske report, Foster's suicide, and other similar problems of the Clinton administration. The following paragraph is a separate topic at the end of the article.]

The deal was fixed. Human rights - friendly Senator Patrick Leahy, chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, and Senator Bennett Johnston, a Louisiana De-

mocrat, had agreed on legislative language that would prohibit Indonesia from using U.S. lethal military equipment in East Timor - where Jakarta has committed mass murder to repress an independence movement. Johnston had accepted this move to forestall other restrictions. But when the legislation reach the floor recently, Johnston, a steady apologist for Indonesia (where Louisiana company, Freeport McMoRan, maintains a vast mining and logging operation), introduced an amendment to kill the provision. A furious Leahy stormed about, exclaiming that he'd never been so lied to in all his Senate years. Johnston waved a letter from Secretary of State Warren Christopher reporting that the President opposed the ban. Leahy fought nobly, but was rolled 59 to 35, as twenty-four Democrats - including Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Mikulski - joined most Republicans to support Johnston and Clinton. The tussle was more proof of the Administration maxim: Foreign policy is not about human rights, stupid; it's about business, business, business.

Comment from Charles Scheiner, ETAN/US:

As a result of Leahy's anger, he and other Senators worked hard for the next two weeks to get the State Department to agree to some limitations on arms sales. They didn't want the Senate to be on record supporting the use of lethal US-supplied weapons in East Timor. Two weeks later (The incident Corn described occurred on June 29), on July 14, the Senate unanimously adopted a State Department-approved ban on the sale of light arms and riot control equipment to Indonesia. The measure is now before a House-Senate Conference Committee.

TIMOR ACTIVIST PREDICTS INDEPENDENCE SOON

Reuter, 22 July 1994. Abridged

Bangkok -- An East Timorese opposition leader at the centre of a controversial human rights conference appeared in public on Friday with the prediction that East Timor would be independent by the end of the decade. He delivered the prediction and a report to the Southeast Asian Human Rights Network conference meeting in a women's welfare centre guest house in a northern suburb of the Thai capital.

He was greeted with applause as he entered the centre, two hours late, having said earlier that he was keeping a low profile in Thailand.

The meeting, especially the fact that East Timor was on its agenda, detonated a minefield of controversy in recent days, with

Thai officials warning that foreigners were breaking Thai law by attending the meeting.

The conference was forced to change venue from a university to a small guest house and a number of activists were successfully prevented from speaking.

Earlier in the day, Thailand deported two Australians - one a Ramos-Horta press aide - and a Philippine national. All had been attending the meeting.

The Thai government said the rights meeting was an embarrassment, coinciding as it did with a high-protocol ministerial meeting of ASEAN in Bangkok.

Plainclothes security officers kept watch outside the guest-house on Friday, photographing and video-taping people arrived, but made no attempt to interfere with the meeting.

Ramos-Horta said Indonesia had pressed Thailand to prevent discussion of East Timor and had threatened to delay implementing a joint development project if Thailand let East Timorese activists attend the meeting. Officials in Jakarta denied this.

TIMOR BISHOP CALLS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS INSPECTION

Weekend Australian, 23-24 July 1994

By Patrick Walters in Jakarta

The Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, wants Indonesia's government-appointed Human Rights Commission to visit the province.

According to the Jakarta Post, Bishop Belo wants the commission to examine conditions in East Timor, where tensions have been running high in recent weeks.

The 25-member commission was established by President Suharto last year to monitor human rights in Indonesia. While it has not been involved in East Timor, the commission caused a stir earlier this year when it examined the authorities' handling of the murder of young labour activist Marsinah.

The commission found evidence that the defendants accused of murdering Marsinah had been subject to torture as well as significant abuse of legal processes.

Bishop Belo said yesterday he had not extended a formal invitation to the Human Rights Commission to travel to East Timor.

"It's the Human Rights Commission's duty to go anywhere in Indonesia where they are needed and not only in Jakarta... It's up to them," he said.

Members of the commission could not be contacted by "The Australian" yesterday for comment on Bishop Belo's remarks.

According to local press reports, Dili has been calm in recent days, with no recurrence of the demonstrations that took place last

week. Feelings have been running high among the predominately Catholic East Timorese population since last June, when two Indonesian soldiers disrupted a Catholic church service in the village of Remexio.

According to the Jakarta Post, the Speaker of the East Timorese legislative council, Mr Antonio Freitas Parada, has appealed to all parties in East Timor to refrain from making statements that could escalate existing political tensions.

REEBOK AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Letters Editor

The Boston Globe, July 1994

Dear Sir/Madam,

Reebok executives, Fireman and Cahn outline a set of standards and justifications that guide their engagement in manufacturing in Indonesia and other countries in a July 19 letter "Reebok's human rights record has earned international acclaim". That Reebok, as a corporation, make a specific commitment to the occupational wellbeing of workers in Indonesia (and elsewhere), and to human rights around the world is laudable. Yet Reebok's commitment to human rights is surely laughable while they invest in Indonesia, which is carrying out an ongoing policy of slaughter of the people of East Timor. Nearly one-third of the East Timorese have died as a direct result of the December 1975 Indonesian invasion and subsequent occupation of East Timor in defiance of UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on East Timor. The Indonesian attack on East Timor represents "perhaps the greatest death toll relative to the population since the Holocaust" (The [Melbourne] Age, July 7). Would Reebok have defended their work practices at a hypothetical Reebok plant in Nazi Germany?

In editorial comment on moves within Congress to block a prohibition on sales of lethal U.S. weapons to Indonesia for use in East Timor, The Globe "Gentle about genocide" (July 11) notes that "the arguments presented by senators solicitous of Suharto's regime -- and of defense contractors, oil companies and mining concerns doing business with Jakarta -- made Americans seem a people willing to overlook genocide for the sake of commerce." Sadly, the Globe editors can include shoe manufacturers like Reebok on the list of commercial interests willing to do business with the perpetrators of genocide.

Indonesia continues with a policy of terror, transmigration, and destruction of indigenous culture in East Timor. Despite 18 years of brutal military occupation, the East

Timorese have never surrendered their wish to govern themselves. If Reebok is truly committed to human rights, and there are few more fundamental cases than the human rights of the East Timorese, then they can divest themselves of their engagements in Indonesia, and let the Indonesian and U.S. governments know why they left.

Sincerely,
James Risbey

RAMOS HORTA VICTORIOUS

Publico, 16 July 94. Translated from Portuguese, unabridged

CNRM spokesman, Jose Ramos Horta, told *Publico* yesterday, by phone from Bangkok, that the American Senate's decision was 'extremely positive' for the Timorese cause. He said he was very satisfied with the vote, observing that it would have been impossible to win on the two fronts which had been pursued - the arms embargo and prohibition on military cooperation. 'I had already told our Washington lobby that, if it proved necessary, it would be better to sacrifice the military cooperation question' - The proposal voted for by the Senate 'will not effect the situation on the ground, because Indonesia has a big enough arsenal for it not to be dependent on arms purchases for some time, but the decision is symbolically very important.' observed the CNRM representative.

Comment from Charles Scheiner,
ETAN/US

Despite what Ramos Horta said, the ban on US-supplied military training has not yet been lost. Both it and the limitations on arms sales were each passed by one house of the US's bicameral Congress. The two houses are meeting this week in conference to work out differences in the bill so that both can pass the same version.

We remain hopeful that both the ban on military training aid -- which has been in effect since 1992 and was approved without controversy by the House of Representatives this year -- and the ban on small arms sales -- which was approved unanimously by the Senate and accepted by the State Department -- will be in the final bill.

EU CENSURES JAKARTA

Publico, 19 July 94.

Translated from Portuguese, abridged
Lisbon -- Durão Barroso's appeals for European solidarity have not gone unanswered. The Council of Foreign Ministers of the European Union, meeting in Brussels yesterday criticized - albeit in a rather diplomatic tone - the violent incidents in East

Timor last Thursday, which resulted in the death of three Timorese and left 14 seriously wounded. In a joint declaration agreed upon yesterday in the Belgian capital, the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve stated that the European Union had noted with concern the events which took place in Dili and called for the respect for human rights, specifically those which concern freedom of religion and the free access to the territory for international organizations.

The Brussels statement was approved just hours after the Portuguese Foreign Minister had told his counterparts that 'these recent events in East Timor are further proof of Indonesian violation of human rights in the territory'. Introducing the issue as part of what he called 'the human rights dimension of the Common Security and Foreign Policy' of the EU, Mr Barroso called on his partners to intensify efforts 'to support the UN Secretary-General's initiatives on Timor'. After the meeting, he said that he was very pleased with the statement and that its content was 'very important' despite its 'diplomatic tone'.

The Portuguese minister told journalists that some of his colleagues at the Council of Europe had expressed reserve, as they wished for more clarification on degree of gravity of the events in Dili on 14 July; however they later came to agree with the text as a whole. One of the arguments which most convinced the ministers was the fact that the US had already taken a position on the matter.

Mr Barroso said that the Jakarta authorities are giving the Portuguese government information about last Thursdays confrontation and he added that this signified that there was 'some need for justification on Indonesia's part'.

SOARES PLEASED

Publico, 16 July 94.

Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon -- President Soares said yesterday that he was 'obviously very pleased' with the US Senate decision to put an embargo on arms sales to Indonesia and he commented that this 'is one more very serious set back for the Suharto dictatorship'. President Soares said that he was up to date with the position taken by the Portuguese foreign office and condemned the latest incidents in Dili as 'revealing, once again, the extreme brutality of the hateful Suharto dictatorship'. The situation also showed, he added, 'the tragic situation in which the Timorese and particularly the young people find themselves'

NO NEW EU - ASEAN AGREEMENT; GERMANY PRIORITIZES STRENGTHENING OF SOUTH-EAST ASIAN RELATIONS

Diario de Noticias, 13 July 94. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Lisbon -- Hans-Peter Repnik, Chair of the Council of Ministers for Cooperation and Development, ruled out the likelihood of the reopening of talks on a new accord between the EU and ASEAN countries during his government's tenure in the EU presidency this semester. He was speaking at a press conference in Brussels yesterday. The 1980 agreement is still in force because Portugal vetoed its renegotiation in 1992 on account of the situation in East Timor.

It is known however that the strengthening of ties between the Twelve and ASEAN countries, Indonesia included, is high on the agenda of the German presidency. The forthcoming conference of Foreign Ministers at Karlsruhe on 23 September is set to be the starting point for this process, according to statements made when the change-over took place at the start of the month.

At a time when the Lome Convention which governs relations between Europe and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, is up for revision, Hans-Peter Repnik enumerated three basic concepts governing the granting of community aid for development: 'democracy, human rights and good government'.

AUSTRALIAN PRESS ACCUSED

Jornal de Noticias, 6 July 94. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Australian academic, Geoffrey Gunn, speaking in Macau, accused sectors of his country's press and intellectual circles of collaborating with the Canberra government in covering up the truth about East Timor. Gunn is the author of the book 'A critical view of western journalism and scholarship on East Timor'.

AUSTRALIAN WANTS DILI CONSULATE

Publico, 20 July 94. Translated from Portuguese

An Australian Conservative Party senator, yesterday, appealed to the Portuguese Standing Committee on East Timor for support in opening an Australian consulate in Dili. John Mc Gauran, the only MP of his

party to have taken a public position in favour of Timor, speaking to the parliament committee, put the point that the existence of a consulate in the Timorese capital would permit better information flow from the territory and could be an important step in the defence of the Timorese human rights.

The committee to whom Mc Gauran put forward his idea did not share his opinion. Carlos Candal socialist deputy (MP) and acting vice-chair, said categorically 'As a jurist, I have to say that the opening of a consulate would fly in the face of international law'. Miguel Urbano Rodrigues. PCP (communist), considered the issue 'both open and equivocal' while Guido Rodrigues, PSD (social-democrat), regarded the idea as 'perfectly abstruse' and unlikely to help the cause of the people of Timor. Manuela Aguiar, PSD, was one of the few committee members who supported Mr McGauran's thesis and, speaking later to journalists, regretted that the Portuguese position was one of all or nothing. McGauran was also received by Barbosa de Melo, Speaker of the House, to whom he also appealed for support for his idea.

PORTUGAL CONDEMNS INDONESIAN REPRESSION IN UNIVERSITY

By Mario Dujisin

LISBON, Jul 14 (IPS) - The Portuguese government has condemned the repression unleashed Thursday against students at the University of Dili, capital of East Timor, by the Indonesian police and army.

At the same time, a committee of deputies from the political parties represented in the Portuguese parliament appealed to "all democratic parliaments in the world" to condemn "the brutal violation of human rights" in this former Portuguese colony in the archipelago of Java, invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Jose Manuel Durão Barroso described Thursday the incidents of Dili as "grave and serious", but "Indonesia's attitude does not surprise me" because "what else can you expect from a dictatorship like that of Jakarta".

According to reports in Lisbon, policemen supported by the army entered Thursday into the university, leaving an unspecified number of wounded and arrests of students, many of whom have now "disappeared".

The incident arose from a June 28 outrage when a group of Muslim Indonesian soldiers entered the Church of Sao Jose do Remexio 10 kms from Dili, pretending to be Catholics. After receiving the sacrament, they spat

at worshippers, arousing indignation among the Christian population.

Tension grew despite the fact that the army on Timor announced that the soldiers were being punished. Muslim and Catholic students took part in several incidents which culminated this Thursday with the flattening of the fence around the university by the army as entered the campus -- where the Catholics students were attacked.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, while in Portugal a democratic movement and a complicated process of decolonisation were developing led by the military revolution which deposed in 1974 the dictatorship installed in 1926 by Antonio de Oliveira Salazar.

Jakarta explained its military action of Dec. 7, 1975, as an act destined "to free the people of Timor from 470 years of Portuguese colonialism". However, those genuinely seeking independence reject this explanation -- because Timor was invaded one week after its independence was recognised by Lisbon.

According to Jose Ramos-Horta, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Timor during its week of existence, and leader of the anti-Indonesian resistance abroad, "if the Timorese had asked to be "freed" by Jakarta, the genocide of 210,000 persons of East Timor's 650,000 inhabitants would not have occurred".

Ramos-Horta condemned in the course of a telephone conversation with IPS from Australia "the brutal repression of the dictatorship of Indonesian president General Suharto", and explained the disturbances by noting that "what Timor wanted from Portugal, today is what it wants from Indonesia: independence".

EVANS CRITICISES EFFORTS TO GAG TIMORESE

The Canberra Times, By APP. 25 July 1994

BANGKOK: Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, criticised yesterday attempts to stifle recent conferences on East Timor in Philippines and Thailand, saying such talks could help resolve the vexing issue which continues to cast a shadow over Indonesia's international standing.

Although stopping short of directly attacking Indonesia over pressure its regime exerted on Philippines and Thai governments, Senator Evans said that such conferences could help find a solution for East Timor.

"It is disappointing that conferences of this kind have not been able, for whatever reason, to take place," he said.

"I don't think dialogue on these issues, including the participation of a whole vari-

ety of people, including East Timorese, does any harm and may in fact do some good in the sense of exposing the issues and encouraging...the Indonesians down the path of a more substantial reconciliation than has been the managed so far."

Senator Evans is in Bangkok for a series of talks with foreign ministers from the Association of South-East Asian Nations and foreign ministers from other leading south-east Asian nations.

He will meet the Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. Indonesia pressured Thailand to prevent a human-rights conference in Bangkok last week, which has been organised by regional non-government organisations, from publicly raising the issue of the disputed former Portuguese colony.

Three activists fighting for East Timorese independence, including two Australians, were expelled.

The Thai Government said they had breached visa conditions by visiting Burma, but it is understood they were on a list of 11 activists Indonesia wanted banned from speaking out on East Timor.

The move came after Indonesian pressure on the Philippines Government last month to ban a similar conference in Manila.

Senator Evans said Australia continued to recognise Indonesia's rule of East Timor, but he repeated calls for the Indonesian Government to downgrade its military presence and to negotiate with the East Timorese, including independence activists.

The United Nations does not recognise Jakarta's rule in East Timor, which Indonesian troops invaded in 1975 and Indonesia annexed the following year.

"The point has been made over and over again by Australia and by many others that if progress is to be made in East Timor, it can only occur in the context of a very significant downgrading of the military presence there, in the context of sensitive economic development occurring, and of full respect being given to the indigenous culture, including of course Catholic culture, which is distinctive feature of East Timor, together perhaps with some degree of political autonomy," Senator Evans said.

"That's what's needed if the heat is to go out of that particular issue and human rights are genuinely to be enjoyed by the East Timorese people, and if conferences like this help to make that point clear, then I would suggest there is no harm done in them taking place."

CHURCH V. STATE: CLANCY JOINS THE TIMOR DEBATE

The Canberra Times (Saturday forum), 23 July 1994. By Jenna Price

It has been a long time since the Catholic Church has spoken out publicly on human-rights abuses. JENNA PRICE asks Cardinal Clancy why.

Cardinal Edward Clancy, now 70 and the head of the Catholic Church in Australia, has some stern advice for the Federal Government.

"We should show as much concern about the abuse of human rights in East Timor as we have seen in Vietnam and China."

He has already, in the past week, given a serve to the way the Australian Government ignores East Timor. Despite the tough rebuttal of the Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, the Cardinal is not about to back off.

He isn't, by nature, a confrontational man. Nor is he, by record, one who often speaks out on social justice issues. But the recent events in East Timor, particularly the harassment of nuns, have been more than enough to encourage the usually cautious Cardinal to put East Timor back on the national agenda. And he says that three factors play an important part in making the East Timor issue important to Australians.

"The present events were a sacrilege; they are our next door neighbours - and we owe a special indebtedness to East Timor over the war years", he says.

He points out that his comments are not meant to galvanise only Catholics. "I'm not just speaking to Catholics, I'm speaking to the nation," he says.

His message, he stresses, is not disciplinarian. All Cardinal Clancy will say is that whoever hears him speak about East Timor will at least encourage discussion. "I'm not a dictator...I just hope to start people thinking."

When such an important Catholic begins to talk about political issues, politicians get nervous - and well they might.

Since the mid-eighties, the Catholic Church has had the biggest congregation in Australia - four million members at last count.

While Cardinal Clancy hastens to separate what he says as a representative of Catholic Church and whatever immediate electoral effect it might have, the reality is that Cardinal Clancy is the most senior voice of the biggest Church in Australia. What that voice says is that it is important for a democracy to hear lots of voices talking all with different opinions. "They set the nation thinking and one of the ways might be at the ballot box," he says.

Cardinal Clancy says it is hard to assess whether he affects the political views of Catholics in Australia, but he concedes that he does have a point view, and may indeed have some influence.

The Cardinal's influence has been maturing for some years. Edward Bede Clancy is now 70, became a bishop some 20 years ago and a cardinal in 1988. He says he cannot recall a time when he didn't want to become a priest.

Cardinal Clancy has always been described as a very correct kind of Catholic, a necessary for someone looking for a senior place in the Church hierarchy.

The parish priest of Redfern, in Sydney, Father Ted Kennedy, who knew him during his training says: "He was always very authoritarian in his approach to rules."

However, observers say that the Cardinal might be loosening up.

One of the groups responsible for putting social justice issues on the church agenda is Uniya, the Christian centre for social research and action, sponsored by the Australian Jesuits. Father Peter Hosking, director of Uniya, is delighted at the response to Cardinal Clancy's stance on East Timor. He emphasises though that it is not the first time that Cardinal Clancy has spoken out about Timor.

"He spoke very strongly last November at the anniversary mass of the Santa Cruz massacre," he says.

Father Hosking believes that much of the Cardinal's information about Timor can be traced to Keith O'Neill, the chief executive officer of the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, which as again written to Indonesia requesting that Australia be permitted to send an envoy to East Timor.

Mr O'Neill recently briefed the Cardinal on Timor and says that Cardinal Clancy is not well-informed on Timor - but very committed. He points out that when Bishop Belo, the Bishop of Dili, was in Australia, he stayed with Cardinal Clancy.

The Church has been criticised for speaking out on issues other than church doctrine but Cardinal Clancy has not time for this argument.

"It is hard to decide what is strictly a church matter and what isn't. But it is a no-contest decision on East Timor. It's a matter of human rights and human rights concern all Christians," he says.

Christians, he says, certainly have something to be concerned about in Australia. Although we compare favourably with other countries, our human-rights record still leaves a bit to be desired, "particularly with regards to our own Aboriginal race". Australia has done well in its attempts to have some effect on the treatment of human rights in Vietnam and China. "It's a very

difficult exercise," he says, "but Australia has got its voice heard."

Still, it is not enough. While the Cardinal claims he has firm ideas on how the Federal Government mend its ways, he says that those who work closely with the East Timorese refugees in Darwin have much clearer idea. "They are closer to the scene...they are more conscious of it," he says.

Sister Anne Bosio is certainly one who is close to the scene. She is elated that the Cardinal has finally chosen to speak out.

Sister Bosio would prefer just to be known as a social worker. But as the Superior of the Canossian order of nuns in Darwin, she does much more than that. She and her sister nuns are responsible for much of the social and pastoral work with the East Timorese refugees in Darwin.

She says that the East Timorese living in Darwin truly appreciated the Cardinal's outspoken stance.

"I know I did. It's not often the Church comes out for something like that," she says.

Sister Bosio is vivid in her desire for the Church to speak out on justice issues. "We have a duty to do that, without being afraid," she says.

Her advice to the Federal Government is blunt - we should copy the stance of other countries such as the US, which last week said it would restrict the sale of small arms to Indonesia and provide money to human rights groups. Sr Bosio believes Australia should try to take the same approach. "We need the help of the world to put some pressure on Indonesia," she says.

However, pressure on Indonesia in apparently not forthcoming from Australia at least. This week, the defence relationship between the two countries became closer, with the Federal Government inviting Indonesia for the first time to participate in war games in the Northern Territory.

Cardinal Clancy takes no issue with this. "If it is a matter of establishing peaceful relations with a neighbour I suppose it is to be commended," he says.

"Far better to indulge in these in a spirit of cooperation than in one of hostility."

INDONESIA THREATENS ACTION AGAINST MAGAZINE

Reuter, 26 July 1994. Abridged

Jakarta -- Indonesia, clearly indicating its efforts to muzzle the nation's press are not over, has threatened to take action against a leading magazine over its reporting of last June's ban on three publications.

The warning came as musicians and artists held a 24-hour music marathon at Pajajaran University, Bandung Tuesday to protest the ban.

Subrata director-general for press and graphics at the Information Ministry, issued the warning to the bi-weekly Forum Keadilan in a recent letter to Forum made available to Reuters Tuesday.

"This warning should be brought to your attention to prevent the government from being forced to take action which we do not want to take against Forum Keadilan. I hope that in future, Forum Keadilan will be more careful in the selection of its stories," Subrata said.

Media sources said several other publications had also been warned by the Department over their coverage of the ban and of recent unrest in East Timor.

Subrata said Forum's coverage of the ban on Tempo, Editor and DeTik in its July 21 edition had formed opinions among readers that the ban was in the interests of the government. He added that Forum did not fully comprehend the meaning of press freedom in Indonesia and that its story indicated that the government had no legal basis for its ban.

North Sumatran weekly also warned
AFP from Jakarta also reported 26 July 1994 that the information ministry has issued a "strong warning" to a weekly tabloid in North Sumatra, the Bintang Sports Film Weekly magazine based in Medan, because it violated the press laws, Suara Penbaruan reported.

Wachudi head of the North Sumatra Information Office did not give specific details about the alleged violation.

FRUSTRATED EAST TIMORESE SEARCH FOR MIDDLE PATH

One variation published in Sydney Morning Herald, 27 July 1994

By Jeremy Wagstaff

JAKARTA, July 26 (Reuter) - East Timorese seeking a middle path between submission to their Indonesian rulers and armed guerrilla resistance have formed new groups hoping to press for greater freedoms, a founder of one said on Tuesday. Armindo Maia, vice-rector of the university at the centre of this month's unrest, said he and other East Timorese who had not directly opposed Indonesian rule hoped the new groups could pressure the government without triggering reprisals. "Among the East Timorese intellectuals, we have come to a conclusion that there should be a way out of this deadlock," he said by telephone from the East Timorese capital Dili. "If we push too much towards a radical approach, then

the Indonesians will reject it. But if we go along with them, then we will go against the people's wishes. So we have to find a middle way," he said. Since invading the former Portuguese outpost in 1975, Indonesia has faced a guerrilla war and festering resentment against its rule. Residents have complained of a climate of fear despite Indonesia's claims of improved living conditions. Protests broke out again this month when troops used clubs and tear gas on Catholic youths protesting alleged religious harassment on the university campus. More than a dozen East Timorese were injured. Several have been reported missing. Maia said he had formed a group called Duc In Altum with other intellectuals, ostensibly to hold seminars on East Timorese culture. The group was registered with the Governor's blessing last Saturday, and follows formation of Sapiente, a similar group. Maia, 37, said he and other prominent East Timorese figures hoped to work within the law to push for greater autonomy, human rights and a scaling down of Indonesia's military presence in the eastern half of Timor island. He said these issues were not formally included in either organisation's articles, but could be raised within them. "If you speak about these kind of things, people feel much more courageous in the sense that they are not asking for a completely independent country," he said. The two organisations have no links with the guerrilla forces or their underground network, which have been pushing for independence since the Indonesian invasion, he said. Salvador Ximenes, an East Timorese member of parliament for Indonesia's ruling party Golkar, said by telephone from Dili he had agreed to serve as adviser to Duc In Altum, but he denied it would play any political or lobbying role. "This is not correct. It's only for education and culture and... a means for obtaining money from foundations for these purposes," he said. Academics and exiles said East Timorese have grown more frustrated this past year with the pace of change since troops in 1991 massacred up to 200 demonstrators in a Dili cemetery, triggering an international outcry and a United Nations probe. George Aditjondro, an outspoken Indonesian academic based in central Java, said a sign of this changing mood was a letter signed by more than 100 East Timorese earlier this year calling on President Suharto to improve conditions. Western nations have long criticised Indonesia's human rights record in the mainly Catholic territory. More than 200,000 people are believed to have died under its rule, most of them in the late 1970s. "There is a strong escalation, and this is really a turning point, because now you see pro-integration Timorese opposing the government openly, which they might

have refused to do a few years ago," he said by telephone from Salatiga. Others pointed to rising religious tension between East Timor's Catholics and Indonesia's mainly Moslem population. The local bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, has attacked what he said was harassment of clergy and congregation by security forces, including an incident which led to this month's protests when three youths mobbed two nuns at the university.

MILITARY IS NOT ABOVE THE LAW, OFFICER SAYS

JAKARTA POST, Thursday, July 14, 1994

JAKARTA (JP): No member of the Armed Forces (ABRI) is above the law and any soldier who transgresses will be punished in accordance with the law, says the military commander in East Timor. Infantry Colonel Jhony J. Lumintang gave this assurance during a meeting with East Timor tribal leaders in Dili, capital of the province, on Tuesday, the Antara news agency reported.

Lumintang, chief of the Wira Dharma 164 Military Resort, said ABRI's presence in East Timor is intended to provide the local populace with a feeling of security, to offer counseling and to help develop various social and economic projects. The military is also entrusted with protecting the people from the last remnants of the separatist rebels, he was quoted as saying.

His statement came in the wake of massive protests by local people against two members of the military for allegedly offending a ritual during a church ceremony. The military has promised to launch an investigation against the two officers who have already been suspended, according to Antara.

East Timor marks its 18th anniversary since its integration with Indonesia on July 17 1976. The former Portuguese colony became part of the republic [of Indonesia] on 1976 after its tribal leaders, representing the majority of the people, signed a petition declaring their integration to join Indonesia.

TIMOR ACTIVISTS DEAF TO OUR HUMAN RIGHTS VOICE

by Greg Sheridan, The Australian 25 July 1994.

Cardinal Edward Clancy, the Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, thinks the Australian Government has been too mealy-mouthed about Indonesian human rights abuses in East Timor. In this, the cardinal is echoing conventional wisdom. Paul Lyneham on ABC Radio last week suggested the international community should put East Timor higher on the agenda and George Ne-

gus, on ABC TV's 'Foreign Correspondent', described the "silence" from Canberra on East Timor as "almost deafening".

All these comments suggest the human rights debate is getting somewhat skewed in Australia. The perception that Australia is mealy-mouthed about human rights is becoming widespread whereas Australia is perhaps more forthright, frequent and forceful in its human rights representations than any comparable country.

This is a pretty important point because the Australian political community is working itself into something of a state on the entirely false premise that we are weak on human rights.

Take the three magazine closures in Indonesia recently. The closures were instantly condemned by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gareth Evans, who described them as extremely disappointing, a step backwards and so on. A week later Prime Minister Paul Keating directly raised the issue with President Suharto. No other country made representations on anything like this scale. Mostly there was little or not reaction, with the US merely issuing a statement from its embassy.

Similarly, despite endless press references to Canberra's alleged mealy-mouthed behaviour, Canberra has made more frequent and more forceful representations on East Timor than almost anyone else. I went as part of the press contingent to cover Evans's trip to Indonesia in late 1991. His visit was a direct result of a Caucus resolution and its purpose was to convey the depth of Australia's concern at the killings in Dili and to put various Australian views about what Indonesia should do in East Timor.

This was an extremely tough trip for Evans and some of his advisers thought he should never have made it. In a mild but unmistakable diplomatic snub, he was denied an audience with Suharto, or the then Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani or the then armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno. There was a lot of Indonesian angst at the strength of the Australian statements.

Evans did, however, see the Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, State Secretary Moerdiono and then Home Affairs Minister Rudini. He put Australia's position with force, but also with dignity and some restraint. He spoke at length to the Indonesian media. As a result of Evans's visit the question of human rights in East Timor was on the front page of every Indonesian newspaper, and leading every Indonesian news broadcast, for a week. I do not remember any other country going anywhere near sending its foreign minister on such a mission.

There is plenty to criticise in Australian foreign policy but the Government's critics

on this issue seem to think that unless Canberra totally destroys its relationship with Jakarta over human rights it is being mealy-mouthed and insincere.

But to destroy our relationship with Indonesia in order to go ballistic on human rights would gravely damage our own national interests while doing absolutely nothing to advance anybody's human rights. Our ability to send aid to troubled provinces and thereby promote development as well as maintaining a hopefully beneficial inhibiting foreign presence would decline.

There is a mad absolutism about many Australian human rights groups which tends to discount, if not dismiss, the motivations of anybody with mainstream responsibilities who must consider Australia's national interests.

Any self-respecting country with a political culture like ours will have a human rights dialogue with its neighbours, but every country inevitably and properly takes some account of its own national interests even in human rights diplomacy. It is easy for European countries to criticise Indonesian (not that most of them actually do that very much) because their interests in Indonesia are slight, whereas ours are massive. But what, effectively, have most Europeans done about far graver human rights abuses in Bosnia and elsewhere in Europe?

Moreover, the human rights debate in Australia is perversely fixated with Indonesia. No one seems to want the Government to make much protest about human rights abuses in Vietnam or North Korea, both of which have infinitely worse human rights regimes than Indonesia. Perhaps this is the last ideological hang-up of the Cold War leftism of most human rights groups -- that they cannot bring themselves to criticise a regime that calls itself communist.

Perhaps it is just that they hate the idea of trade and commerce. These groups, having mostly defended China throughout Mao's madness, now think it is good to criticise China. And indeed, this is necessary at times. But probably the fact that China has embraced capitalism, and thereby exponentially increased the amount of political space available to most of its citizens, was the trigger that released the moral outrage of old-style fellow travellers.

Similarly, Cambodia under Hun Sen had an appalling human rights record, thoroughly documented by Amnesty International and numerous other credible groups, yet Hun Sen was the darling of the professional Australian aid and human rights lobbies.

You have to conclude eventually that there is still something twisted and weird, or at least unhealthily obsessed, about many Australians' attitudes to Indonesia.

I am coming reluctantly to the conclusion that we could drift towards a crisis in our relationship with Indonesia, even though that relationship appears closer now than ever. This is partly because many things that would normally be troublesome in the country-to-country relationship are for the moment protected by the warmth and strength of the Suharto-Keating personal relationship.

Take TV. Australian Television International broadcasts throughout Southeast Asia. Indonesia has one of the most liberal policies in the region (far more liberal than ours) about foreign broadcasts coming into its country. A number of ABC current affairs programs are used on what is still a confused and badly underfunded international service.

For the last two weeks George Negus on Foreign Correspondent has run highly critical pieces on East Timor with lots of editorialising, which is certainly his right. However, last week he made the point at some length that his program was broadcast into Indonesia and East Timor so that, he said, Indonesians would at last know that the East Timorese resistance continued.

This is an entirely new situation. This is the ABC making political broadcasts into Indonesia directed at an Indonesian audience. Not that it's an exact parallel, but consider this: would Australia be completely relaxed if a Muslim country, say Iran, was making broadcasts into Australia, directed at Australia's Islamic community, whose broadcasts were, in Canberra's view, inciting Australian Muslims to reject and fight against the existing political system in Australia?

Indonesia won't put up with this sort of stuff for long, even allowing for the warmth of the Keating-Suharto relationship. When they ultimately pull the plug on these programs going into their nation will we regard it as a fundamental question of human rights?

The human rights debate in Australia has become dangerously unbalanced. I suspect we are heading for tears before bedtime.

EAST TIMOR: CHURCH SLAMS AUSTRALIA'S ROLE

By Jon Land, Green Left Review, July 20

Nobel Peace Prize nominee, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, has condemned the Australian government for its soft stance on human rights in East Timor. He has been joined by church leaders and human rights activists in Australia who have spoken out against the federal government's push to further trade and military links with Indone-

sia while turning a blind eye to human rights violations in East Timor.

Speaking on the ABC's AM program on July 20, Belo attacked foreign minister Gareth Evans over Australia's foreign policy, saying Australia "was being compromised" by its relationship with the Suharto regime in Indonesia.

Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, Cardinal Edward Clancy, has also raised serious concerns over the federal government's lack of response to the Indonesian military's ongoing violence against the East Timorese people. The situation in East Timor has been described by Bishop Bello as a "living hell", and Archbishop Clancy stated that the government's response leaves "a lot to be desired".

The Uniting Church, at its Seventh Assembly (national summit) which met for a week from July 9 in Sydney, passed several resolutions on East Timor. Joy Bilazo from the Uniting Church's Social Responsibility and Justice Unit, told Green Left that it is campaigning for the Australian government to recognise the right of the East Timorese to self-determination, and that the East Timorese are represented at all international talks regarding the future of their country.

The Assembly also requested the National Council of Churches of Australia to "call on Keating to ensure that human rights principles are included in the conduct of Australia's foreign policy with regard to Indonesia and in relation to trade, military and economic aid and weapons sales".

Protests by East Timorese students at the University of East Timor on July 14, over acts of provocation by Indonesian soldiers and intelligence officers, were dealt with by the most severe crackdown since the Dili massacre in November 1991. Fleeing protesters were beaten and clubbed; over 40 were detained and injured, with up to three reported deaths. A number of students are still missing.

The Suharto regime has consistently attempted to break the role of the Catholic Church in East Timor which has played a major part in maintaining Timorese culture, identity and struggle. Since the invasion by Indonesian military forces in 1975, the number of Catholics has risen from 29% to 90% of the present population. Under Bishop Belo and his predecessor Monsignor Lopes, the Catholic Church has stood up for universal human rights and self-determination; it has become the "peoples church", similar to those in other parts of the Third World, in particular, Latin America and South Africa.

Indonesia's failure to crush the Timorese people's aspirations for self-determination has much to do with this active support from the Church.

The systematic harassment of Bishop Belo and other Church leaders is a deliberate strategy by the Indonesian authorities. He and many others have faced a number of threats to their lives and suffer repeated intimidation from soldiers and intelligence personal for speaking out against the Indonesia's illegal occupation.

In an interview with John Pilger in the July 15 Age, Bishop Belo confirmed the reports of a second massacre which immediately followed the killings at the Santa Cruz cemetery in November 1991. He also strongly condemned Evans' claims that the Dili massacre was an "aberration" and that a second round of killing did not occur.

"How does he know? Is he here, with us? I know well the witnesses. They have spoken the truth ... Unfortunately, I do not have a good impression of this Mr Evans, because of the extraordinary statements he makes. This was not an incident. It was a real massacre. It was well prepared. It was a deliberate operation that was designed to teach us a lesson. To say otherwise, is to deny the evidence of our ears and eyes."

At a press conference in Jakarta on July 19, Indonesian foreign affairs minister Ali Alatas warned Bishop Belo against making public statements against Indonesian rule in East Timor.

The human rights situation on East Timor is not improving. Sister Kathleen O'Connor, Project Officer with Christians in Solidarity with East Timor (CSET), who has recently returned from a two-week visit there, told Green Left, "My overall impression was one of oppression, intimidation and fear. Anybody that wished to speak to us had to come under the cover of night, for fear of being seen with foreigners. We were asked not to approach anybody because it put them in too much jeopardy."

"The Church is really the only security - the only safe place that the people have to feel secure and to feel some sort of trust."

O'Connor added that the attempts to break up the Catholic Church are aimed at breaking down solidarity between the Timorese people.

For the young East Timorese, who are at the forefront of the fight for justice, the Church is crucial. "Another one of the main observations was the tension, especially amongst the young people. The only way that they can meet safely is in the confines of the Church, which they attend in great numbers," O'Connor said.

"The youth are just so frustrated," she continued. "They can't speak out about what is happening in their own country. There are no jobs for them. They are really left with no voice, no say in their own country and nothing for their future at all. They feel it's time that they stood up to be

counted, and again take the consequences. The situation for them is like a tightrope".

O'Connor was also critical on Australia's ties with Indonesia. "They have put trade and a commercial relationship with Indonesia far above the humans rights' issues that are raging in East Timor. To me that is not the way to look at it at all."

Solidarity groups and human rights activists throughout Australia are stepping up their campaign work in support of East Timor. Plans are underway to build large demonstrations in commemoration of the Dili massacre on November 12.

In August, members of the Timorese community will challenge the legality of the Timor Gap Treaty, between the Australian and Indonesian governments, in the High Court. A national campaign against oil companies based in Australia and operating in the Timor Gap is also being planned. [To find out more about these campaigns, contact your nearest East Timor solidarity group. Christians in Solidarity with East Timor can be contacted at PO Box 522 Kings Cross 2011. Ph (02) 356 3888]

EAST TIMOR STILL ON INTERNATIONAL AGENDA DESPITE CLAIM BY JAKARTA

Irish Times, 26th July

By Jeremy Wagstaff

After 18 years of claiming East Timor as it's own, Indonesia is no closer to winning local hearts or striking the issue from the international agenda, according to academics and protagonists.

A modest ceremony of the half-island's formal annexation was held in the main square of the capital Dili, last week.

The territory of 750,000 people has been subjected to Indonesia's military might since December 1975, when a massive invasion force began what was supposed to be a clinical operation to tame the populace.

Nearly two decades and 200,000 thousand lives later, most East Timorese appear to be cowed but largely defiant to Indonesia's efforts to include them in the archipelago.

Most academics, human rights activists and protagonists in the conflict point to a continuing military presence, a small-scale guerilla war and protests such as the one last week in Dili as evidence integration has not worked "Politically integration has failed. The reason is simple: army brutality has put everyone off including many who might have considered the idea otherwise", said Mr Gerry van Klinken, an Australian academic. In an effort to display it's good will, Indonesia has poured millions of dollars into

building schools, bridges and even churches to win over the mainly Catholic community.

But coupled with this, Timorese and academics say, is growing evidence of moves to undermine the church, which has under Indonesian rule grown from a tiny minority to embrace all East Timor's population.

Indonesia's points to the churches phenomenal expansion as evidence of religious freedom, but Mr. Sidney Jones, of the New York based Human Rights Watch, said it has come to represent a "protector or buffer between Indonesians and East Timorese.

Mr. George Aditjondro, an outspoken Indonesian academic, said security forces had this year started directly targeting priests as part of an effort to intimidate increasingly vocal church leaders.

"The church has become more and more the articulator of the aspirations of East Timorese people and an outspoken critic of human rights violations", he said.

More worrying for Indonesia -- according to Mr Harold Crouch, of the Australian National University, is revived international concern for East Timor in the 2 and half years since troops massacred up to 200 demonstrators at a Dili cemetery.

"Even when they make some advances at the international level Indonesia's diplomats are regularly embarrassed by new abuses on the ground in East Timor", he said in an interview.

The recent clashes between Catholics, protesting the alleged harassment of nuns at the local university, and security forces with sticks and tear gas again fanned overseas criticism and prompted the US concern.

The Senate has voted to restrict small arms sales to Indonesia until conditions in East Timor improve.

Last weeks row over Jakarta's efforts to bar East Timorese exiles from a Bangkok human rights conference, after similar episodes in Manila and Kuala Lumpur, also seem to have done little more than win publicity for it's opponents.

But academics say that while Jakarta seems to be losing ground in efforts to improve its image over the former Portuguese colony, it is far from admitting defeat.

East Timor "is a stone in the shoe, an impediment to international relations. But Indonesia will continue to limp along on that foot". Mr. van Klinken said.

U.S. SENATE URGES CLINTON TO BAR SMALL ARMS

WASHINGTON, Jul 15 (IPS) - The U.S. Senate called Friday for President Bill Clinton to bar the supply of U.S.-made small arms and crowd control equipment to the government of Indonesia.

The resolution was attached to the 1995 U.S. foreign aid bill after reports reached Washington of a violent protest Thursday in East Timor in which three students were allegedly killed by Indonesian soldiers. The Indonesian government denied that anyone was killed in the incident.

Human Rights Watch/Asia (HRW/Asia), formerly known as Asia Watch, called Friday for Jakarta to allow unhindered access to East Timor by the international press and local Indonesian human rights groups to investigate the incident.

"From the facts thus far available, it seems as though the response of the police and military, including the beating and arrest of many students, was wholly disproportionate to the nature of the security problem they faced," said Sidney Jones director of HRW/Asia.

She said only a thorough investigation by respected human rights groups, such as the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute Foundation and the Institute for Public and Social Advocacy would bring the facts surrounding the incident to light.

The incident took place a day after a discussion on East Timor, a former Portuguese colony forcibly annexed by Indonesia in 1976, at a meeting of the U.N. Special Committee on Decolonisation.

Friday's vote was the latest development in a growing controversy here over U.S. policy towards Indonesia, considered by the Clinton administration to be one of the world's most promising markets for U.S. investment and trade.

Over the objection of former President George Bush, Congress imposed a ban on using U.S. military aid to train Indonesian army officers to protest a November, 1991 massacre of more than 100 East Timorese demonstrators in Dili.

After publicly denouncing Indonesia's human rights record several times during 1993, the Clinton modified its position at the end of the year and has continued to promote closer ties in 1994.

In May, the administration strongly, but unsuccessfully, opposed a move by the House of Representatives to extend the training ban to cover all training, including that paid for by the Indonesians themselves.

It was more successful, however, in the Senate where Democratic lawmakers wanted

to ban the use by the Indonesian military and police of all U.S. military equipment on East Timor.

Warning that the ban would insult an important economic partner and could result in the loss of business, conservative Democrats, Republicans, and the administration teamed up to delete the offending provision from the 1995 aid bill.

After the latest news from East Timor reached Washington, however, two new amendments to the bill were offered and approved by voice vote early Friday morning.

The first provided the aid 250,000 dollars Indonesian human rights groups and another 250,000 dollars to support nongovernmental environmental groups.

The second called on the administration to bar the sale or export to Indonesia of "defence articles such as small or light arms and crowd control items" until the Secretary of State reports to Congress that "significant progress" in human rights has been made in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia.

In assessing progress, the Secretary of State is urged to consider whether Jakarta is complying with recommendations made last year by the U.N. Human Rights Commission, "significantly reducing" its troop presence in East Timor, and "participating constructively" in U.N. efforts to resolve the status of East Timor.

Congressional sources told IPS the administration had successfully lobbied senators to drop a provision in the second amendment that would also have banned the sale of helicopters to Indonesia.

Both amendments, as well as the House-approved ban on all military training, will now be taken up in a House-Senate conference committee.

EDITOR'S CAR BURNED IN EAST TIMOR

AP, 23 July 1994. Abridged

Dili -- An editor of the East Timor newspaper Suara Timor Timur [The Voice of East Timor] said Saturday that his car was set ablaze following his coverage of demonstrations seeking independence for the former Portuguese colony.

Agus Johanes, deputy editor of STT said his car was set ablaze Friday night with a bottle filled with gasoline. He said the incident followed the newspaper's coverage of a pro-independence demonstration during the 18th anniversary of East Timor's annexation by Indonesia. [To our knowledge there has been no other reference to any demonstration in Dili on 17 July!]

Johanes said the newspaper had received several threats in connection with its report-

ing since being founded in February 1993 because "our reporting was considered unpleasant by the authorities".

Additional material from TAPOL:

In its edition on Saturday, 16 July, two days after the police attacked university students, the paper published a column asking, "What sins have the people of the East Timorese committed? What have we done to keep having to spill our blood? What have we done, for some people to wound us in our hearts and leave us in a state of utter confusion, the target of yet more hostility?"

In a separate column on the same day, the paper lamented the fact that all issues in East Timor were being dealt with in accordance with the security approach.

LAWYERS ALLOWED TO VISIT XANANA

ATVI, 27 July 1994, 12.20am

Reporter: Michael Maher

Reader: In Jakarta, lawyers representing the jailed East Timorese Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão have been allowed to visit their client, for the first time in four months. After the meeting the lawyers said Xanana had repeated his call for a fresh trial.

Michael Maher: Xanana Gusmão is incarcerated in Jakarta's Cipinang prison serving a 20-year sentence for plotting the State of Indonesia. Just this year the Resistance Leader chose prominent human rights lawyers to represent him after criticising his previous legal counsel for inadequate pursuing his interest. These new lawyers have unsuccessfully in their attempts to visit their client until today when officials granted them access.

In what was essentially a preliminary meeting the lawyers said Xanana had reiterated that he never sought clemency from the Soeharto Government and that he wanted a retrial.

INDONESIAN-US MILITARY EXERCISE

KBRI Canberra Newsletter, July 27

A Joint Indonesian-US military exercise, dubbed "Kartika US Army 1994" (KARUSA), has been held in Malang Abdurrahman Saleh Airport. Brigadier General M. Rifai of the Second Division of the Indonesian Army's Strategic Command said that the military exercise, was basically aimed at exhibiting the harmonious relations existing between the two countries' armed forces. The General said that the exercise's purpose was also to help improve the skills and perspectives of the two countries'

armed forces, particularly in carrying out feasibility studies in technical airborne operations. In addition to Abdurrahman Saleh Airport, Surabaya's Djuanda Airport is also to be used as a base for the joint exercise. Commander of the Indonesian Army's Eighteenth "Trisula" Airborne Infantry Brigade, Colonel Albert Ingkiriwang, who is also a Director of the Joint Exercise, said the Indonesian Armed Forces had assigned 75 of its members and the US Armed Forces 13 of its men to take part in the maneuvers. Colonel Ingkiriwang added that the exercise is designed to be a military training experience. (KC-133-61594)

AUSTRALIA PLEDGED A\$ 5.5 MILLION AID TO EAST TIMOR

KBRI Canberra Newsletter, July 27

Prime Minister Paul Keating pledged an estimated A\$ 5.5 million in aid for development activities in East Timor. In interview with "Antara" Mr Keating said that the aid, as part of Australia's development cooperation assistance to Indonesia in 1994/1995 fiscal year, will be mainly concentrated in the agriculture and water supply areas. Regarding Australia's position on East Timor, Mr Keating reiterated that his country recognizes the sovereignty of Indonesia over the former Portuguese colony. East Timor opted to join Indonesia as its 27th Province after its people exercised their self-determination through the issuance of the Balibo Declaration in 1975. However, Mr Keating added that Australia would continue to encourage the Indonesian Government to pursue what it termed as a "process of reconciliation" with the East Timorese. "This includes a reduction in the military presence in the province, improved social and economic development and greater recognition of East Timor's distinctive cultural identity", the Prime Minister said. Mr Keating also added that he welcomed the Indonesian Government's moves in that direction and encourage it to continue the process. (KC-146-63094)

JOSE MARTINS III : THE TIMOR CONSPIRACY

KBRI Canberra Newsletter, July 27

The so-called "Portuguese decolonization process" by Portugal is a lie. What happened was the delivery of colonial territories to international pro-communist militancy in Cape Verde (PAICV), Guinea Bissau (PAIGB), Thome (MSLTP), Angola (MPLA), Mozambique (FRELIMO). For East Timor it was quickly founded by the Portuguese leftists in Lisbon Government the "Timorese party FRETILIN" under a

FRELIMO model composed or only some 20 young students. Rapidly in September 11, 1974 FRETILIN Lisbon born took over local Timorese Social Democratic Party ASDT and commenced the preparation for the civil war to open in the heart of Indonesia and in front of Australia a guerilla warfare to destabilize South East Asia to favour communist guerrillas of Vietcong fighting the United States. Our four parties (UDT, KOTA, TRABALHISTA and APODETI) reacted to FRETILIN and we merged ourselves in civil war while Portuguese authorities ran out the territory with some 7000 killed by all warring parties. Indonesia asked Portugal to restore peace and order but the only thing achieved in the Rome Meeting was a Memorandum of Understanding between Portugal and Indonesia, through which Indonesia should replace the incapability of Portugal. However, we could not permit the communisation of East Timor to please Portuguese revolutionaries and we could not afford to have a regime to provoke Indonesia, otherwise we would go so far as self total extermination. Therefore, we reorganised our capacity of fight with Timorese Indonesian brother volunteers and managed to defeat FRETILIN in the field. As the Provisional Government of East Timor we asked Indonesia to effectively install peace and order. Through our institutional bodies we finally concluded that the best thing to us was to become part of Indonesia. And so we voted according to our consuetudinary law the integration of East Timor because we had not whatsoever conditions to be independent. We assumed that our independence from colonialism was to join Indonesia and act under its own political, economical, cultural and social independence before the world. We assumed that we live in South East Asia and therefore we cannot build up a "toy state" to please international interests aiming to destroy Indonesia a free, proud and peace loving nation. However, some disrespect for our people's dignity motivated the setting up of a resistance, which counted with the best sons of East Timor. I was one of its founder members for 16 year (1976-1993). During 12 years leaders of all parties were resisting against the violation of the human rights in East Timor and during 12 years (1976-1988) Portugal and the world did not raise one finger to help us. In 1991, the incident of Santa Cruz brought suddenly the name of East Timor to the highlights of mass media and the resistance concluded that the incident was after all and in first stage prepared in ...Portugal!. We have reacted strongly against the Indonesian central authorities and the parallel analysis of our reports with Indonesian reports showed that there was no premeditation in the incident circumstances but

otherwise personal responsibility of some commanding officers in conjunction with some soldiers personal action. Most of us lost our beloved children but we confirmed that the Indonesian nation and its government were profoundly sad and horrified. The guilty ones were punished and we obtain a solemn promise of future total respect for our identity and personality. Therefore, we should end the resistance the moment we reached conditions for the respect of the human rights by the side of Indonesian administration. Also, it was a determinant factor for us to abandon the resistance the fact that its leadership passed on to the hands of the international militancy aiming to attack Indonesia by using East Timor case. It is quite remarkable that the "Timorese resistance" is led by the former idealists of Fretilin, today supported by Foundations and wives of Presidents who contributed to launch on us a civil war in 1974. On top of all this, we have today a so-called CNRM which is nothing else than a pompous name of an international organisation which intends to replace all honest Timorese parties seeking for harmony with Indonesia. We are quite sure that there is a conspiracy against Timor by using it against Indonesia, which is the final goal so much desired by some wives of two European Presidents, old friends and allies in a already death philosophy of Social-Marxism. The international militancy is abusing of our people's name and therefore will have to ponder that East Timor will resist against any conspiracy coming from outside. Since 1991, the situation of the human rights in East Timor has improved and this moment we are acting in the field to establish one principle : *the struggle for the human rights cannot be used to destroy the actual political status of East Timor as national territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Otherwise, we shall not have peace, order, harmony and development with justice and moral and we are not promoting our contribution to world peace but instead we are favouring revolution wherein our people is the sole innocent victim once again in its survival. (BB-234/LON/7794) *)Liurai Jose Martins III : Former President of the K.O.T.A. Party and former President of the TLO (Timorese Liberation Organisation).

EX-FRETILIN LEADER SPEAKS FOR INDONESIA AT UN COMMITTEE

KBRI Canberra Newsletter, July 27

A former leader of an East Timor Armed Separatist Movement spoke in favor of the integration of the former Portuguese colony and said he is proud to be an Indonesian

citizen. Fransisco Xavier Amaral, a former leader of Fretilin which has been fighting for a separate state for the last 19 years, told the United Nations' Decolonization Committee in New York on July 13 that East Timor is firmly part of Indonesia. "Ethnically, East Timor is no different from West Timor. They were only separated because of past colonial policies", he stressed. The United Nations forum, better known as the Committee of 24, resumed the debate about East Timor. The world body still regards it as a Portuguese colony although Portugal abandoned the territory in haste in 1975. Amaral, a founding member of Fretilin, was one of three persons who spoke about the need for everyone to be realistic in treating the East Timor case. The other two were Jose Martins III, formerly head of the Timorese Liberation Organization, and Paulino Gama of the Timorese International Secretariat for Human Rights. The Committee also received a petition from 29 international non-government organizations that included the Timorese Democratic Union and the East Timor Action Network of the United States and the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor in Manila. Amaral, however, recounted the cruelty of the Portuguese in colonizing East Timor for over 450 years which included persecuting any literate East Timorese because they were considered dangerous. Portugal also set one East Timorese against another, even a son and his father, he said. When the Portuguese abandoned East Timor, they washed their hands of it while their country was in a state of civil war, he said. "I know this because I was one of the protagonists in that civil war fighting for East Timor's independence". Amaral told the Committee that the East Timor problem has now been turned into a "political commodity" by some people to serve their own interests, including those in Portugal. He underlined that Portugal also has a poor record when it comes to its hands-off policy in its other former colonies such as Mozambique and Angola. Amaral said that integration does not simply mean that East Timor is part of Indonesia, it also means that all of Indonesia belongs to East Timor. Indonesia has insisted that the decolonization process of East Timor was completed on July 17, 1976, when tribal leaders representing the majority of the East Timor people signed a petition declaring their intention to integrate with Indonesia. (KC-159-71594)

INDONESIA PLAYS THE HEAVY

Editorial, Gannett Suburban Newspapers (Westchester, NY, USA), July 27, 1994

Indonesia can deny but it cannot disprove the deaths of as many as 200,000 people since its invasion and annexation of the former Portuguese island colony of East Timor in 1976. And the Suharto government is playing the heavy with its Asian neighbors to clam up about Indonesian human rights abuses.

The Philippine government bowed to Indonesian demands that foreigners be barred from a conference in Manila on East Timor. Among the barred foreigners was Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the president of France. Indonesia then began leaning on Malaysia about a conference on East Timor planned there. Needless to say, discussion of the East Timor massacre is forbidden among Indonesians.

Indonesia will no more succeed in keeping the world from knowing what happened on East Timor than those responsible could hush up indefinitely the Turkish massacres of Armenians at the turn of the century, or Stalin's early 1930s "Hidden Holocaust" during the forced collectivization of agriculture in Ukraine. Atrocities like that have a way of getting out and staying there as indelible stains on history.

STATEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR

July 26, 1994

Small nations oppressed by larger neighbours often draw sympathetic responses from the world community, but seldom has a population as small, and as distant from us, as East Timor come to our attention as that tiny community continues to do. A population of some 650,000 Timorese has, for almost twenty years, lived under the control, and the abusive, harsh and often violent treatment, of their Indonesian military overseers.

These people have survived the brutal invasion of December 7, 1975, and the subsequent policies which have been described by some serious observers as nearly genocidal. More than 100,000 people -- some estimates are much higher -- perished in the early years as a direct result of Indonesian military rule. The massacre of unarmed and non-violent demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991, captured in horrifying detail on film by a foreign filmmaker, is now etched in the conscious-

ness of many. Repressive policies and actions directed especially against the young people of East Timor, and often against the Catholic church there, are a continuing reality.

We admire the people of East Timor for their bravery, their suffering and their determination to preserve their culture against overwhelming odds, but we also feel the special bond with them that comes from our shared Catholic faith. The Church of East Timor, led by Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo S.D.B., has become a source of hope and encouragement for all the people. It is instructive to note that, during the 400 years of Portuguese colonial rule, Catholics remained a relatively small minority among the largely animist population, whereas today over 90% of all East Timor is now Catholic. It is surely a testimony to the fidelity of that local church to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to the church's commitment to the defense of human rights and the dignity of every person.

East Timor continues to pose a political challenge to the community of nations. It presents a set of conflicting interests and rights not unlike other situations in the world today. Some of these areas of conflict, as in South Africa, the Middle East, and Central America, have witnessed extraordinary breakthroughs in just the last years; others, as in the Balkans and parts of Africa, remain apparently intractable. East Timor, it seems to us, represents a far less thorny problem than many others; it is a problem that can and should be solved.

The mechanism that is already in place, namely the ministerial meetings between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the United Nations, is the appropriate vehicle to advance the negotiations. Ever since 1983, the U.N. Secretary General has been entrusted with the task of finding a settlement to the dispute. The recent meetings held in Rome and New York last year and in Geneva this May, thus far without participation of Timorese representatives, appear not to be moved by a sense of urgency. It seems appropriate for the Secretary General to press for more vigorous action to come from these meetings, and we urge him to do so.

The United States and Indonesia are very important partners of one another. We recognize that our government has made a number of useful overtures to Jakarta concerning East Timor, for which we are grateful. We urge, however, that new initiatives be undertaken, to encourage both the resolution of the political crisis and full compliance on issues of human rights.

We recognize that different proposals for resolving the region's status may exist among the people, some apparently favour-

ing annexation, others full independence, and the rest calling for a process which would eventually lead to a referendum determining the relationship. Prior to any political resolution, however, all can agree that there must be an end to the kind of political and even religious persecution and violation of human rights that continue to plague that tortured community.

A year ago, Pope John Paul II expressed to the Indonesian foreign minister his wish that new talks on the future of East Timor might promote "the well-being of that people in respect of their human rights and cultural and religious traditions." We invite our Catholic people to pray for the well-being of our Timorese brothers and sisters, that they may continue to grow in their rich cultural and religious traditions, free of outside pressures and coercion. And we express our fraternal solidarity with Bishop Belo and all the church of Dili, asking God's blessing on their ministry to the people of East Timor.

Bishop Daniel P. Reilly, Chairman
Committee on International Policy United States Catholic Conference

BROAD CONSENSUS AFTER ASEAN MEETING (EXCERPT)

by John Hail (UPI) Bangkok, July 28 -- The Association of Southeast Asian Nations ended a series of meetings in Bangkok Thursday after reaching broad agreement on such divisive issues as East Timor, relations with Burma and military aid to Cambodia. Indonesia's 19-year-old occupation of the island territory of East Timor provided the strongest note of discord in an otherwise harmonious joint press conference Wednesday. Asked how Indonesia could present itself as a peace-maker after invading and occupying the former Portuguese colony, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas angrily dismissed the question. Alatas denied his government had exerted pressure on Thailand to prevent East Timor independence activists from publicly expressing their views. Nevertheless, throughout the week-long ministerial meetings Thai police tried to block the Timorese from holding public seminars or meeting with the press. ASEAN followed the advice of Thai Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai, who said human rights abuses in East Timor were "none of our business."

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Jakarta Defends Timor Policy, Slams Activists [Abridged]

by Valerie Lee, Reuter Bangkok, July 27 -- Indonesia stridently defended its policy on East Timor on Wednesday and accused a small group of human rights activists of

interfering in its affairs. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said so-called seminars on troubled East Timor were a front for a small group of 15 to 20 people with a political grievance who used them as a platform to interfere in Indonesia's internal affairs. He rejected activists' accusations that his country had bullied its ASEAN neighbours into muzzling discussion on East Timor and denied it had pressured them to cancel a recent seminar in the Philippines and one last week in Bangkok. "They are not seminars but political campaigns directed by outside forces," he told reporters at the close of ASEAN meetings in Bangkok on Wednesday. Alatas said the holding of such human rights conferences in ASEAN countries breached the Association of Southeast Asian Nations spirit of non-interference in domestic politics and would threaten the unity and "precious values" forged by ASEAN member countries over 27 years. The ASEAN spirit included not allowing one country to be used as a platform to discredit another, he said. Thailand, host for the 27th ASEAN foreign ministers' conference, expelled two Australians and a Filipino who attempted to take part in a human rights conference which still went ahead at the same time as the ASEAN meeting. Human rights activists have been barred from the ASEAN ministerial conference site and were forced to hold an impromptu press conference in a hotel car park. An East Timorese opposition leader, Jose Ramos-Horta, said Indonesia had threatened to go slow on a joint development project if Thailand admitted Timorese activists, a charge denied by Jakarta.... Alatas said human rights activists were being manipulated by political dissidents. "They were the ones who started the civil war, who got the weapons from the colonial army and they were the ones who were killing the other political parties in East Timor," he said....

INDONESIA INTENSIFIES ATTACK ON BATTERED MEDIA

Reuters, July 27. By Dean Yates

Jakarta -- Indonesia, intensifying its attack on the nation's battered media to several publications, including the premier daily newspaper, media sources said on Wednesday.

They said the Department of Information had threatened action against the newly established Sinar magazine and issued verbal warnings to the Kompas and Sinar Pagi dailies along with the English-language Jakarta Post daily and Indonesia Business Weekly magazine.

Media sources said the spate of threats and warnings clearly indicated the government had been stung by probing reports into sensitive political issues and that efforts to muzzle the nation's press were not over.

"Our media has not been under pressure like this since the early 1970s," Mochtar Lubis, an author and respected journalist, told Reuters.

"It indicates the government wants to firmly control the press and symbolizes the government's insecurity," added Lubis, whose Indonesia Raya daily newspaper was shut down in 1974.

The fresh warnings follow government threats on Monday of action against the leading Forum Keadilan magazine for its reporting of last June's ban on three weeklies.

The ban on Tempo, Detik and Editor shocked the nation, drew international criticism and crushed a flowering of media openness in mainly Moslem Indonesia.

Subrata, director general for press and graphics at the Department of Information, threatened action against the Sinar weekly in a letter made available to Reuters on Wednesday.

"I hope this warning really gets your attention to prevent the government from being forced to take action," said Subrata, who criticized Sinar for a story on the right to demonstrate, which he said confused the Indonesian people.

Sinar is owned by Sudwikatmono, a relative of President Suharto.

Media sources said the nation's premier newspaper, Kompas, had received verbal warnings from senior officials from the Department of Information after reporting a series of demonstrations that followed the ban.

They said the other publications, including the Jakarta Post, Indonesia's leading English-language daily, were warned for carrying similar stories and for covering unrest in East Timor.

Lubis, who said journalists would have no choice but to acquiesce under government pressure, said it would take several years for the local media to regain its short-lived openness.

"They will have to conform. It may be not until 1998 that we see examples of recent press reporting," he said.

Suharto, who has ruled Indonesia with an iron fist since the mid 1960s, comes up for re-election in that year.

The issue of who will succeed the 73-year-old ex-general is regarded by most Indonesians as the most important issue facing the world's fourth most populous country.

The three banned publications formed the vanguard of a revitalized media that had focused on sensitive political issues includ-

ing a corruption scandal involving Suharto's top aide.

Media sources said earlier this month that Tempo, the nation's oldest magazine, was being pressured to sell out to timber tycoon Bob Hasan, a close friend of Suharto.

Indonesian musicians and artists on Tuesday completed a peaceful 24-hour music marathon at Pajajaran University in the west Java city of Bandung to protest the media ban.

AUSTRALIA OFFERS FORMULA TO BOOST DEFENCE TIES

By Kalinga Seneviratne

SYDNEY, Jul 25 (IPS) - Australia has proposed a package of measures to build trust and boost defence cooperation among Asia-Pacific countries attending the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) on security in Bangkok Monday.

It recommended a limited exchange of military information, the inclusion of observers in major military exercises and regional cooperation in training peacekeepers.

More ambitious proposals include the establishment of a 'regional arms register' which would encourage governments to "limit their acquisitions to what is reasonably called for by developments within the region at large".

Another proposal called for notification of major military deployments that could "reduce the scope for incidents or miscalculation that could escalate into significant security threats".

Defence analysts say the proposals are part of Australia's efforts to allay its neighbours' fears about its own defence policies and boost its bid to integrate itself with Asia.

When Australia announced plans two years ago to buy 18 F-111 fighter jets from the United States, its South-east Asian neighbours demanded to know which countries it considered its potential enemies.

"If Australia wants to be seen as a outward-looking country that is comfortable with its neighbours, and then Australia buys the F-111's, the neighbours will ask 'What for?'" said Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian.

Since then, Australia's defence policies have been less threatening and geared more towards promoting dialogue and openness on security matters which Canberra hopes will usher in "a new era of peace and stability" in the region.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Winston Lord, last week described Australia's proposals as

"interesting". Although they may not solve every problem faced by the region, "it does help reduce tension", he said.

Australia has been aggressively pursuing closer defence ties with Asia, but regional analysts note Canberra has tilted on the side of pragmatism in its dealings with its neighbours, often giving priority to trade and defence concerns than human rights.

Human right advocates are particularly concerned about Canberra's expanding defence ties with Jakarta. Australia has reportedly invited Indonesia for a major military exercise next year despite criticism of the Asian nation's human rights record in East Timor.

In its Strategic Defence Review (SDR) released in February, the Australian defence ministry said the country's security now relies more on closer relationships with its Asian neighbours than with its old alliance with the United States and New Zealand.

But a recent survey by the Australian Defence Force Academy showed almost 60 percent of Australians see Indonesia as a security threat. Some experts believe this could have more to do with Indonesia having a population of 180 million compared to Australia's 18 million.

Australia remains the biggest military spender in the region. Its 1994-95 defence budget of 9.6 billion Australian dollars (about seven billion U.S. dollars) is nearly the total of that of all six members of the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN).

But the defence ministry said that while South-east Asian nations get richer and build up their defence forces, Australia's military advantage will begin to wane. A New Zealand government report last year predicted Asian nations would buy about 1,800 jets, 40 submarines and 200 surface ships until the end of the decade.

Defence Minister Robert Ray said Australia and its neighbours must take increasing responsibility for security in the Asia-Pacific as the United States reduces its presence in the region. "We must be a participant, not an onlooker," he said.

The SDR, which will form the basis for Australia's defence policy in the next century, said cooperation with Asia will create opportunities to develop defence industries and technology for export to Asia.

As South-east Asian economies grow and build up stocks of high-technology weapons, Australia could establish itself as an "industry base" to help maintain and support regional forces, it said.

Critics of Australia's new defence strategy say the move to invite Indonesia to take part in the Kangaroo '95 military exercises is a long-term shot at creating such service

facilities for Indonesian defence forces, possibly in northern Australia.

Last year, Australia signed an agreement with Singapore allowing it to set up a permanent pilot training school in Western Australia. The deal is worth hundreds of millions of dollars to domestic aviation contractors and was the first time Australia invited an Asian country to establish a permanent military base on its soil.

Malaysia and Australia are also reportedly close to signing an agreement to build Australian-designed naval patrol vessels in Malaysia using Australian technology. (END/IPS/KS/LNH/94)

INTIMIDATION OF DILI PAPER

Jakarta Post, 15 July 1994

DILI, East Timor: Police say they are investigating the incineration of a Kijang van belonging to the daily 'Suara Timor Timur' (Voice of East Timor) outside the newspaper's office in the early hours of Saturday.

Reporters working for the newspaper said the incident was the latest act of intimidation which they have been subjected to since the newspaper began publication in February last year.

The newspaper and its reporters have been receiving anonymous threatening letters in recent months.

They believe that these acts were in response to some of the critical reports which the newspaper has carried.

The van was believed to have been incinerated after gasoline was poured over it. A bottle smelling of gasoline was found underneath the engine

INDONESIA'S ARMS SUPPLIERS

From the Stop Arming Indonesia campaign, News from Jane's Sentinel "South Chinese Sea", edited by Paul Beaver, 1994.

Indonesia wants to "ensure that domestic industry is able to benefit from the acquisition programmes. Technology transfer is becoming a very important function. In this connection, there is increasing speculation that Indonesia will enter into a major MoU with the UK for the acquisition of major defence equipment systems. British Aerospace, already a significant supplier, would be the prime contractor. In the mean time Indonesia did not submit a return to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms under the resolution 46/36 L of 9 December 1991."

The modernisation of the land forces described in the 5 year plan under preparation is "predominantly aimed at counter insurgency / internal security."

Naval modernisation:

"Six ex-Royal Netherlands Navy van Speyk-class frigates will be refitted before 1996 with the Thomson/Signaal LIOP optronic tracker."

Assessment: (under heading navy)

"Plans to procure better air defence capabilities appear to be in line with the needs of airspace management over a very large area - equivalent to the distance between Boston and Los Angeles."

Main suppliers:

USA, UK and Germany no figures available.

Page 7 Republic of Indonesia

News and information update June 1994 Vol 1, no 2:

"Indonesia and the Philippines are progressing with the settling of the maritime boundary disputes in the Celebes sea and the Cape San Augustin area. It seems that the UN Law of the Sea rules will be applied."

News and information update May 1994 Vol 1, no 1:

Indonesia has stated a plan to acquire a further 100 warships for coastal patrol and inter-island surveillance, according to Adm Tanto Koeswanto, Chief of the Naval Staff.

Martin Broek

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KEATING IS HOSTAGE TO THE 'HELL' OF EAST TIMOR

Sunday Telegraph, 24 July 1994

By Bruce Loudon

Subheading: East Timor: a place like hell according to its Catholic bishop and a place causing problems for the Keating government. BRUCE LOUDON reports.

On any normal Sunday in Dili, the steamy capital of East Timor, you might expect to get several hundred - and possibly even several thousand - spectators at local sporting events.

As you would to any other major event held in the city.

There are, after all close to 800,000 people in East Timor. Dili is the focus of much of their attention.

But when, a few days ago, Indonesia organised a so-called "celebration" in Dili to mark the 18th anniversary of its invasion of East Timor, there were, by all accounts, fewer than 100 onlookers.

Overwhelmingly East Timorese turned their backs on the Indonesia "celebration". They treated it with disdain. In effect, they

boycotted it. And in that astounding (but predictable) response from the former colony's people lies a devastating commentary on the problems that are fast building up for Indonesia's military-led regime and, by implication, for the Keating government in what many analysts now regard as its slavish support for Jakarta.

For, more and more, Indonesia's role in East Timor is coming under international scrutiny, and what is emerging is not a pretty picture. Human rights abuses, it seems are widespread. As many as 200,000 people are estimated to have died there over the past 18 years.

After trying everything it knows to impose its will on the people of East Timor, the reality for President Suharto is that Indonesia has failed to win over many hearts and minds. Instead, it is able to hang on in the former Portuguese colony only through the presence of its armed forces.

A source in Dili said last night: "Ever since they invaded, the Indonesians have been trying to get out people to accept them and even to love them. But they have failed. We sent them as much today as we did when they first arrived...and we will continue to resent them until they accept our right to self-determination."

At the heart of the conflict is the Indonesian invasion which followed the collapse, in Lisbon in April 1974, of the Portuguese colonial government then headed by Professor Marcello Caetano.

For many years Timorese Fretilin guerrillas have fought against the Indonesian takeover. Although they have made little headway with their insurrection, the mood of East Timor's people - more than 90 per cent of whom are Catholic, while Indonesia is overwhelmingly Muslim - has remained strongly opposed to the Indonesian takeover.

The immediate cause of the latest round of protests was a case of sacrilege by Indonesian soldiers, who entered a Catholic church at Remexio (Remexio) village, outside Dili, during mass and then proceeded to desecrate the sacrament.

Describing the situation, the Bishop of Dili, the most reverend Carlos Felipe Belo, has said: "East Timor is like hell. Christians are constantly being arrested, beaten and intimidated by police."

In Darwin, a prominent Timorese exile has linked the situation in the former colony to what he says is the "rapidly deteriorating" political situation in Indonesian.

"Once again, as so many times in the past, the latest happenings give evidence to the lack of credibility and good faith of Indonesian authorities and their contempt for international community members, norms and institutions," says Mr Jose Gusmão,

south-east Asia representative of the umbrella resistance group, the National Council of Maubere Resistance.

"The latest acts of violence against the East Timor population are clearly linked to the rapidly deteriorating situation of Indonesia, he says.

"President Suharto and his cronies are coming under increasingly strong pressure by a growing pro-democracy movement seeking a change in leadership, and end to the prevailing massive corruption, nepotism and denial of human rights throughout the country."

Adding to the Indonesian leader's problems now is growing international opprobrium over the issue of human rights abuses in Timor - anger that, in the past few days, has seen the Clinton administration assume an unprecedentedly critical stance against Jakarta.

For Australia, however, there is no easy course: the country remains encumbered by the Whitlam government's sympathetic stand on the Indonesian invasion, and by Mr Keating's more recent embrace of President Suharto and Indonesia as virtually the linchpin of his foreign policy.

TO this credit, Foreign Minister Gareth Evans insists that there can no compromising Australia's forthright stand on human rights abuses, wherever they occur. But among many East Timorese exiles there is the conviction that they are being let down by Australia.

Many regard Mr Keating's embrace of President Suharto as being as short-sighted as the way in which his predecessor, Mr Whitlam, hastened to be so accommodating towards the invasion of East Timor, committing Australia to a policy many have since come to regret.

For as solid as the military-based government in Jakarta now looks, there are, equally, signs that it is under increasing pressure both domestically and internationally.

As one former Labor cabinet minister said last night: "The trouble with Australia's policy is that it puts all its eggs in one basket: say Suharto is overthrown tomorrow...where would that leave us? Almost certainly with a new set-up in Jakarta that put our interests in jeopardy because of our past support for Suharto. It's all very short-sighted."

TIME FOR A CHANGE IN POLICY ON TIMOR

The Age (Letters to the editor), 28 July 1994

The heavy-handed suppression by the Indonesian military of demonstrators protesting against two soldiers who allegedly

abused the sacraments during Mass in Dili is yet another signal to the world that the situation in East Timor remains unresolved.

My office has received information that Indonesian military authorities have targeted the 24-year-old East Timorese leader of the demonstration that followed that incident, Mr Pedro de Fatima, for severe punishment, including imprisonment, and confirming the hospitalisation and detention of other demonstrators.

This and other reports of continued human rights abuses in East Timor at the hands of the Indonesian military highlight the fundamental flaw in international policy-making on East Timor. That policy is founded on the lie that East Timor was successfully integrated into Indonesia in July 1976. It is time for a change in that policy.

Relations between the Indonesian and Australian governments have been strained time and again over East Timor. Despite serious endeavors on both sides to improve the relationship the issue of East Timor has proved to be a stumbling block.

In a fully mature relationship it should be possible to move forward on areas of mutual agreement yet beg to differ or be able to be open and honest about issues of difference.

Australian policy on East Timor requires greater impartiality.

In that regard, I call on the Australian Government to take greater initiatives on seeking a political resolution in East Timor, in particular to:

- support a permanent United Nations human rights presence in East Timor and free access by international humanitarian and human rights organisations.

- Support a political resolution to the East Timor issue, which involves participation by and consultation with genuine East Timorese representatives.

If there is to be a relationship based on trust and mutual respect, then the Australian Government needs to look at the long run, beginning with a change on its policy on East Timor.

Demetri Dollis,
Deputy Leader of Opposition, Victoria

HOW SUHARTO FAKED THE TRUTH

By John Pilger

New Statesman and Society, 29 July

In one of its most damning reports on East Timor, Amnesty International has accused the Indonesian regime of faking evidence following the murder of wounded survivors of the 1991 massacre in Dili, Amnesty says that 270 were killed in the massacre--not 50, as the Indonesians claimed--and that another 200 "disappeared". The

report also dismisses the Australian government's claim that the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991, was an "isolated incident". "Scores of political killings have been reported in East Timor since 1991," says the report, which documents systematic murder, torture, sexual abuse and illegal detention by the Indonesian military.

The Amnesty charges are extraordinary because for the first time they are directed not only at the Suharto regime, but at its western backers. "We feel compelled to break with tradition'y, says the report "[and] to address our remarks ... to member states of the UN who share responsibility . . y The international community has effectively turned its back on the reality of systematic human rights violations in East Timor. It has accepted uncritically Indonesian government promises of commitment to human rights and 'political openness'." All such promises, says Amnesty, are "empty".

Although it does not name them, Amnesty is especially scathing about those governments, such as the British and Australian, which have sought lucrative trade with Jakarta while claiming "constructive" and "quiet" diplomacy on human rights. "The willingness of foreign governments to conduct business as usual", it says, "sends a clear signal that human rights take second place to economic interest. The lack of concerted pressure from the international community has contributed to the perpetuation of a pattern of systematic human rights abuse in East Timor in the past year [such as] torture, extrajudicial killings [and] unfair political trials ... With rare exceptions, the perpetrators of human rights crimes have not been brought to justice." Describing a "weak" a "consensus" statement last March by the UN Human Rights Commission Amnesty accuses the UN body of merely "encouraging" the Indonesians to "preserve the status quo".

In what is a clear rebuttal of assertions made by the Australian foreign minister, Gareth Evans, that there was no mass murder of the wounded following the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery, Amnesty describes as "credible" the witnesses who appeared in the documentary *Death of a Nation* and later before the UN Human Rights Commission "Allegations that civilians were deliberately killed or 'disappeared' after the massacre", it says, "have been corroborated by other reliable sources." These include sources within the Indonesian administration who have told Amnesty that "some of those detained or hospitalised after the [Santa Cruz] massacre were deliberately finished off". The report includes the testimony of a young man, "Jose" (not his real name), who was wounded in the massacre.

Jose, it says "told Amnesty International how four soldiers beat him on the head and chest with the butts of their automatic weapons after he had been felled by a bullet near the entrance to the cemetery. As he lay on the ground he could also see soldiers assaulting his friend Simplicio de Deus. He said the soldiers cut one of Simplicio's ears off and slashed the other deeply with a knife. About 15 minutes later both Jose and Simplicio were thrown on to the back of a military truck, together with dozens of others. Most were already dead and the floor of the truck was wet with blood. Jose told Amnesty international that, while in the truck, he saw soldiers use bayonets to stab at least one person who was still alive."

The Amnesty investigation makes clear that the Jakarta regime has consistently lied about the "second massacre" in Dili. It says that Jakarta has "provided clarification of the fate of only a small fraction of the estimated 270 dead and 200 'disappeared' and has attempted to discuss the inadequacy of its efforts by publishing information which is false and misleading". In letters to the UN's Assistant Secretary General for Human Rights, the regime claimed that ten people on the list of "disappeared" had "reappeared". But most of these were not even on the original list, says Amnesty, and "four were actually unidentified corpses with no known connection to the Santa Cruz massacre".

For the first time, Amnesty paints an horrific picture of the widespread rape of East Timorese women by the Indonesian military, acting "with impunity". Amnesty says it has the names of "dozens" of rape victims, who cannot be named for fear of reprisal. One of them is Isabel (also not her real name), who was shot during the Santa Cruz massacre and taken to the military hospital in Dili. "On the night of 13 November, one day after being admitted to hospital with five bullet wounds," says her testimony, "two soldiers came to her bed, cut off all her clothes with scissors and began to touch her body. She was unable to move because of her wounds, and so simply closed her eyes so that she would not see their faces." One of her military interrogators later molested her. Asked how this affected her she said: "If men are hurt they can recover and forget what happened, but for women, if they are raped or tortured, they cannot forget. Their life is destroyed forever."

Amnesty dismisses the regime's oft repeated claim that "anyone can come to East Timor and see for themselves." On the contrary, all visits by foreigners are strictly controlled by a "far-reaching intelligence apparatus", and the report refers to a guided tour by foreign journalists last April. Six

East Timorese, serving sentences of up to life imprisonment for non-violent political activities, managed to stage a small pro-independence protest during a prison visit by the journalists. One of them, reported the correspondent of the Times, shouted from his cell: "They accused me of political crimes and tortured me with electric shocks, but they are invaders of my country and I don't accept their verdict. They prohibited us from talking to you and will punish us for this, but we have to speak out."

Amnesty accuses the regime of transferring the six protesters to another prison several hundred miles away "to make it more difficult for the prisoners to communicate with the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Killings, who was scheduled to visit East Timor" on 9 July. All six were witnesses to the Santa Cruz massacre, which the Special Rapporteur specifically was to investigate.

When the Amnesty report is set against statements by western governments, the full extent of the appeasement, and of the deception to justify it, becomes apparent. Statements by the Foreign Office, such as "It is wrong to suggest that the widespread abuses of human rights persist in East Timor", are converted from merely misleading semantics to bald-faced lies.

The falsity of the almost incessant protection of the Suharto regime by those such as Australia's Gareth Evans is exposed many times over in the Amnesty document, especially in Amnesty's examination of the "punishment" of Indonesian officers for their part in the Santa Cruz massacre. Having described the massacre as an "aberration", Evans praised the regime's response to it as "positive and helpful" and "very encouraging", and speculated that the wounded survivors "might simply have gone bush".

Amnesty's evidence makes mockery of this. In an earlier report, Amnesty described the "trial" of a few junior officers as "totally lacking in credibility and designed to appease international criticism." This new report contrasts the staged "punishment" of the officers with prison terms as long as life handed out to 13 peaceful demonstrators. "Despite substantial evidence of deliberate and torture," it says, "none of [the Indonesian] officers who were tried was charged with murder ... Moreover, the higher ranking officers have not been brought to justice."

Indeed, the military commander whose troops carried out the Santa Cruz massacre, General Sintong Panjaitan, was recently appointed chief weapons adviser to the minister of research and technology. This means that when Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd next flies to Jakarta to offer a "soft loan" followed by a major arms deal, he is

likely to shake hands with General Panjaitan. Britain is now Jakarta's biggest arms supplier, a point underlined last week by a spokesman for the Indonesian foreign ministry. On hearing that the US Senate had voted unanimously to restrict small arms sales to Indonesia, the spokesman said: "It will only press us to look for other sources such as Great Britain."

Similarly, the Australian government, widely regarded as Jakarta's most devoted friend, last week announced that it had invited the Indonesian military to take part for the first time in huge military exercises in Australia's Northern Territory. The announcement was made six days after Indonesian troops had brutally put down a peaceful demonstration of students protesting at the harassment of two Catholic nuns by army intelligence agents. Unconfirmed reports say that three students were killed, their throats slit by troops and their bodies quickly removed.

At the same time, Bishop Carlos Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, whom I interviewed recently ("Bishop Belo accuses the west", 15 July), was warned by the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, against "making dangerous political statements". Bishop Belo has refused to be silenced. Last week, he described the Indonesian occupation of his country as "hell".

PEACENIKS WANT PEOPLE'S SECURITY FIRST

An Inter Press Service Feature

By Leah Makabenta

BANGKOK, Jul 26 (IPS) - The new-found willingness of Asia-Pacific countries to discuss military matters is a welcome development, but peace will remain a dream unless they go beyond conventional ideas of security, say peace activists and human development experts.

Despite past wars and a raging arms race, the region has until recently remained without a security framework to deal with the aftermath of the Cold War.

That situation is changing, with the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) initiative to bring together countries representing more than half the world's population for a security dialogue.

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which held its inaugural meeting in Bangkok Monday, comprises the ASEAN Six and their regular dialogue partners (Australia, Canada, the European Union, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea and the United States) together with China, Vietnam, Laos, Russia and Papua New Guinea.

"There is a mood of cooperation -- a feeling that we should consolidate South-east

Asia's economic gains to have security co-operation as well," said Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

The meeting discussed ways to prevent potential conflicts, including cooperation in preparing defence white papers, sharing of maritime information, declaration of arms acquisitions and inventories, and non-proliferation of nuclear arms. Concrete measures will be discussed at the next ARF meeting in Brunei next year.

Delegates to a peace seminar here said such proposals advance a concept of security based on the militarisation of international relations and narrow interpretations of power and participation.

Participants at the 'Bangkok Peace Seminar: Peaceful Agenda for Asia-Pacific Security', a parallel non-governmental meeting in Bangkok, said the ARF's role was limited and did not match the challenges of the times.

The delegates said the ARF needs to be more comprehensive to include all countries in the region as well as grassroots and non-governmental groups and address the non-military aspects of security.

The conference, whose theme was 'regional security from a people's perspective', drew speakers from a wide range of community groups, non-governmental organisations and academic institutions from 16 countries. It was organised by the Yokohama-based Pacific Campaign for Disarmament and Security (PCDS).

The seminar noted that in the post-Cold War era, grassroots groups in the region have come to regard security as encompassing such areas as economic sustainability and regional self-reliance, protection of the environment, security of people and the quality of life, human and democratic rights and advocacy of indigenous people's rights.

"Achieving these goals will need to include a process of demilitarisation, denuclearisation and decolonisation," said the seminar's concluding statement.

It said preventive diplomacy, including people-to-people and people-to-government dialogues, was the cornerstone of regional peace and security.

Academic Vitit Muntarbhorn of Bangkok's Chulalongkorn University said the 1994 U.N. Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report provides a timely instrument for questioning traditional notions of national security by reorienting the concerns of security towards a more people-centered vision.

The UNDP report suggests it is now "time to make a transition from the narrow concept of national security to the all-encompassing concept of human security".

Vitit said the need to tackle human security shifts the preoccupation with arma-

ments to advocacy of security through sustainable human development.

State authorities use national security as an excuse "to spend more money on purchasing arms and to reinforce the impunity of state officials when they violate the rights of others, including use of those arms against their own people", he said.

The conference noted that much of the remarkable economic growth of ASEAN countries has been achieved at the expense of political democracy, human rights and the environment.

Economic prosperity does not necessarily lead to greater equity and income distribution in the region. Many groups are left out in the development process and the environmental degradation has added yet another dimension to the human rights picture.

There is need for greater democratisation in the region, said various speakers who challenged ASEAN's policy of 'non-intervention in internal affairs' as a rationale to thwart the international community's moral responsibility to respond to human rights violations in various states.

They cited such potentially destabilising 'internal affairs' as the denial of democracy by the Burmese junta, Indonesia's annexation and continued occupation of East Timor, communal antagonisms in almost all ASEAN countries, and tensions arising from the persistence of colonial rule in French Polynesia, New Caledonia and Micronesia, and Australia's 'big brother' role in the South Pacific.

Walden F Bello, lecturer in public administration and sociology at the University of the Philippines, said only a democratic system can guarantee peace in a multilateral security system.

"Research has consistently shown that democratic states are less likely to go to war with one another than non-democratic governments," said Bello.

The mechanisms of democracy -- free public debate, constitutional checks, opposition challenges -- act as restraint to adventurist actions, he said.

Authoritarian regimes do not have these constraints and are in fact "unstable actors that often channel into outward aggression suppressed internal tensions", added Bello.

He said the aggressive staking of claims in disputed territories like the Spratly Islands and the invasion of small states like East Timor are "the natural extension of domestic politics where it is normal practice to smash workers' efforts to organise, eliminate or curtail freedom of the press, restrict the opposition to token participation in the political system and repress minority peoples".

Besides debunking the old definition of security, delegates also stressed the need to widen the scope of decision-making processes. They said the failure to include North Korea and the South Pacific island nations, except for Papua New Guinea, undermines the regional stability that forums like the ARF are supposed to promote.

The conference said the North Korean nuclear issue has to be settled in a "fair and peaceful" way, which needs to consider and understand North Korea's reasons for undertaking the nuclear option.

Bello says Pyongyang's actions must be seen as an effort to "(preserve) its integrity in a context where it has effectively lost its two principal protectors, China and the former Soviet Union".

There are those within the ARF membership who do not believe in Pyongyang's continued isolation. Addressing the ASEAN ministerial meeting on Friday, Philippine Foreign Secretary Roberto Romulo said: "It is perhaps not too early to consider the eventual participation of North Korea in ARF's deliberations."

In a paper presented to the peace seminar, Yong-Ho Peak of Pyongyang's Korean Anti-Nuke Peace Committee said: "Sanctions and pressure cannot be a solution to the issue. They only drive the situation to an extreme phase."

The peace seminar said the ARF should include the voices of grassroots groups and communities which support a more progressive and inclusive understanding of security. (END/IPS/LM/LNH/94)

LAWYERS FOR REBEL LEADER GUSMÃO RAISE HOPES OF REVIEW

AFP, 28 July 1994. Abridged

Jakarta -- Lawyers for jailed East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão said Thursday there could be an official review of his trial and 20-year sentence.

Luhut Pangaribuan, one of the lawyers quoted Purwoto Gandasubrata as saying there was the possibility of a rethink.

"I think this review means a retrial," Pangaribuan of the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) told journalists after a 2-hour meeting with Gusmão at Jakarta's Cipinang Prison. It was their second meeting this week.

Pangaribuan visited the prison with LBH chairman Adnan Buyung Nasution and an interpreter. The LBH was given power of attorney in March after Gusmão sacked his lawyer Suyono.

In the first meeting on Tuesday without an interpreter, Gusmão said he wanted a retrial. However Justice Minister Utoyo Usman has dismissed the retrial demand as

"unethical". He said Gusmão had already received a proper trial and highlighted the sentence reduction from life to 20 years.

Pangaribuan said that as far as clemency was concerned, Gusmão's former lawyer was unfair as he had never explained to Gusmão the consequences of an appeal.

He said Gusmão, whose understanding of Indonesian was "very poor", did not fully comprehend what his lawyer was doing in the appeal. "Making an appeal for clemency means that he agreed East Timor is a part of Indonesia, that he admitted doing wrong and asked for pardon," Pangaribuan said. He also said the team was to meet Gusmão one more time to go over the case. "We expect the third meeting to be final," he said. "afterwards we'll try to find some alternative solutions and then will discuss it with Xanana."

TOKYO MEETING WITH UN HUMAN RIGHTS HIGH COMMISSIONER

A Memo from Kiyoko Furusawa, IFET

July 29, 1994

On July 22, Visiting UN Human Rights High Commissioner met with representatives of 5 human rights NGOs at a meeting room in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, Japan. The 5 NGOs were Japan Civil Liberty Union (JCLU), Amnesty International Japanese Section, International Movement against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism (IMADR), Korean Rights Group Japan and International Federation for East Timor (IFET). IFET was represented by Kiyoko Furusawa.

Referring to the mandate of the HR High Commissioner that he should remove obstacles in promoting human rights, Kiyoko Furusawa asked the Commissioner's view about the recent pressures that Indonesia imposed on the Philippine and Thai governments in efforts to block the participation of East Timorese, one of the very parties involved in the question, in the APCET and another human rights conference in Bangkok which focused on the human rights problems of East Timor and Burma. She said that in effect these Indonesia's moves had made difficult for Asian NGOs to discuss human rights situations in their own region, although Asian human rights NGOs could consolidate mutual understanding and solidarity in the process for and during the UN World Human Rights Conference. She said that this situation caused by the Indonesia's moves is very serious.

The High Commissioner said that he had long been interested in the question of East Timor. While saying the political settlement of the question is a duty of the Secretary

General and that his duty is to concentrate on human rights problems, he said, "Regarding this problem, I think I can do something to help you," and requested that he be communicated to at an earlier stage when there is a plan to hold such a conference.

His statement on his capacity seems yet to be clarified further, but it is apparently useful to continue to send him information.

The fax number of the UN Human Rights High Commissioner
Mr. Jose Ayala Lasso
c/o UN Human Rights Centre, Geneva
+41-22-917-0123

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The following letter was handed to Mr. Ayala Lasso at the above-mentioned meeting with NGOs.

The Honorable Jose Ayala Lasso
The United Nations High Commissioner
for Human Rights

July 22, 1994

Sir:

We appreciate most, and would like to express our gratitude to, your readiness to meet Japanese human rights NGOs. It is indeed our sincere hope that your visit to Japan will be as fruitful as you expect.

Our organization, as an associate NGO of UNDPI, has been engaged in activities to promote the principles of the UN in regard to the decolonization process and to assure that the internationally recognized human rights standards be applied to the decolonization process of East Timor.

It was with this spirit that many members of our organization took active participation in the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor, which was held in Manila from May 31 to June 6 this year. The conference was the first attempt by Asian human rights NGOs to discuss the problem in the region where the problem exists. It was a peaceful, non-violent and ordinary NGO conference. But a number of foreign participants, including a Nobel Laureate from Ireland, were barred from entering the country due to the pressure by the Indonesian government. The Indonesian government threatened President Ramos of the Philippines that if the conference went on the bilateral relations would be hurt.

At this moment, a similar problem is causing a heated discussion in Thailand, because the Indonesian government again threatened Thailand in the same way. The Thai government, despite much domestic criticism, has banned foreigners from attending a regional human rights seminar which invited East Timorese.

These bannings of the governments are clearly not in accordance with the spirit of the para. 38 of the Vienna Declaration, which recognized the importance of NGOs

in this field. If one country can stop a human rights seminar of NGOs by screaming it doesn't like this or that, this will effectively exclude possibilities of Asian NGOs to discuss together human rights in their own region. If just a discussion of human rights can be banned, how can human rights be protected when violations occur?

We think that the recent Indonesian government's interventions in the freedom of expression in other countries are themselves a serious challenge to the promotion of human rights. And we think that the Philippine and Thai governments' attitudes constitute a very dangerous trend in the region where human rights violations are still most serious. Therefore, we request to you Mr. Jose Ayala Lasso to make sure that such an interference in human rights activities of NGOs not be repeated again in the future, and if it happens again, to intervene as quickly as possible to protect the freedom of expression.

The Indonesian government is also not consistent in providing freer access to East Timor which it agreed in the consensus declaration at the UN Human Rights Commission this year. The Diet Members Forum on East Timor's delegation to East Timor has applied for permission to the Indonesian government to visit East Timor in coming August. The Indonesian government accepted all the Diet members but turned down the first applications of all the secretaries and interpreters who were to accompany the delegation. We cannot but doubt the sincerity of the Indonesian government.

This Indonesia's reactionary policy must be taken seriously and need to be overcome in some way at the UN Human Rights Commission.

Sincerely yours,
Kiyoko Furusawa
on behalf of IFET

HUMAN RIGHTS: ASEAN BRIDGES GAP WITH WESTERN ALLIES

An Inter Press Service Feature

By Leah Makabenta

BANGKOK, Jul 28 (IPS) - The Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its Western allies ended two days of talks here this week with both sides giving a little on human rights and democratic principles that have marred relations between them in the past.

ASEAN accuses Western countries of linking social standards such as human rights, workers' rights and environmental issues with trade talks, practices that verge on protectionism.

The group's so-called dialogue partners -- the United States, Canada, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the European Union -- are also its major trading partners.

ASEAN's Western allies have been sharply critical of the regional group, the world's most dynamic economies, for tolerating Burma's human rights abuses.

Indonesia's alleged human rights violations in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta in 1976, have held up agreement on a new pact of expanded economic cooperation between the European Union and ASEAN.

Speaking on behalf of his ASEAN colleagues at the start of their two-day talks Tuesday, Thai Foreign Minister Prasong Soonsiri said it was time the two sides expanded their dialogue process by "giving due attention to cooperative projects which promote human and social issues by according high priority to poverty reduction, productive employment and environmental regeneration".

While Prasong did not say whether social issues would cover human and workers' rights, analysts saw it as a slight shift in ASEAN's strict stance on linkages between labour rights and trade access.

And depending on who you were talking to, most of the world's major powers who came to Bangkok with the intention of giving a fresh international push for democratisation in Burma had considerably softened their stance on South-east Asia's pariah regime.

Host Thailand, which was on the defensive all week for inviting a representative of the Burmese junta to this year's ASEAN talks, confidently announced the West had abandoned its policy of isolating Burma and would start talking to Rangoon.

There were reports that Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Japan and the European Union had acknowledged that isolation did not work and that ASEAN's constructive engagement was "the right answer".

But EU officials denied there had been a change, saying their policy of 'critical dialogue' remained.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, representing the EU presidency, said he was prepared to meet Burmese Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw to state the EU's conditions for normalising ties, but Ohn Gyaw left Bangkok the day before the post-ministerial meeting.

The United States was resolutely alone in declining to embrace ASEAN's previously condemned 'constructive engagement' policy.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord said sarcastically the reported change of heart of some Western countries

may be "good news for SLORC (the State Law and Order Restoration Council, the name of the Rangoon regime) ... but this does not necessarily mean good news for Suu Kyi".

Whether it will be good news for the international community depends on whether real progress is made, Lord added. He insisted that the U. S. approach of isolating Burma was the most effective.

The issue was glossed over in the time-honoured ASEAN way of avoiding confrontation and backing away from trouble by a compromise proposal from Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

In a joint press conference of all 14 foreign ministers of ASEAN and its dialogue partners, a so-called new approach was announced which defined a set of collective 'benchmarks' as a condition for improvement of Western relations with Burma.

This included the unconditional release of opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi and other political prisoners, dialogues with political opponents, access to political detainees for Red Cross and United Nations monitoring teams, and real constitutional reform through full and free participation, legal rights for minorities, cessation of portage, the repeal of political censorship laws and other restrictions to political freedom and free expression.

But Joan Spero, U.S. undersecretary of state for economic, business and agricultural affairs, made it clear Washington was taking "a different tactical approach" from its Western colleagues while expressing hope that it "will be successful".

Spero said the United States had other worries such as the "serious outflow of narcotics" from Burma. "We will keep an eye on (the new approach) and believe that the kind of benchmarks that Evans has laid out make a lot of sense for that policy of theirs."

Canada, which along with the European Union was the strongest in calling for "real progress" on democracy and human rights in Burma, said that while it will not engage in dialogues it was willing to support and co-operate with others in their attempts.

Canadian Foreign Minister Andre Ouellet told another press conference his government was "frustrated" by its monologues on the Burma and believed dialogue might help improve the situation there.

"If there is monologue, there is no willingness to listen to what is said and it will go nowhere .. others might be better interlocutors of these dialogues and we accept this," he said.

But the 14 foreign ministers gathered in Bangkok backed away from the East Timor issue in the interest of developing cordiality, sitting stony-faced while Indonesian Foreign

Minister Ali Alatas delivered an angry tirade on what he insisted was a "non-issue."

Alatas denied Jakarta had pressured either Philippine or Thai authorities into suppressing protests on East Timor. Indonesia had only "conveyed in clear terms to two friendly neighbours" why it would have been offended if no action had been taken. He denied this constituted bullying or interference in Thai and Philippine affairs.

Said Alatas: "There are values in ASEAN, non-interference in the affairs and respect for the values of its neighbours, which have made ASEAN great."

"Twenty-seven years of painstaking efforts would be destroyed if well-meaning but gullible non-governmental organisations subject to manipulation of small groups of people who only represent themselves hold what is not a seminar but a political campaign to interfere in the affairs of Indonesia. It is in the common interest of ASEAN not to allow this to happen," he added.

He called East Timor a "17-year tragedy" stemming from a bungled decolonisation process by Portugal which had colonised the land for 400 years. He blamed the unrest there on a few people "who failed 20 years ago to participate in the democratic decolonisation process".

"They are the ones who brought in the arms, they are the ones who are killing people in East Timor," Alatas said.

The next ASEAN-EU ministerial meeting is due to be held in Karlsruhe, Germany, in September. Kinkel said he only hoped the East Timor issue "doesn't disturb our discussions".

EU officials in Bangkok seemed intent on raising Europe's economic and political profile in the region. A policy document circulated here and described as designed to launch a radical rethink of EU strategy towards Asia, indicates that East Timor is unlikely to intrude in the discussions.

"The concept of the relationship between human rights, democracy and development should be inspired by the assumption that economic development could bring about the progressive construction of civil society and thus improve the exercise of human rights, which in turn could also be an important factor for development," the paper said.

This is consistent with the ASEAN argument that human rights and democracy take the back seat to economic development and political stability.

ROCKERS RALLY TO ISLAND'S CAUSE

Telegraph Mirror, June 25, 1994

By James Compton and Fred Pawle

MELBOURNE - Singer Paul Stewart from rock band Painter And Dockers is unlike other musicians who sign up with fashionable political or social causes. While other pop stars use their concerns to bask in valuable publicity and enhance their images, Stewart puts his energy into one of Australia's most controversial and daunting causes - East Timor.

This month he releases a compilation CD, featuring Midnight Oil, Crowded House, Frente and Nicola Quilter and the Choir of Faith and Hope, to raise money for children orphaned by the Indonesian occupation of the island. His interest in the subject is more than casual.

Stewart's brother Tony, a journalist for Channel Seven, disappeared on October 16, 1975 after filing a report about the fear the Timorese had of an imminent Indonesian invasion. In all, six Aussies disappeared during the invasion but no Australian government since has asked for an explanation from Indonesia.

Recently reports surfaced that the Australian were hung upside down, castrated and had their genitals stuffed in their mouths.

The United Nations refuses to accept Indonesia's claim of rule over East Timor and opposition to it comes from the 20,000 East Timorese in Australia, the Vatican and Portugal, the island colonial ruler until it withdrew in 1975.

The CD, called All In The Family, has attracted interest from record distributors in the United States, Britain and Europe. The money raised by its sales will set up the Oan Kiak scholarship fund to pay for the education of children living in Timor's first three orphanages. Before 1975 children who were orphaned were embraced by extended families.

The invasion decimated these extended families, says anthropologist Patsy Thatcher.

"The Oan Kiak scholarship fund is like my fantasy come true", she says. "In 1990, when I first went to Timor, I visited some orphanages quite by chance. I was absolutely astonished because in the past the Timorese had no orphanages.

"If a child was orphaned it belonged to the extended family, which automatically absorbed it.

"There are about 20,000 orphans in Timor, which means that not only are their parents dead but their extended family network must have been wiped out."

Education is available to all Timorese but it is taught in Indonesian. Agio Pereira, who also performs on the CD, says the schools teach literacy but are mainly used for indoctrination.

"It is a process of Indonesianisation," he says. "It is typically colonial, the ruler trying to brainwash the new generation."

The orphanage are run by the Catholic church which, Pereira says, creates a dilemma for the Indonesian government.

"The Vatican has refused to integrate the East Timor Catholic Church into the Indonesian conference of churches," he says.

"It is totally independent of Indonesia, it belongs directly to the Vatican. "With 90 per cent of East Timorese being Catholic, this causes a problem for Indonesia.

Last month the jailed leader of the East Timorese resistance movement, Xanana Gusmão, was offered his freedom in political asylum in the former Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau, Africa.

But, Pereira says, Gusmão refused to relinquish his principles of freedom for East Timor.

After 18 years, life under Indonesia has not improved for the Timorese. Fernando Pires, who in 1990 returned to his homeland for the first time since 1975, says the only people to have benefited from the invasion are Indonesian migrants.

"If you look at it in a material sense and the army sense, there are more roads for tanks and trucks and the military but if you look at the people's point of view, life has not improved," he says.

FILM INSPIRES A SONG FOR FREEDOM

Nicola Quilter had no idea she would be so affected by John Pilger's latest film *Death Of A Nation - The Timor Conspiracy* when she saw it two months ago.

In fact the 22-year-old singer and actor was almost completely unaware of the trouble in the tiny island off the north coast of Australia.

She emerged from the cinema determined to help redress the lack of awareness in this country.

"I was so moved by it that I went home and wrote the song *Cry Freedom*," Quilter said.

At that time, Quilter had no idea Paul Stewart was putting together the compilation CD *All In The Family* to help the children of East Timor.

"It was late one night when Nicola called up and said 'You don't know me from a bar of soap but I've got this song - listen'," said Stewart.

"And she played it to me over the phone and I thought it was just what we needed to round off the album."

A CD COMPILATION FOR THE CHILDREN OF EAST TIMOR:

**** "All in the Family" ****

The Timorese Association in Victoria (Australia) has released a compilation CD to raise money for secondary education scholarships for orphans in East Timor (the Oan Kiak Education Scholarships).

Artists and musical items are as follows:

1 Mario Abrantes Oan Kiak

[traditional East Timorese melody played on a bamboo flute]

2 Midnight Oil Kolele Mai [Makasae song used in a funeral ritual called hader mate (the waking of the dead); traditional words reinterpreted by Francisco Borja da Costa; sung in English, with vocal chorus by the Xanana Choir; previously released by Colombia]

3 Frente! Cuscatlan

4 Third Eye Morphic Resonance

5 Not Drowning, Waving Penmon

6 Crowded House Skin Feeling

7 Things of Stone & Wood Cried

8 The Killjoys Ruby

9 The Blackeyed Susans Trio Trouble

10 Tiddas Iananay

11 Overnight Jones Head Over Heals

12 Archie Roach From Paradise

13 Weddings, Parties, Anything Racist

Friend

14 Agio Pereira I'm Still Fighting

15 Afterglow Run for Your Wife

16 Painters & Dockers Don't Hassle Me

17 The Bo-Weevils Blues for Senbei

18 Cosmic Psychos Lost Cause

19 Nicola Quilter and the Choir of Faith

& Hope Cry Freedom

20 Jeannie Marsh & Michael Harvey

Quito

Press kits (which include a CD) can be obtained from

John Sinnott AETA (the Australia-East Timor Association) PO Box 93, Fitzroy, VIC 3065 AUSTRALIA

or from Louise Byrne 3/114 Wellington St, St Kilda, VIC 3182 AUSTRALIA tel: [61-3] 510 2193

Shops wanting to sell the CD should set up a contractual link with

Val Eimutis Export Manager Mushroom Distribution Services 55 Danks St, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207 AUSTRALIA fax: [61-3] 645 2909

The funds raised by the sale of this CD will be deposited in a bank in Dili under the trusteeship of Bishop Belo (in East Timor) and Bishop Hilton Deakin (the Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Melbourne). Not only the brightest students, but also those who are hard-working and industrious, will be invited to apply. A special effort will be made to encourage girls.

The sale of 3,000 CDs will finance 160 annual Oan Kiak scholarships over a ten-year period.

Among those involved in getting the project off the ground were Paul Stewart (from rock band Painters & Dockers), Emilia Pires (Timorese Association in Victoria), Bishop Hilton Deakin, Martin Cooke (Mushroom Distribution Services), Patsy Thatcher (Australian anthropologist) and Louise Byrne.

"In East Timor we did not have orphanages. If my uncle died then my father was automatically responsible for my aunt's welfare and my cousins' education. Now it's different. So many have been killed our tradition has been destroyed. Now Timor has three orphanages.

"I applaud the Australian musicians for recognising this, and helping us in the Year of the Family to assume responsibility for the future of our children, especially those bereft of father, mother, uncle, aunt and grandparents."

Emilia Pires

RECORD DISTRIBUTORS:

ATHENS: AS PENGUIN [Poppy Stavroski] tel 301 644 7058 fax 301 645 1084

CANADA (Quebec): CARGO [Dwayne Sheplaw] tel 151 449 512 12 fax 151 449 512 11

DENMARK (Aalborg): MISLABEL [Bjarne] tel 459 811 334 4 fax 459 812 278 3

FRANCE (Lille): SBA [Patrick Verbeke] tel 332 009 828 3 fax 332 009 853 0

FRANCE (Paris): NEW ROSE [Laurent Didailier] tel 331 443 951 20 fax 331 443 951 30

FRANCE (Paris): VIRGIN [Jerome Rey] tel 331 495 350 00

GERMANY (Gokels): RISING SUN [Nicole Glaw] tel 494 872 202 7 fax 494 872 393 2

GERMANY (Kissing): LONG ISLAND REC. [Bernie] tel 498 233 790 420 fax 498 233 286 3

GERMANY (Kaarst): DISCOVERY [Stefan Born] tel 492 131 600 30 fax 492 131 675 532

HONG KONG (Kowloon): CITY SOUND INT'L [Alex] tel 852 368 567 6 fax 852 723 595 8

HONG KONG (Kwun Tong): SILK ROAD MUSIC [Desmond Chan] tel 852 332 239 7 fax 852 344 324 3

HONG KONG: SUI SENG [Lam Sue Sam] tel 852 576 213 8 fax 852 895 003 4

IRELAND (Dublin): TOWER RECORDS

JAPAN (Osaka): SUPERSTOP [Austrian buyer] tel 817 272 823 51 fax 817 272 823 58

JAPAN (Tokyo): BOND STREET INC. [Mr M] tel 03 323 323 28 fax 03 329 272 95

JAPAN (Tokyo): RATSPACK [Makito Tanahashi] tel 813 347 021 69 fax 813 347 021 96

MACAU: [Jose Mocas] tel/fax 853 591 772

NETHERLANDS (Ijssel): BERTUS [Dirk Van Huffel] tel 311 044 205 11 fax 311 044 213 11

NETHERLANDS (Shagen): SEMAPHORE [Bertus] tel 312 240 150 45 fax 312 240160 01

NEW ZEALAND: FLYING NUN [Leslie] tel 649 377 460 7 fax 353 167 132 50

NORWAY: CICADA MUSIC [Jan Hemmingbye] tel 473 015 975 fax 476 862 288

SINGAPORE: NIGHTBIRD PROD [Dean Lee] tel 653 362 74 fax 653 362 157

SINGAPORE: WHITE CLOUD [Victor Heng] tel 655 341 939 fax 655 332 302

SWEDEN (Gothenburg): BORDER [Pelle Eriksson] tel 463 119 080 0 fax 463 119 237 0

SWITZERLAND (Baar): GROOVELINE [Zeno Travan] tel 414 232 227 1 fax 414 232 227 9

UK (London): FAT SHADOW [Mike Kirkman] tel 448 174 990 34 fax 448 174 976 65

UK (London): TOWER [Paul Russell] tel 447 143 925 00 fax 447 143 427 66

UK (London): VIRGIN [Stuart Batsford] tel 447 122 151 55 fax 447 179 216 17

UK (London): CARGO [Ade] tel 448 187 592 20 fax 448 187 59227

UK (London): CAROLINE [Nigel Marshall] tel 448 196 129 19 fax 448 196 183 65

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INTERVIEWS WITH BISHOP BELO - BY ANDREW MCNAUGHTON, JULY 1994.

Q: What functions does the Church perform here in East Timor?

Well as you know our first job for the church is to preach the gospel, to bring to the people the knowledge of Christ, to reach salvation, but on the other hand we try to serve the people in an integral way, all the people, not only on a spiritual level, but also on cultural, psychological, moral and economical levels. We try to promote human beings in all their aspects. In this way, we also try to defend them, defend against abuse of human rights, to preach justice, reconciliation and harmony to the people, and to live in peace and justice.

Q: What are some of the practical aspects of the church?

We have in the diocese 30 parishes, and we try to promote the people. This preoccupation began last century, when we opened schools in the mission areas and mission stations. Now we have more than 100 primary schools, 30 junior high schools and 14 senior high schools. It is true that we can't run them like the government, but the community still trusts the Catholic schools so we serve these people. We also have a small polyclinics run by the parish priests and sisters in the different congregations. to pay attention to those who are sick and injured and have the necessity to be cured. We also maintain five orphanages run by the Silesians in the Eastern part of the diocese, and you know that in Venelale there are about 150 children, most of them orphaned as a consequence of the war, so we try to give attention to these people.

Q: How important is the Catholic church to the Timorese people?

Well, you know in the Portuguese time in 1974, only 150 000 people were Catholics; the majority were animist. But after "integration" (we can say), many Timorese people preferred to become Catholics. So now we have in one population of 800 000 in-

habitants, 680 000 Catholics. We don't know what reason there is for this, a study should be done to see the sociological factors.

But for us the one important factor is that the people saw we were near them, we would defend them, and maybe this proximity of the Church to the people attracted them, made them more confident of the church; so many of the Timorese asked to be converted, to be baptised, and to join the Catholic church. They saw that maybe becoming Catholic was some way of maintaining their identity as Timorese people.

In fact, we are not trying to be a substitute or to become a political party, but we give the people the opportunity to be human beings, and so they join the Catholic Church. It doesn't mean that through the church they can fight for their political objectives. In this sense, I don't agree that the people can use the church as a channel for their political aspirations. We only pray for moral justice and peace and human rights, and you can include in "human rights" the right to have self determination. But it is the role of the Catholic lay people to say that. As a Church, we are apolitical, we are neutral, we serve only human beings, help them to be Christians and to be Timorese and to carry out their roles in this world to reach salvation.

Q: It seems that in the last 18 years there have been many times when the people have felt that the Church was the only place they could turn to. Would that be the same now?

There are ideas about that. We, the Church, say that we are also an integral part of these people, and the Catholic Church here is formed by the Timorese people. There is a kind of a co- incidence here about the Catholic Church, and with the Catholic Church and the local community. So if they see that through the Church they can channel some political aspirations, I can understand it.

Q: Can you speak about religion in the lives of the people?

You know, even as animists, the Timorese community have their vision, their beliefs, so that even as animists, we call them here "gentees", they believe in one god. They believe also in the eternal life of the souls of their relatives. And when they are presented with the opportunity to become Catholics, I see that there is a similarity between the Catholic faith and the local religious beliefs. Many people feel that it is natural to become Catholics and we see that our people have a simple faith, but are very, very profound in this faith. Not intellectual, not theoretical but a kind of emotional faith, a living faith.

So yesterday when these young people went to the demonstration they told the vice

governor "we are ready to defend our religion, our faith". During the second world war when the bishop, the priests and sisters left to seek refuge in Australia for two years, here the people by themselves organised catechisms, baptisms and brought it to the forests and mountains, and took guard of the objects of the church. This is very significant - it shows the strength of the faith of the people.

As you know, since 1976 we depend directly on the Vatican, to two congregations, the congregation of propagation of faith and the congregation of the state. We have a nuncio there in Jakarta - in this matter of the church we liaise with his Excellency the Nuncio on daily matters of the church. We are not members of the Indonesian Catholic church nor the Portuguese Catholic church.

And we know that the Holy Pope, John Paul II, is with the people of East Timor. I met his Holiness twice and his Holiness told me that "every day I pray for the East Timorese people". But his Holiness also told me "I understand the problem of East Timor and for me East Timor represents a very, very difficult issue in the world", because also in Indonesia they have a Catholic church. They are more than we - they are five million Catholics; they have schools, hospitals. So it also difficult for the Holy See to take a position. I know that is the personal position of the Holy Pope. About the Vatican and about the Nuncio, we know that they understand that, but also they are diplomatic, they also defend the interests of the Catholic church in Indonesia. So sometimes the people here expect a more stronger position from the Nuncio about the political issues. But unfortunately we only hear about the pastoral and religious aspect. About the relations with the other churches we have already solidarity from the Japanese bishops, Australian bishops, American bishops, Philippine bishops but we hope that this solidarity will be getting stronger in the future.

Q: Could you give your thought on the incident at Remexio, Maliana, the university; and the planned division of the Catholic community by appointing two bishops.

About the division of the Diocese: since 1984 we have talked about this with the clergy. This Diocese is very big, there are too many people to be served properly by one Bishop. It would be good pastorally to serve the people if the diocese was divided. However, this problem has been politicised by the central government and the military. I heard of a meeting last week in Jakarta, a ministerial meeting, where they discussed about dividing the diocese into two or three and sending me to Baucau. This was talked about by the ministers. It is so dangerous to see the government ministers and military

interfering in religious matters. It is only the right of the Church to decide on these matters, it is not the jurisdiction of the civilian government or the military. All of this to avoid Bishop Belo. We hope the Vatican will understand these problems, the seriousness of the situation.

Regarding Remexio and the recent University events, the problem is that as of 1976 to now there have been real efforts from other parties, mainly the military, to Islamicise this Catholic community - obliging the people to become Moslems or protestants. In many districts they told the people "either you are a Moslem, or you are Fretilin (i.e. anti-integration)", or you are Communist. So please become Moslems. This has happened in Same, and so on. Even this year 1994 in Liquica, Aileo and in Los Palos, the military commanders are pushing for the building of mosques. In Aileo the military commanders and police commanders formed an association, "Panitia", to build mosques. They then became the leaders of this association.

Another aspect is that all of the teachers in junior and senior high schools are Moslems. We asked for teachers of religion and ethics from Jakarta for the government schools; but they send us only Moslem teachers.

Q: Is this in the Church Schools or the government schools?

In the government schools - but we know that in the government schools the percentage of Catholic students are 80 to 90% and more; yet they send Moslem teachers.

Q: Would they employ Timorese teachers?

We never had these. We have often asked for locally prepared teachers to be appointed, but that never happens; they never get appointed to teach in the schools. The other aspect is last year & this year there were many, many pamphlets signed by ICMI (Indonesian Moslem Intellectual Association). In these pamphlets there are efforts to establish a strategy on how to improve the Moslem religion, the Moslem community here in East Timor through small enterprises, small shops; and they donate the things for these, and donate scholarships to the young Moslem people; and last July and November they sent a group of children at junior High School to Sulawesi.

And so the people in East Timor feel that something is wrong here. Essentially the people are religious people, they are Catholics, why then are these Islamisation efforts.

But there is not only Islamisation, they are also pushing Protestantism. During the time of Commander of KOLAKOPS Theo Sjafeff, I heard there were witnesses who say he was the main one to establish the

strategy of the protestants in East Timor. He built chapels, churches and houses for the pastors. Unfortunately, those pushing for Protestantism and Islamisation are the military, because of their antipathy for the Catholic Church, because of our influence among the East Timor people. They say that we are against Indonesian and because of us the people still resist on this issue of integration with Indonesia. This is not true. We are not here to push for integration or for independence. It is not our job, our role. It is for the people - let them speak. But unfortunately in this religious aspect, there are also these dimensions of reducing the influence of the Catholic Church and promoting the Moslems and Protestants. Then, with regard to the Catholic Church, they don't give the opportunity to invite more missionaries from abroad, from the Philippines, from Europe. Now it has stopped totally. We have no chance for new missionaries for already two years. For those who are working here, every year it is also difficult to renew their visas. For them to get it, we always have to ask the governor, the military, the bureaucracy, to get visas for those missionaries who have been working here for years and years.

Q: So is it fair to say that there are political attempts to undermine the Catholic church in the East Timorese community?

Yes, yes, yes, there are political reasons. In 1992/93 many young people, our leaders of the community, lay people, members of pastoral counsels, catechists - they were arrested in different places, they were beaten, tortured with electric shock then obliged: you must confess that you are anti-integration because the bishop and the priests have told you to be anti-integration. It was 1992/3, and the catechists in Los Palos, the catechists of Aileu, of Ermera, Bobonaro and so on, and more than thirty or forty - the important figures of the communities. And the young people, when they brought the rosaries, the medals, the pictures of Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary, the military broke them; and then they ordered the young people: eat your god, please call for your god - he will come to save you. Offences like this. Then the people came to tell me: bishop, we can't resist this torture. We can die but we can't accept these religious offences against our faith, our sensibilities, as humans, as religious people.

This is making by the elements of security we call here Nankala, of Colmera, and Balaide and so on, so, if these people come to East Timor to do this, it is better to tell them please return to your land, we have no necessity to have your presence here in East Timor.

I must say that unfortunately now people know of the massacre in Dili as the 'inci-

dent of Dili'. I am not in agreement with this term. What is an "incident"? It was a very real, a proper massacre. I don't know exactly how many people died. I have a list of 271, but I was told by Timorese intelligence - people working with Indonesia - that there were more than 400 killed. And now we have the problem of justice, because the families are still waiting for the bodies of their children, and we don't know where they are buried. And then, those who killed, who actively shot and injured people, they received only 12 or 18 months in prison. So in this aspect, there is a very big injustice.

The recent news I heard is that one soldier there in Ujung Pandung told one person he is now very preoccupied, even by night he can't sleep, because he was ordered with his fellows, as a battalion, to shoot down more than 300 there in Tibet, in one place, in front of a common grave.

Q: Was this after the massacre?

Yes. Of those more than 300, maybe some were already dead, but some were still alive, they were crying Jesus, Maria, and the soldiers were ordered to shoot. 300.

Q: When was that?

Maybe the 12th, the same day. So when Mr. Pilger talks about the second massacre, he is right that it happened in the hospital, we don't know how many. But when I hear this, the thesis is confirmed that not only in the hospital but there in that side of Tibat, and also in Hera, 19 bodies buried there, and also one witness, one soldier of Ambon, came here and told me "we didn't want to shoot to kill, but we were ordered by the commander. We heard among, inside the sacks, those young people still crying for their Dads and Mums, for the Virgin Mary, for Jesus, but we had to shoot them and to kill them and to put them into the grave." Yes, it's sad, but it happened.

So now this is the big problem, and I should ask the International Jurists Association to improve and discuss, and finish the problem of this injustice, of this massacre of November 12 1991.

And yesterday in the university the same case rose again. People without guns, walking to the parliament buildings in a disciplined way, accompanied by the chief of police of Dili district, stopped by this act of violence.

So we ask really what is the intention of this military people in East Timor? They defend whom, and are beside whom?

Q: Can you talk a little about the events at the hospital after the Dili massacre? There is some controversy about this.

On 11 o'clock 13th November morning I saw many, many people at the hospital, many wounded people, not only in two big rooms but also on the verandah. On the 15th I came back again, and there were only 90 in

the rooms and already treated well in the beds. But the others that had been laid out on the verandahs, where were they?

Q: And they had been alive?

I don't know. And then you know already the witness who talked about this, in Geneva, boys have told the same story and I believe them. I am convinced that this happened, that the soldier entered this building that we call in Portuguese "mortuario", to bring the big stones and then the injections with water, and giving them pills - this is already told in Mr. Pilger's film.

Q: Please talk about human rights, yourself, the people and your aspirations.

Well you'll have to talk to the people and ask them themselves.

My perception is that not many Timorese are happy with the situation, as they are not happy. First of all, there is this group of founding members of the Apodeti party who appealed for integration in the beginning in 1975. Now they tell me that in fact their program of integration was not at all like the integration we ended up getting. They say "our integration program was one about integration with autonomy and recognised internationally by the United Nations". But Indonesia totally ignored them and made East Timor an fully integrated province (non autonomous province). Now these people are raising questions about the problem of integration. They do not want integration if they are to be treated like ordinary Indonesian citizens. This is only a real and simple annexation, a military annexation.

The other part of the people still think, are convinced that like other people in the world they have the right to determine their political destiny, and they wish to talk about that. And then there is the group that say that it is our right to be independent and are fighting for it. Only a few are happy with integration because they are Indonesian employed, they receive money, they have house, they have car, so they are in a good position but these are very few. So majority from different groups, from Apodeti, UDT, Fretilin - the people are not happy. So my opinion is to let the people talk. To express freely what they want to become.

Q: So there really should be an act of self-determination?

I don't know what kind of system to use, but it is necessary to give the opportunity to the people to speak and to say if we're happy with integration or not or would we like to be independent. It should be freely chosen by the East Timorese people. Not by Indonesians or by other people.

You saw yesterday, the day of celebrating integration. There were people asking who prepared for the day? Who put the flags and decorations up in the city. They

were Indonesians, preparing for their integration. They are enjoying this integration - not the East Timorese people. Integration is for them, not East Timor people.

Q: Is there anything you would like to say to the Australian people or the Australian government?

(To the Australian government) I respect the policy to have relations close relations even economic and business relations with the Indonesians. Ok, this is Australia's right to do that, but Australia also has to recognise that there is a number of people who fought for the sake of the Australian soldiers here in 1942 to defend them. So I think that the Australians must respond to this solidarity. To become friends with the East Timorese people and speak also about the human rights abuses here.

Q: Do you feel some disappointment with the government?

Yes, very, very disappointed with Mr Evans' position, Mr Paul Keating who as a Catholic should do much more about human rights abuses. If your Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs were beaten up I would like to see their reaction, I'm sure they wouldn't like it.

Q: Speak about development

For me development is not everything. There may be some development in Dili but outside in places like Letefoho, Bobonaro, the roads are worse than in the Portuguese times. And even if there is a little material development, offices, roads, schools, who is this development for? Who enjoys this development? It is not necessary to have huge buildings like New York and then we are treated like dogs in our own homeland. So it is necessary to have not only physical development but also political, social, psychological, cultural and religious development - all aspects. Development should be for the human being, not to sacrifice the human being to make a show of development for the outside world to see they are spending billions of rupiahs. On the other hand they kill, they abuse. We don't care about this kind of development.

They say that they have built hundreds of kilometres of roads but we ask who walks on them, who uses them? The roads are for their cars and their motorcycles. We remain the same - for us nothing changes. We continue in the same condition of poverty.

A PEN Mission to Indonesia Finds Books Banned, Writers Jailed

By Siobhan Dowd, staff of the Freedom to Write Campaign of the PEN American Center.

This article was published in The PEN Newsletter, Summer 1994. It included photos of the maximum security wing of Cipinang Prison and Pramoedya Ananta Toer.

"Zeal," said the young political prisoner from East Timor. "You see, Bonar found a use for the letter Z and he even put it on a double-letter-score square.

The conversation, which took place in a cell in Cipinang prison, concerned a game of Scrabble. Bharati Mukherjee, Clark Blaise, and I were concluding a week-long PEN mission to Indonesia in April-which had included interviews with government ministers, writers, human rights activists, publishers, and students-with a guided tour of a men's prison in a Jakarta suburb.

The prison director and an official from the Ministry of the Interior greeted us cordially, and offered us tea and a large bag of peanuts. Then they showed us around almost the entire compound, allowing us to take photographs freely. We inspected the trim lawns and flower beds, a shimmering white mosque, a dusty carpentry workshop in which prisoners peacefully wielded saws, hammers, and chisels ("You'd never find that in an American jail," Clark observed), and a rather unprepossessing maximum-security wing.

We found the object of our visit, Bonar Tigor, playing Scrabble in his cell. Bonar is one of three students serving an eight-year term on charges of distributing a book by the internationally celebrated author Pramoedya Ananta Toer on their university campus. Toer's works are banned in Indonesia and he himself is forbidden to travel abroad.

The arrest of the three students, in 1989, caused an international outcry, but the authorities paid scant attention, and sentenced them nonetheless. An Indonesian writer, who asked to remain anonymous, told me that the authorities wanted to make an example of the three, that was all. But it didn't work. Students are still passing around photocopies of Pramoedya's work."

Bonar, thirty years old, appeared undimmed by the almost five years he had spent in prison. In a private conversation with us, he said that he was not being mistreated in jail; political prisoners seem to fare better than common criminals. His only complaint was that the rice was sometimes underdone. He cheerfully informed us that he was due for parole for good behavior in a few months' time. "When I leave prison, I want to finish my sociology courses, and learn English properly," he said. Hence the endless games of Scrabble, which he vastly preferred to woodwork.

"Are you angry?" I asked bluntly.

He paused, then replied: "I am, but in a positive way. I want to remain an activist. I want to change the laws."

An earlier visit to the offices of human rights lawyer Mulya Lubis had illustrated

the importance placed by Indonesia's reformers on working within the laws, even though so many of Indonesia's laws do not meet international human rights standards. Lubis, who studied at Harvard Law School and wrote the book *In Search of Human Rights*, has worked in legal aid for many years. He was apparently without fear: while we were in Indonesia, he published an outspoken article in the *Jakarta Post*, commenting on the irregularities in an ongoing trial concerning the murder of Marsinah, a human rights activist. Also, unlike many other interviewees, Lubis had no desire to remain anonymous. His advocacy consisted of campaigning and educating, rather than attempting to refine the law -- a sensible course, given the one-party state and the monopoly of power by a small elite.

"We're preparing human rights textbooks and a human rights syllabus," he told us. "And information on human rights documentation. The country lacks a systematic database on human rights abuses." He added that the government had offered him a place on a newly instituted Human Rights Commission but he had rejected the offer. Later we would meet representatives of the Commission and find them to be, by and large, apologists for the government. The current head of the Commission is also the director of the country's prisons.

"Bonar might be released in a month or so," Lubis concluded. "I discussed his case with some army commanders. Bonar is committed, bright, idealistic, energetic. He arranged meetings and discussions within the university and criticized corruption and the security services. The charge of distributing Pramoeodya's books was merely an excuse to put him away for his other activities."

We asked Lubis what PEN and other groups could do to help. He urged us to keep up the pressure: "Mobilization of shame is the most effective way. President Clinton is due to visit Indonesia this year, so it's important to put pressure on him too."

He stressed that although many people claim that there was greater freedom of expression lately in the country, the slight loosening up might prove temporary. Rendra, a poet and playwright, had had a play banned; an exhibition of paintings about Marsinah had been closed down; newspapers and publishing houses were still operating within strict limits.

What role could writers play in keeping the public debate from shrinking again, we wondered. "The writers are now trying to bridge some of the gaps among themselves," Lubis said. The time has come when they can sit down together and exchange ideas. Old scores won't be forgotten, but they will

be forgiven. It is a good time to try to change the situation permanently."

What old scores was Lubis referring to? We soon discovered that among the older generation of writers there exists a deep divide: on one side are those who admire and support Pramoeodya, especially those who, like him, spent several years in prison after the watershed of 1965; on the other are those who had their own problems under Sukarno, and who now claim that Pramoeodya himself was responsible for them. We found among these individuals little sympathy for

Pramoeodya, even with the thirteen years he had served in prison. One of his friends explained the situation to me:

"Pramoeodya was associated with Lekra, a left-wing, pro-Sukarno cultural institute. There was another group, the Cultural Manifesto, whose members didn't like Lekra for its belief that writers should use the political as their commander. Lekra members felt political issues always influence literature and culture. Cultural Manifesto members wanted to exist altogether outside politics."

"Then in the early 1960s -- we were new as a nation. We worried about foreign invasion. We tried to stand up in our identities. Some of us had trouble -- the authors Goenawan Muhammad and Moktar Lubis, for example."

"It is true that Pramoeodya can be tough -- and he made no secret of his dislike of the anti-Sukarno writers. Some books were banned by Sukarno -- but not by Lekra; and certainly not by Pramoeodya."

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the divide, many younger writers wanted no part of it. Many told us that most people wanted bad feelings to be placed aside, as they had fractured a potentially influential literary community. "I am friends with writers on both sides," said one.

"There was an attempt to form a PEN back in 1981," the poet Toeti Herati told us. "Now it is a thirteen-year-old embryo." The divisions had seemed insuperable then, she said, but now younger people could take a PEN Center on, and allow writers to work in a unified way. Many writers told us that an active PEN Center would come not a moment too soon. "We have up until now been literary Lone Rangers," said one writer. All the writers we met spoke of the struggles they had faced in their work. The support they acknowledged having received was invariably from abroad, not from their own colleagues. Many, indeed, raised fears of government infiltration if a group such as PEN were to emerge.

One writer who asked to remain anonymous said a PEN Center was impossible at this time. He mentioned the case of the three

students, the many book-bannings, and a general state of fear. "Nobody trusts anybody else, except his oldest friends," he said. On the positive side, he allowed that the censors were not especially subtle. "Everything I write is a kind of literary shadow-play. If you know what labels to avoid, and stay clear of bald statements, especially in your choice of titles, there is room to maneuver."

"You can be subversive," agreed Toeti Herati. "If you are also prepared to run the risk of being an obscurantist."

The saddest meeting was perhaps that with Pramoeodya. "I have writer's block," he told us. "I can't write anything nowadays. I don't even answer letters. The only thing I do is keep my journal." Of course, any writer can suffer from writer's block; yet Pramoeodya is temperamentally a prolific writer -- the author of thirty-eight books -- and as the meeting continued, there emerged a picture of a hardened, implacable spirit that felt unsafe outside its immediate surroundings. "I would like to go to a quiet country place and write," he commented, "but the security considerations prevent me." He admitted to fear that an assassin might one day catch up with him if he removed himself to a Javanese backwater.

The poet Rendra, a florid extrovert living in a splendid Sumatran-style wooden house outside Jakarta, seemed, on the contrary, to have thrived on his troubles with the authorities. A large and mirthful orator, he received us with great enthusiasm in the middle of a tropical thunderstorm. We sat politely drinking tea and biting into his home-grown lychees, while he regaled us for two hours with his various philosophies.

"Although I'm fifty years old," he said, "I'm happy to fight. I am still banned from appearing at any state university." While he was comparing subjective truth and objective truth to the laws of man and those of nature, a most ferocious thunderclap reverberated overhead. (Afterwards he reassured me that there was a lightning rod on the roof.)

Rendra concluded his exposition with a prison anecdote: "In 1978, I was put in an isolation cell. First, I resolved to think about Gandhi, resistance, and control. After a while, in the darkness, I slipped. First I lost sense of time. Then I lost sense of myself. I didn't know where to sleep. I felt hungry. Then I smelled something. I realized the smell was me. I thought I had died. Then I felt a splinter. It pricked me. I tasted my own blood. And then I knew I was alive. It was one of the happiest moments of my life."

One person we met was at pains to impress on us that human rights abuses were not all in the past. The subject of East

Timor was often brought up. Estimates suggest that 200,000 people -- a third of East Timor's inhabitants--have died since the 1975 invasion by the Indonesian army. The killings apparently continue.

"When I was in jail for a short spell," this person recounted, "I spoke to some soldiers on duty in my compound. We struck up a friendship. They told me that they had served in East Timor. Every night they had been ordered to swoop down on villages and kill all the inhabitants. They were to use bayonets, not guns, to avoid alerting the next village on the march. The soldiers told me that on average they had killed four to five people a night."

Nobody, however, was able to tell us much about PEN Honorary member Filomena da Silva Ferrera, a translator from East Timor who is serving a five-year prison term. Nor could we discover much about Adnan Beuransyah, a journalist from Aceh (in Sumatra) who is serving an eight-year term. We brought the two cases to the attention of three members of the Human Rights Commission, who promised to look into the cases, and at the same time impressed on us the necessity of banning books. "This is a country where the people are not educated enough to know how to respond to radical writings," said Professor Miriam Budiardjo, who is on the Commission. The only concession we managed to obtain from the three was an admission that the legally enforced ostracism of ex-political prisoners (known as Ex- Tapols, or ETs) and their families was unjust.

Pramoedya and his friends had explained to us that in 1981, the Ministry of the Interior had passed a regulation proscribing ET's from becoming priests, teachers, journalists, army officers, government employees, puppeteers, and writers. Many writers and their families had suffered as a result. One young man told us with great distress that his dream of becoming a journalist was dashed when a potential employer discovered that he was the son of an ET. Our encounter with him was among the most upsetting: until then, the optimism and determination of those too young to remember the horrors of 1965 held out a hope for the future. Here we found, on the contrary, a legacy of destroyed lives, which Bharati termed "artificially prolonged bitterness." We determined to criticize this spirit of vengeance at the press conference we had scheduled for the end of the week.

Meanwhile, the newspapers we read were an education in censorship and self-censorship. The burning issue of the week was whether or not the movie *Schindler's List* should be banned. The Jakarta Post quoted examples of Muslim hostility to the film, but did not seek comments from dis-

senting voices. On the other hand, the paper was careful to note that the film was about the Holocaust "in which six million Jews actually lost their lives." Similarly, the Post did print Mulya Lubis's attack on the country's legal shortcomings, although according to Lubis he had to put significant pressure on the paper. An article about President Suharto's condemnation of the West's decadent influence on the country announced that beginning in September, CNN signals would be scrambled. Yet it added that descramblers could be purchased--from a firm owned by Suharto's son. Even censorship can be a useful market force.

The Post, an English-language paper read by only a small percentage of the population, has greater latitude than the Indonesian-language press. A journalist from the latter -- who asked for anonymity -- painted a grim picture. He spoke of the "telephone culture," of the "soft warning," and of bribery going both ways -- bribery by journalists to wrest a story from a police officer, and bribery to persuade journalists to print the official version. Like many others we talked with, this journalist said that in Indonesia truth is subjective.

The publishing industry appeared similarly trammled. There is no pre-publication screening; banning orders are issued only after a book is printed. Thus publishers risk losing an entire print run if they miscalculate. What results is ultraconservatism. "I don't publish anything that might be a close call," one publisher told us. We heard of texts that had failed to find favor -- a story about a man who went to Mecca and came back unchanged; a story in which a character wonders briefly if God exists; a book claiming that Suharto's role in the political upheaval of 1965 was more underhanded and complicated than hitherto appreciated.

Arswendo Atmowiloto spent more than two years in jail for publishing a popularity poll in which the prophet Mohammed came in eleventh. "I was a fool," he reflected sadly. "I published the poll without realizing what it would lead to." Clark asked if his action helped push the boundaries of free speech forward, or if they fell back again? Arswendo did not even have to consider his answer: "They fell back again."

The day of the press conference arrived. We had been told that representatives from all the major newspapers would attend. In the event, the only media present were the Jakarta Post, the foreign press, and the state-owned television, which normally, we were told, has to be bribed to go anywhere; we wondered whether it was there to monitor our words rather than broadcast them. Was this absence of local media the result of the "telephone culture" at work?

While acknowledging the government's cooperation in meeting with us and arranging the prison Visit, we criticized the banning of some two thousand books. Bharati and Clark synthesized their sentiments about the week into two short statements:

"Vengeance has no place in a culture that prizes harmony," Bharati said. "The official rhetoric emphasizes persuasion and consensus. What we have heard about from Indonesian writers, however, is better described as artificially prolonged bitterness and capricious suppression. We hope that by pointing out this discrepancy we might contribute to a process of healing and an acceleration of the creation of constructive debate."

Clark said: "Indonesia is the home of the shadow play. Unfortunately the shadow play we investigated holds terrifying consequences for Indonesian writers, editors, publishers, critics, students, teachers, and finally, readers. Behind censorship lies the shadow of self-censorship. Behind imprisonment lies a lifetime of half-imprisonment and professional dismemberment, even into the second generation. We have been witness to tragic stories and to heroic resistance. What we hope to see, in the Indonesian context, is an opening toward honest harmony, so that bitter memories can be allowed to heal, and so that the mission of writers to be witnesses to their time and place can be allowed its natural growth."

The press conference concluded our week of work. As we flew away, we looked back on Java, at the miles of incandescent shrimp farms along the coast, and at the green volcanoes inland, and hoped that Indonesian PEN would revitalize itself and strengthen and unify writers in the face of the government's intransigence. What one can do from a distance of ten thousand miles is, after all, limited in comparison with what one can do in one's own community. Would the minister of culture keep his promise and press the issue of unbanning Pramoedya's books at his next meeting with the attorney general? The chances of his doing so after our departure depend largely on the existence of a local group keeping the pressure on.

To return to the surrealistic Scrabble game with Bonar and his prison friends: They were delighted at the distraction we provided from their routine lives.

"Here, take Bonar's letters, the young man from East Timor told me. "Take his turn."

I studied the little rack of letters. It was an unprepossessing batch -- three R's, two E's, one A, and an I.

"I think he pulled a short straw." I wished I could think of something to complement Bonar's earlier offering, "zeal."

"It's hopeless," I concluded. I could only add ear to W to make wear, for a dismal four points, and had to apologize for not having helped matters much. The prisoners laughed, shook their heads, protested politely, apparently content with my contribution. "Every little bit helps," they seemed to say.

TIMOR RIGHTS IMMENSELY BETTER: RAY

THE AGE, 30 July 1994

The human rights situation in East Timor had improved "immensely" in the past few years, and human rights activists should take a broader world view on the issue, the Defence Minister, Senator Ray, said in Darwin yesterday.

He also rejected criticism that it was insensitive to invite Indonesian soldiers to train in the Northern Territory, where there is a large East Timorese population.

"Improving (but) maybe hasn't reached the standards that you might set, do you simply continue to try to isolate, put embargoes on, or encourage them to improve on that record," he said.

"I think all the evidence is that Indonesia has improved immensely in the last few years," Senator Ray said.

The assessment came two weeks after violent clashes in East Timor, in which a number of protesters were injured. They were angered at recent attacks by non-Timorese on the Roman Catholic church. Unconfirmed reports said three Timorese were killed.

Senator Ray's assessment was condemned by a Darwin-based Fretilin representative, Alfredo Ferreira, who said human rights' abuses were increasing in East Timor.

"Everyone else has recognised the increase of human rights abuses, including the United States Congress, (which) reacted by banning small arms sales to Indonesia," he said.

"I don't know what the Labor party is doing, because (the Foreign Minister) Gareth Evans has said recently Indonesia must improve on the issue of East Timor," he said.

Senator Ray said East Timor was just one of many human rights issues around the world. "There was a report the other day of 10,000 people being killed on the Kenyan border and I haven't seen one protest group put protesting that fact."

Senator Ray announced that he would leave on Sunday for a six-day visit to Indonesia at the invitation of the Indonesian Minister of Defence and Security, General Edi Sudradjat.

He said an invitation by Australia for Indonesian troops to take part in Kangaroo

95, a big top end defence exercise to be held in the middle of next year, would be discussed.

"We'll be reinforcing what current defence activities we're involved in together and looking for a modest expansion of those" Senator Ray said no decision had been made on the level of Indonesia's involvement in K95 if it goes ahead.

"We're not talking about a massive involvement here. Probably the largest partner in the K95 will be the US. But we may well be talking in terms of a company," he said.

The East Timorese community had condemned the involvement of Indonesian soldiers in the military exercise.-AAP (Quoted from *The Age*, 30 July 1994)

THE AMERICAN FRIEND

Semanario, 16 July 94. By Fernando Marques da Costa.

Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Lisbon -- The once more explosive situation in Timor obliges Portugal to redouble its efforts and to look critically at what it has achieved in terms of gaining international support for the cause of East Timor. The single most important potential ally must be the US and here, in spite of some positive developments, Portugal has a long way to go.

In the Senate debate last month on the amendment proposed by Senator Leahy which would restrict arms sales to Indonesia, the opposition to Senator Leahy's amendment, led by pro-Indonesian Senator Johnston, managed to win the roll call vote by a slender majority.

Included among those who voted against the amendment was Senator Campbell, a prestigious representative of the Luso-American community in the US, recently on a visit here, and who we apparently have not been able to persuade to support the cause of East Timor, even though he is also a representative of the Native-American community. Something seems to have gone wrong in the Portuguese strategy to mobilize a lobby in the USA.

In spite of considerable Portuguese efforts in the diplomatic field, it has to be said that Johnston is supported by a number of very important figures from both the departments of State and Defence, and by such influential politicians as Minority Leader Robert Dole, and senators such as Sam Nunn, Diane Feinstein and Charles Robb.

The reasons for the obvious lack of success are threefold:

- lack of care in the choice of ambassadors to the US which must be considered a special and high- priority case;

- the fact that the US embassy in Portugal has been downgraded and was awaiting the appointment of a new ambassador for a number of months;

- Portugal has not been able to define and consolidate an effective lobby strategy; Indonesia has an extremely powerful and well organized lobby, Japan lobbies on a scale unthinkable to us and even UNITA has been very successful in influencing American opinion.

Portugal needs to tap all possible ways of gaining ground and not leave it all in the hands of overburdened diplomatic structures. This implies that we must win the Luso-Americans to the cause by giving more attention to our 'American friends'.

THE LOPES DA CRUZ VERSION

Publico, 17 July 94. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

In the May 28 edition of the *Jakarta Post*, Lopes da Cruz described how he had been received at Lisbon airport during his visit here. It will be remembered that he was met by a small group of Timorese who threw excrement in protest against the presence of the Indonesian President's ambassador. On returning to Jakarta, this was described as being 'warmly received by between 200 and 1800 Timorese'. The only cloud on the horizon in this version was the presence of a small group of 'noisy demonstrators', clad black t-shirts and calling the pilgrims 'traitors', 'murderers' and accusing them of 'selling out East Timor'.

The head of the delegation of 50 Timorese pilgrims also referred to the presence, including Joao Viegas Carrascalão, Jose Ramos Horta, Barbedo Magalhães, Luisa Teotonio Pereira and Mario Tome, who are known for their strong opposition to the integration of East Timor in Indonesia'. Da Cruz was of the opinion that the protest had been organized by UDT leader Joao Carrascalão and CNRM representative Ramos Horta. However, of all the names mentioned, the only one who was actually present at the airport was Mario Tome.

JAKARTA GIVES GROUNDS FOR COMMISSIONER

Diario de Noticias, 19 July 94. By Carlos Albino. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

The growing seriousness of incidents involving the forces of the occupying power in East Timor has led to arguments within Portuguese diplomacy that the nomination of a commissioner to promote the interests of the Timorese, within and outside the

territory, in conjunction with international humanitarian organizations.

This step would envisage the granting of extendible European citizenship rights to the Timorese, recognized internationally as being under Portuguese administration. Portuguese diplomatic sources stress that such a step would not be taken without speaking first with the UN Secretary General because Portugal does not want to prejudice the mediation efforts proceeding under his auspices although it is very concerned by the way Indonesia flies in the face of the agreements achieved at these talks in continuing to commit acts of repression of the type witness in Dili last week.

LISBON TIMORESE WRITE TO EUROPE

Diario de Noticias, 21 July 94. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Representatives of the Timorese community in Lisbon yesterday handed in a letter to the German embassy here, addressed to the president of the European Union, requesting that economic cooperation with Indonesia be linked to respect for human rights.

The Timorese want the EU president to demand an explanation from Jakarta concerning the events in Dili, along with the release of those imprisoned and clarification of the whereabouts of those who disappeared.

The Timorese also delivered a letter to the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon, addressed to the Pope and appealing for Indonesia to respect the Catholic Church in Timor. A further letter was sent to the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali calling on the UN to condemn the latest incidents in Dili. However, news from the US suggests that nothing has changed between Washington and Jakarta. The amendment recently passed by the Senate on arms sales to Indonesia 'does not alter the Washington's policy towards Jakarta' according to Winston Lord, secretary of state for Asia, speaking on Tuesday. 'We (the government) restrict the sale of light weapons at the same time as we allow the sale of others. For this reason (the amendment) does not alter our policy' added Lord. He was answering questions from Lusa at a press conference on the Regional Forum of the Association of Nations. Stressing that the amendment had not been solicited by the Executive and that the final version of the legislation was still subject to discussion, Lord made it clear that he would prefer the amendment not to figure in the final version.

THE YEAR 2000 - PRESIDENT GUSMÃO VISITS JAKARTA

Publico, 10 July 94. Translated from Portuguese

[NOTE: The following imaginary news item is one of a number of imagined news stories from the year 2000, published by the Publico in conjunction with an editorial speculating about the world at the turn of the century.]

The Timorese President, Xanana Gusmão is currently visiting Jakarta, where he attended the inauguration of President Tutut as head of state of Indonesia. Before entering the Maubere Airlines plane to take him from Dili to Jakarta, Xanana Gusmão commented that the choice of Suharto's daughter to succeed the military junta, in power over the last 10 months, 'opens excellent possibilities of cooperation' within the ambit of ASEAN, the block of nations whose rotating presidency is this month assumed by the president of the Republic of East Timor.

The Timorese head of state took the opportunity of his journey to Indonesia to visit Cipinang prison, from which he escaped in 1997, in circumstances which have not been clarified to this day.

HISTORY WILL NOT ABSOLVE

Diario de Noticias, 4 July 94. By Pedro Lains Translated from Portuguese, abridged from an article in the book page.

One who reads the recently-published book 'National Integration in Indonesia' by Christine Drake, dealing with the stages of the formation of the nation of Indonesia, with a view to gaining an understanding of the massacres which have taken place in East Timor, arrives at the conclusion that there is no evidence of ethnic or religious rivalries which could explain these tragic events. This in spite of the grand diversity of religion and culture within the state.

Rather, there are conflicts of power which masquerade as religious or ethnic differences and, moreover, the responsibility for the massacres in East Timor appears to lie with the military structures.

AMNESTY ON EAST TIMOR

The Irish Times, 3rd August

(Reuter, London) Amnesty International urged Indonesia yesterday to guarantee the safety of all detainees in East Timor following reports of recent beatings, detentions and disappearances.

"In practice, anyone who expresses even the mildest criticism of Indonesian rule in

East Timor continues to be at risk of torture or arbitrary detention". Amnesty said.

ANOTHER BLOODY CRACKDOWN ON JOURNALISTS

Information from Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, YLBHI, 4 August 1994.

Translated from Indonesian, slightly summarised

Chronology of beatings and arrest of Indonesian journalists and pro-democracy activists at Sarinah, Jakarta, 4 August 1994

On 4 August, Indonesian pro-democracy journalists and activists from various cities staged a peaceful action to press the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI) to keep its promises. This was a follow-up of an action on 5 July staged by journalists in protest at the banning of Tempo, Editor and DeTik. It came after a month of promises and no progress.

This action was dealt with by armed military violence.

Chronology:

10 - 11 am: About 200 people gathered at Sarinah Department Store and the PWI office in Jalan Kebon Sirih. The action began at 10.20 with the unfurling of posters. Those participating included pro-democracy journalists, student activists from various cities, members of the SBSI (the independent trade union) and dozens of pro-democracy activists. There were dozens of anti-riot police standing at the ready around the PWI office.

11-12.30 [this should probably be 11-12.00, see below]: A meeting with the PWI central board ended at around 12.30 [sic] and the people then marched to the Sarinah building in orderly file. Care was taken not to disrupt the traffic or the shops along the way. At around 12.30 [sic], the marchers arrived at Sarinah. The organisers then declared that the action was over and all those taking part should go home.

12.30: All of a sudden, the anti-riot police and army troops, some wearing camouflage and some in green (from KODAM Jaya, the Jakarta military command?), launched a brutal attack on the participants using wooden sticks, hitting them and trampling on them.

One person named Item Amigo was assaulted by troops, kicked with jackboots and punched repeatedly. The camera he was carrying was smashed on the road. Some of the participants who were trying to board a city bus were chased by troops in camouflage, then beaten and arrested. Some pedestrians and spectators were also caught up in the violence. Someone who was eating at a road-stall was arrested and beaten up. Doz-

ens of rally participants were chased by troops in the vicinity of Sarinah and along Jalan Thamrin. A motorist was arrested and taken off, together with his vehicle. Others who had taken part in the march ran in various directions, to board buses or jump into taxis.

13-14.00: Dozens of injured marchers were rounded up and driven off in trucks. The actual number and names of those taken away has not yet been compiled. Some of the journalists and other marchers made their way to the YLBHI office to arrange for advocacy against the arrests and violence perpetrated by the military.

The names of eleven persons arrested are given; they include a freelance journalist, two students, a journalist from Kompas, two from Tempo, two from DeTik and three from Forum Keadilan.

The names of all those taken into custody have not yet been compiled. Many of those who took part in the action suffered injuries. Up to the time this chronology was written at 14.30, it was not clear where the arrested people who had participated in this peaceful action by journalists had been taken but of the eleven persons named in the chronology, nine were set free. The two remaining in custody were Eko Maryadi, a freelance journalist and Wahyu, a student at the Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga.

[Note from TAPOL: Recent press clippings and copies of the Jakarta Post are remarkable for the absence of any reporting about the press bans or protests. Clearly, the regime has been successfully in muzzling the press by means of warnings delivered to a number of publications in July. It is therefore highly likely that this extraordinary crackdown - after the rally had ended - will go unreported in Indonesia.]

NEVES TO BE TRIED IN MALANG

Surabaya Post, 21 July 1994. Abridged

[The person identified in this item as 'José' is certainly Jose Antonio Neves who was arrested in Malang on 19 May 1994.]

The public prosecutor in Malang, East Java, has announced that the documents of the case of José 38 years, thought to be a member of the underground or 'clandestine' movement under the leadership of Xanana Gusmão, are ready to be handed over to the Malang district court, after his office has examined the interrogation report (BAP) submitted by the Malang police.

"I will probably hand the documents to the court next week," said public prosecutor R. Moelyono Wongosastra. He said that

José had been in the custody of his office since 16 June which was when the documents were received from the Malang police.

A police officer said José was arrested in May. He is thought to be involved in rebellious activities such as sending news about East Timor to countries overseas.

He was arrested when an officer grew suspicious of José as he was sending a letter at the post office, especially when he saw the address to which the letter was being sent. The officer already had information about this person. The letter, which he was about to send to Germany, was vilifying Indonesia.

The same news report quotes at some length a statement made in Jakarta by armed forces spokesman, Brig.Gen Syarwan Hamid, saying that anything reported about East Timor is always part of a political scenario. "We should never believe that its all just a question of human rights," he said. "Any fact, however trivial, whether true or even just a quarter true, will be manipulated for political purposes."

He also referred to the statement issued by the rector of the University of East Timor, Pastor Bratasudarma, to the effect that the 13 and 14 July incident in Dili had been started by the armed forces. Syarwan Hamid said that it was impossible for the armed forces to start a disorder because it is the objective of the armed forces to safeguard law and order in the country.

Further news about the Neves trial from TAPOL, August 6

According to the LBH, a team of lawyers from LBH-Surabaya, LBH Post-Malang and the YLBHI in Jakarta will handle his case. In violation of the Procedural Code, lawyers have not yet been able to meet him; a large sign has been posted on the prison wall saying: 'Tidak Boleh Dikunjungi' - No visits allowed. This is being seen by the prison, police and public prosecution authorities as a 'major case'.

He is to be charged under one of the so-called Haatzai (Spreading hatred) articles of the Criminal Code.

JAKARTA BAN ON TIMOR PROTESTS

THE AGE, Wednesday, 3 August 1994. Excerpt

Reuter, JAKARTA, Tuesday: Indonesia's military has banned protests in East Timor ahead of a planned trip by Japanese lawmakers and journalists - the first foreigners to visit since police broke up demonstrations last month. East Timor's military spokesman, Major Simbolon, said today

that the ban was ordered by the former Portuguese colony's military chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Johny Lumintang. "Emotions are still high here. Protests only damage property ...and the economy. We are not developed like Australia or the United States," he said

INDONESIA BANS PROTEST IN TIMOR AHEAD OF JAPANESE VISIT

by K.T. Arasu, Reuter August 3 [Abridged]

Jakarta -- Indonesia's military has banned protests in East Timor ahead of a planned trip by Japanese lawmakers and journalists - the first foreigners to visit since police broke up demonstrations last month. East Timor's military spokesman, Major Simbolon, said by telephone on Tuesday the ban was ordered by the former Portuguese colony's military chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Johny Lumintang. "Emotions are still high here (East Timor). Protests only damage property... and the economy. We are not developed like Australia or the United States," he told Reuters from Dili, capital of the troubled province. A Japanese embassy spokesman confirmed the visit by parliamentarians and journalists but declined to give details. Diplomatic sources said a delegation of Japanese legislators, journalists and translators had been permitted by the Indonesian government to visit East Timor. "They (the delegation and Indonesia) are currently sorting out the itinerary," one source said. "All that needs to be done is for the Japanese delegation to set the date." "The delegation wants to view for itself the situation in East Timor. It will meet government officials in Jakarta before going to East Timor," the source said. The Japanese will be the first foreigners to visit East Timor since troops used tear-gas and sticks to disperse hundreds of mostly Roman Catholic protesters on July 14.... Military spokesman Simbolon said foreigners visiting the eastern half of Timor island must not come to "disturb" but should instead be courteous. "They must not come with negative thoughts. They must come with a positive attitude," he said of the Japanese delegation. He said the delegation was expected to call on government officials and senior members of the security forces in East Timor, 2000 miles (1,250 km) east of Jakarta. "Anyone can come to East Timor but they must first obtain government approval," Simbolon said....

US, INDONESIA DISCUSS EAST TIMOR

[Abridged]

JAKARTA, .8/01/94 (UPI) -- U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Winston Lord said Monday he raised questions about human rights and East Timor in discussions with Indonesian officials. "We have continuously raised (the subjects of) human rights and East Timor with the Indonesian (government)," he said, adding that he had "conveyed our concerns on those (issues)." "There are...concerns we still have (about) recent events," Lord said. "We hope that there will be an improvement in the situation and that (there will) be some reasonable progress." Lord called East Timor "an important issue -- important for Indonesia and important for the United States." The U.S. envoy said he also discussed trade, international investment and defense issues during his talks in Jakarta. Lord said he also held preliminary talks with Indonesian officials on the upcoming Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in Bogor, Indonesia, in November. U.S. President Bill Clinton is expected to attend the opening session of the APEC meeting. Lord arrived in Jakarta on Friday after attending the Association of Southeast Asia Nations Regional Forum in Bangkok last week.

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US Says Asia Facers Three Urgent Security Threats

by Michael Perry, Reuter 8/03/94
Brisbane, Australia-- Asia faces three urgent security threats, in North Korea, Cambodia and the South China Sea, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs Winston Lord said on Wednesday.... Lord rejected local media suggestions that the United States, which has taken a hard line against Indonesia over human rights recently, was militarily distancing itself from the largest country in Southeast Asia. "We are not disengaging with Indonesia militarily," he said. "Of course we have some human rights concerns with Indonesia that we have been very frank about, but we also have a very constructive relationship in many fields."

SAHRDF RESPONSE TO THE ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS' COMMUNIQUÉ

From: ACP Administration Dept <acp-asia@HK.Super.NET>

We, members and participants of the Southeast Asian Human Rights and Development Forum, wish to make the following response to the Communiqué issued by the

Foreign Ministers of ASEAN on July 23, 1994.

We deplore the total absence of reference to human rights concerns in the region and of follow-up discussions on the declaration on human rights as stated in the 1993 ASEAN Joint Communiqué.

We note that the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting has committed double standards by showing concern only for the tensions outside the region such as in Bosnia and Rwanda, but not demonstrating similar concern for the tensions that are existing in the Southeast Asian region, especially in Burma and East Timor.

One of the main causes of tensions in the region is the violation of human rights, especially by the SLORC in Burma and by the Indonesian government in East Timor.

In connection with the above, we call upon the ASEAN governments to:

- a) consider the peace plan offered by the Council of National Maubere Resistance (CNRM) of East Timor;
- b) recognize the National League for Democracy (NLD) as the legitimate government of Burma;
- c) immediately release the leader of NLD, Aung San Suu Kyi; the leader of CNRM, Xanana Gusmão; and all political prisoners in Indonesia and Burma;
- d) ratify the various UN instruments on human rights; and
- e) genuinely respect the spirit of the Vienna Human Rights Declaration of 1993.

We further note that the foreign ministers expressed serious concern that the linkage of worker rights, labor standards and environmental issues with trade could become a new pretext for protectionism.

While we agree that it is possible for such a linkage to be made, we nevertheless wish to emphasize that the ASEAN governments should be primarily held responsible for the continued violations of worker rights, undermining of labor standards and degradation of environment in their respective countries.

We believe that so long as such violations persist then there should be considerations of human rights provisions in any trade agreement.

TIMOR RIGHTS 'IMMENSELY BETTER'

Weekly Foreign Affairs Column, Wollongong Mercury - James Dunn
August 8, 1994

Our Defence Minister, Senator Robert Ray, exhibited both arrogance and ignorance this week, when he impatiently dismissed community concerns at his proposal to invite Indonesian troops to participate in next year's joint exercises. Most will appre-

ciate that we should have defence links with our large Asian neighbour, but we are entitled to be very troubled at his plans for a relationship which is simply inappropriate in relation to a military establishment which demonstrably does not share our commitment to democracy and human rights protection.

In effect we are helping improve the combat capability of troops whose skills have so far been used, harshly and ruthlessly, for political repression rather than legitimate national defence. In the name of protecting the New Order, the Indonesian Armed Forces, the ABRI, have been responsible for the killing of hundreds of thousands of people, Indonesians as well as Timorese and Irianese, over the past 28 years. Their killer instincts need to be phased out, not sharpened.

Senator Ray's claim that human rights in Indonesia have improved immensely shows his ignorance of the repressive nature of the Suharto regime. This is exposed in the latest reports from Amnesty International. In July Amnesty reported that "torture and ill-treatment have remained the centre-piece of a strategy for silencing real and suspected political opponents..." It is quite alarming that our Defence Minister has gone to Indonesia on sensitive negotiations with such ignorance of the military's role in domestic politics. True, oppression has eased somewhat since the sixties when the military was largely responsible for the killing of half a million of their own people, and the slaughter of Timorese in the seventies and early eighties. But it could hardly be called radical reform. The change is best compared with the difference in the Soviet Union between conditions under Stalin and later under Brezhnev. Under the latter the same rules applied but the consequences for violating them were less serious.

In effect the easing of political repression under Suharto has been more of a matter of degree than reform. The recent closure of three leading journals, the strengthening of censorship and the brutal suppression of a peaceful demonstration in Dili suggest that nothing much has yet changed. The democratic movement is gathering momentum in Indonesia, but opposed to it is that same military establishment that Senator Ray and others are so keen to get us closer to.

In contrast to our non-political defence establishment, the Indonesian military virtually dominates the government itself. Apart from their political power, the generals have amassed great wealth, much of it through corruption. In short this military, which we are going to help become more efficient, is the natural enemy of those democratic forces who are struggling to set up a democratic state. The Indonesians we need to see

more of are not those with the guns, but those who are striving for a more democratic structure, based on respect for human rights. Only when that end has been achieved should we contemplate a close relationship with their military.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IRISH TIMES

AUGUST 1ST 1994

SIR,

I WOULD LIKE TO RESPOND TO THE LETTER OF MR. KEVIN MCPARTLAN FROM THE EAST TIMOR IRELAND SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN (IRISH TIMES JULY 14TH). MR. MCPARTLAN CONSIDERS EAST TIMOR TO BE A CLOSED AREA DUE TO THE CONSTRAINTS PUT IN PLACE FOR JOURNALISTS AND FOREIGN OBSERVERS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA. I FEEL THAT IT IS ONLY NATURAL FOR THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES TO BE CAUTIOUS TOWARDS ANY OBSERVER IN EAST TIMOR, IN ORDER TO PREVENT ANY MORE PILGER-LIKE TENDENTIOUS REPORTS AND SLANTED REPRESENTATIONS ABOUT THE SITUATION OVER THERE.

MR. MCPARTLAN FOCUSES HIS ATTENTION ON THE FEW DISSIDENTS IN PRISON, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME OVERLOOKING THE INCIDENT WHEN SEVERAL INNOCENT PEOPLE FROM EAST TIMOR WERE BEATEN UP AND INSULTED BY VIOLENT SUPPORTERS OF THOSE DISSIDENTS AT THE AIRPORT IN LISBON, DURING THEIR VERY RECENT RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGE TO PORTUGAL.

WHEN FOREIGN COMPLAINED THAT THEY FELT AS IF THEY WERE BEING WATCHED DURING THEIR VISITS TO EAST TIMOR, ONE CAN ONLY ASK: WHO CAN BLAME THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES?. WE LIVE IN A REAL WORLD AND IT IS UNNATURAL FOR A PERSON NOT TO BE CAUTIOUS OR SUSPICIOUS AFTER BEING ASSAULTED OR INSULTED- EVEN IF ONLY ONCE. MR. MCPARTLAN CITES SOME NEGATIVE REMARKS BASED ON THE FEELING OF SOME FOREIGN OBSERVERS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME IGNORING THE POSITIVE EFFECTS WHICH THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT IN EAST TIMOR AND WHICH HAVE PREVENTED EAST TIMOR

FROM JOINING THE PLIGHT OF OTHER FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES SUCH AS MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA.

YOURS, ETC

HAROLD SORITON

BINFIELD, BERKS RG1 5AH,
ENGLAND

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IRISH
TIMES AUGUST 5TH 1994.

SIR,

HAROLD SORITON (IRISH TIMES AUGUST 1ST) CITES THE POSITIVE EFFECTS OF INDONESIA'S OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR. THIS IS A MATTER THAT SHOULD BE CLARIFIED.

BISHOP CARLOS BELO, WHO LIVES VIRTUALLY AS A PRISONER IN HIS OWN COUNTRY, WAS ASKED TO COMMENT ON THE "POSITIVE EFFECTS" OF INDONESIA'S DEVELOPMENT IN EAST TIMOR. "WHO IS THIS DEVELOPMENT FOR ?", HE RESPONDED. "WHO ENJOYS IT ? . NOT US THE TIMORESE. IT IS FOR THE IMMIGRANTS THEY ARE BRINGING IN FROM JAVA AND SUMATRA. ACTUALLY THEY ARE USING THIS SO-CALLED DEVELOPMENT TO CHANGE OUR SOCIETY, TO DESTROY IT. LOOK AT THE COMPULSORY METHOD OF BIRTH CONTROL. WOMEN ARE GIVEN DRUGS TO STERILISE THEM WHEN THEY ARE NOT AWARE. THIS IS A POLICY BEING ENFORCED. THIS IS WHAT THEY CALL DEVELOPMENT".

BISHOP BELO WENT ON TO DESCRIBE TWO ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE HIM. THE FIRST WAS WHEN HE WROTE TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SECOND WAS AFTER A VISIT TO VIQUEQUE, WHERE A NUMBER OF YEARS EARLIER INDONESIAN TROOPS KILLED MORE THAN 1,000 EAST TIMORESE.

BISHOP BELO LEFT US WITH THE FOLLOWING QUOTE ON THOSE THAT CAST DOUBT ON THE REPRESSIVE NATURE OF INDONESIA'S COLONIAL POLICY IN EAST TIMOR: "THEY ARE LYING ABOUT WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO US". HE WENT ON: " THEIR LIES AND HYPOCRISY ARE IN THE CAUSE OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS. WE ASK THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO UNDERSTAND THIS, AND NOT TO FORGET THAT WE ARE HERE, STRUGGLING FOR LIFE EVERYDAY".

FINALLY, I AM SADDENED THAT HAROLD SORITON AGREES WITH THE RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON JOURNALISTS WHO VISIT EAST TIMOR, PARTICULARLY SINCE SIX WESTERN JOURNALISTS WERE KILLED BY INDONESIAN TROOPS FOR TRYING TO BREACH THE WALL OF SILENCE THAT THE INDONESIAN REGIME HAS IMPOSED ON EAST TIMOR.

YOURS, ETC KEVIN MCPARTLAN
AWARENESS OFFICER
EAST TIMOR IRELAND
SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN
210 LE FANU RD, BALLYFERMOT,
DUBLIN 10
IRELAND.

KILLINGS IN BAUCAU, JAN 94

From Aki Matsuno, Free East Timor Japan Coalition, Aug. 5

Recently a report reached us about the killings of three East Timorese youth by the military in Baucau in January 1994. The victims are:

Thomas Guterres, 29, from Baguia, Baucau

Duarte Ximenes, 17, Laga, Baucau

Matias Costa, 27, Iliomar, Los Palos

They were killed on the order of Lieutenant Colonel Salinting Setiyo Utomo of combat detachment 513, on January 5, being suspected of their involvement in clandestine activities.

The report also tells that there was bombardment around Iliomar on March 1, 1994 by Indonesian planes. The planes appear to be American 2S-16 (?).

VOICE OF TIMOR - IRELAND

PRESS RELEASE 5TH AUGUST 1994

URGENT ACTION DEMANDED ON EAST TIMOR

"200,000 INNOCENT PEOPLE HAVE DIED ALREADY IN EAST TIMOR. HOW MANY MORE MUST PERISH BEFORE OUR EUROPEAN PARTNERS WILL CEASE SUPPLYING ARMS TO THE ILLEGAL OCCUPYING FORCE OF INDONESIA ?" WAS THE QUESTION RAISED IN A JOINT STATEMENT BY YOUNG FINE GAEL AND THE EAST TIMOR IRELAND SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN (ETISC) TODAY.

THE STATEMENT CALLED ON DICK SPRING TD, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON OUR EUROPEAN PARTNERS TO IMPOSE AN ARMS EMBARGO ON INDONESIA

UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IT RESPECTS ALL HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING THAT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR.

THE STATEMENT REMINDED THE IRISH PEOPLE, PRESS AND PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVE THAT; OVER 200,00 HAVE BEEN KILLED

WOMEN ARE RAPED AND STERILISED THE WESTERN WORLD HAS IGNORED THE PLIGHT OF THE TIMORESE AND THE OPPRESSION CONTINUES.

THE STATEMENT WAS ISSUED WHEN JOHN MULLINS OF YOUNG FINE GAEIL AND KEVIN MCPARTLAN OF ETISC LAUNCHED A JOINT PETITION TO DICK SPRING CALLING ON HIM TO REDOUBLE HIS EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE EAST TIMORESE. MEMBERS OF YOUNG FINE GAEIL WILL COLLECT SIGNATURES IN DUBLIN, CORK, ENNIS, PORTLAOISE, KILKENNY NAAS, GALWAY AND ROSCOMMON TOMORROW (SATURDAY 6TH AUGUST). THIS PETITION WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AT A LATER DATE.

NEW NORTHERN IRELAND SUPPORT GROUP FOR EAST TIMOR

Aug 7, 1994

A NEW SUPPORT GROUP WILL BE LAUNCHED LATER THIS MONTH FOR EAST TIMOR. CALLED EAST TIMOR SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN (NORTHERN IRELAND) IT WILL HAVE IT'S OWN IDENTITY. IT WILL BE RUN FROM BELFAST WITH IT'S OWN OFFICERS SEPARATE FROM ETISC. MORE INFORMATION AVAILABLE FROM ETISC.

IRISH CAMPAIGN: ARMS EMBARGO ON INDONESIA

Aug 7, 1994

AS YOU KNOW ETISC HAS LAUNCHED A MAJOR CAMPAIGN TO HAVE AN ARMS EMBARGO ON INDONESIA. OUR FIRST SUCCESS WAS THE FACT THAT THE MAIN OPPOSITION PARTY FINE GAEIL GOT ALL IT'S MEMBERS OUT AROUND IRELAND. WE HAVE NOW BEEN INFORMED THAT THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT PARTY WILL BE PLACING PICKETS ON THE AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY ON FRIDAY NEXT 12TH

AUGUST. OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES ARE EXPECTED SUIT.

REPORTS OF OUR LATEST INITIATIVE WERE CARRIED ON NEWS REPORTS ON THE FOLLOWING RADIO AND T.V. STATIONS;

CLASSIC HITS 98 FM
ROCK 104 FM
IRELAND RADIO NEWS
NETWORK RADIO NEWS
R,T,E, TELEVISION NEWS
EVERY REGIONAL RADIO
STATION IN IRELAND ALSO
CARRIED REPORTS ON THEIR NEWS.

DANCING WITH WOLVES

By Harold Crouch, Herald-Sun (Melbourne), August 1, 1994

Should we train Indonesian ground troops who are likely to be used against their own people, asks HAROLD CROUCH

Australia has sought to strengthen its relationship with Indonesia in recent years. The security relationship is potentially the most difficult. Some circles in Australia continue to talk of Indonesia as a military threat. But, although the Indonesian army is large, its naval and air forces are no match for Australia's. In terms of modern fighters, for example, Indonesia has a dozen F-16s compared to Australia's 75 F-18s. Yet, despite Australia's present military superiority, the last thing we need is a hostile Indonesia on our doorstep. So it makes sense to cultivate ties with the Indonesian military to avoid possible misunderstandings. One way of developing such ties is through joint military exercises. So far Australia has held naval and air exercises with the Indonesian armed forces but now plans to hold joint land, sea and air exercises in which Indonesia, together with other Asian countries, has been invited to take part. To the extent that such exercises develop the capacity of the countries to work together to meet some future common threat, they are beneficial to all parties. They also promote transparency. The Indonesians can assure themselves that Australian exercises are not directed against them while Australia hopes that Indonesian exercises will be equally transparent. The problem in defence co-operation with Indonesia, however, lies in the main function of the Indonesian military. The Indonesian Army, especially, is not primarily concerned with defence, but with 'internal security'. Indonesia's military leaders regularly state that they do not envisage an external threat in the foreseeable future. On the contrary, they say that the threat is internal. The main tasks of the military are to maintain national unity, support political stabil-

ity and provide political backing for the military role in government. In recent years the Indonesian military has carried out operations in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh against people it claims as its own. It has been involved in dealing with riots, controlling demonstrations, breaking strikes and manipulating political party congresses. In carrying out these activities its members have often perpetrated appalling human rights abuses. While some elements within the military have expressed concern about this record, little has been done to punish those responsible for abusive behaviour. The problem for Australia is how to promote co-operation in the field of defence without enhancing the domestic repressive capacity of the Indonesian military. The question, therefore, is not whether we should co-operate with Indonesia in the security field, but the nature of that co-operation. Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, said in June that Australia does not provide training or undertake other cooperative activities with the Indonesian Armed Forces in skills designed to enhance internal security or counter-insurgency capability. While this assurance is believable in the cases of, for example, joint naval and air exercises or the training of Indonesian officers in military strategy at the Australian Staff College, it is less credible when Indonesian ground forces are involved. In recent years Australia has provided training to small groups of Indonesian combat instructors at the Land Warfare Centre in Canungra, Queensland. Are we to believe that those combat instructors refrained from passing on jungle-warfare skills acquired in Australia to trainees who might then be engaged in operations in East Timor, Irian Jaya or Aceh? Last year, Australia began a small-scale joint military program for members of Indonesia's Special Forces Command (Kopassus) in which they practised counter-hijacking procedures. Given that these troops have been involved in operations where serious human rights offences have taken place, can we be sure that their new skills would not be used for domestic political control? So far the details of Indonesia's proposed part in next year's Kangaroo 95 exercise have not been settled. As far as co-operation with the Indonesian military is concerned, it is important to distinguish between activities which enhance defence capacity and those that might strengthen capacity for domestic political control. Broadly, naval and air co-operation tends to be defence-oriented while co-operation with Indonesian ground forces runs the risk of enhancing capacity for domestic repression.

AUSTRALIAN MILITARY AID INCREASING

Voice of America, 8/2/94

By ROBIN POKE, CANBERRA

INTRO: AUSTRALIA HAS OFFERED TO INCREASE MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA. THIS FOLLOWS UNITED STATES CUTBACKS ON DEFENSE TIES WITH INDONESIA AND TALKS IN JAKARTA BETWEEN AUSTRALIA'S DEFENSE MINISTER ROBERT RAY AND TOP INDONESIAN OFFICIALS -- INCLUDING PRESIDENT SUHARTO. AS ROBIN POKE REPORTS FROM CANBERRA, THE AGREEMENT MAY HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR AUSTRALIA'S STAND ON INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

TEXT: SENATOR RAY SAYS THE AID BEING PROVIDED WILL BE WIDER-RANGING, BUT WITH THE EMPHASIS ON TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES WILL ALSO BE OFFERED EXTENDED TRAINING FACILITIES.

THIS RESULTS FROM A REDUCTION IN AUSTRALIA'S DEFENSE FORCES AND WHAT SENATOR RAY CALLS "AN EXCESS TRAINING CAPACITY." AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA HAVE ALSO AGREED TO HOLD ANNUAL DEFENSE TALKS AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

SENATOR RAY SAYS HE HAS RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF THE TWO COUNTRIES JOINTLY PRODUCING MILITARY EQUIPMENT. INDONESIA HAS NOT RESPONDED TO AN INVITATION BY AUSTRALIA TO JOIN THE UPCOMING "KANGAROO '95" COMBAT EXERCISES IN AUSTRALIA'S NORTHERN TERRITORY.

THE DEFENSE AGREEMENT REPRESENTS A REMARKABLE TURNAROUND. IN THE MID-1980'S, DEFENSE TIES BETWEEN WERE ALL BUT SEVERED WHEN INDONESIA OBJECTED TO THE WAY SOME OF THE AREAS OF THE AUSTRALIAN MEDIA WERE REPORTING INDONESIAN EVENTS.

NOW -- FOLLOWING TWO SUCCESSFUL VISITS TO INDONESIA BY AUSTRALIA'S PRIME MINISTER PAUL KEATING AND HIS ESTABLISHMENT OF A WARM RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO -- DEFENSE LINKS APPEAR STRONGER THAN THEY HAVE EVER BEEN.

ANALYSTS HERE SAY THIS LATEST AGREEMENT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF OPENNESS AND ENGAGEMENT WITH INDONESIA, IN A BID TO REDUCE RECENT TENSIONS. THEY SAY THE KEATING GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO TAKE A LESS-STRIDENT APPROACH TOWARDS HUMAN RIGHTS APPEAR TO HAVE WON IT A GROWING NUMBER OF FRIENDS IN INDONESIA.

BUT HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SAY THE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN TAKEN TOO FAR. THEY WANT A REDUCTION IN COOPERATION UNTIL INDONESIA SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVES ITS HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD -- PARTICULARLY IN EAST TIMOR.

THIS IS IN LINE WITH RECENT DECISIONS BY THE UNITED STATES, WHICH CUT BACK ON ITS TRAINING OF THE INDONESIA MILITARY BECAUSE OF HUMAN-RIGHTS DIFFERENCES. THE UNITED STATES ALSO RECENTLY CRITICIZED THE DECISION BY THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT TO CLOSE THREE NEWS MAGAZINES.

// REST OPTIONAL //

ANALYSTS HERE ALSO SAY AUSTRALIA'S CLOSER MILITARY TIES WITH INDONESIA COULD POSE POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC DIFFICULTIES. THEY SAY THAT IF EVENTS SUCH AS THE DILI MASSACRE (OF EAST TIMORESE BY INDONESIAN TROOPS IN 1991) WERE REPEATED, AUSTRALIA MAY BE PLACED IN THE POSITION OF HAVING TO WITHDRAW FROM THE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT.

STILL, SENATOR RAY SAYS INDONESIAN TROOPS TRAINED IN AUSTRALIA WILL GAIN A WIDER APPRECIATION OF MILITARY LAW AND BEHAVIOR TOWARDS THE CIVILIAN SECTOR OF THE COMMUNITY.

AN EXPERT ON AUSTRALIA'S DEFENSE RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA -- HAROLD CROUCH -- SAYS THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROCEED WITH CAUTION. MR. CROUCH SAYS IT SHOULD BE CERTAIN THE ASSISTANCE TO BE PROVIDED IS BASED ON THE DEFENSE OF INDONESIA FROM EXTERNAL FORCES AND NOT ON MEASURES ABLE TO ASSIST INTERNAL REPRESSION.

RI SHOULD NOT WORRY ABOUT US THREAT TO LIFT GSP FACILITY

Berita Antara, Aug. 3, from the embassy of Indonesia

Jakarta - Indonesia should not worry about the United States lifting the GSP (Generalized System of Preferences) facility for Indonesian exports because it is not likely to happen, a former Indonesian ambassador to the United States believes. "I think the United States will not revoke the GSP facility for our commodities because it has an abiding interest in trade with Indonesia," former ambassador to the United States A.R. Ramly told reporters here Tuesday. He said many factors would prevent the United States from lifting trade privileges for Indonesian exports. The factors included the improved conditions of Indonesian labour and the possible attendance of President Bill Clinton at the forthcoming Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit scheduled for November 1994 in Indonesia. Washington threatened to scrap Indonesia's trade privileges under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) should it fail to improve conditions for its workers at home. It gave Indonesia until last February to effect significant improvements in its labour conditions but eventually extended the deadline by six months. According to the Trade Ministry Indonesia's exports enjoying the GSP facility in 1992 were valued at 643 million US dollars, accounting for more than 14 percent of its total non-oil/gas exports to the US in the same year. "The US threatened to lift the GSP facility for Indonesian exports because it wanted Indonesia to improve its labour treatment record. Indonesia did improve its labour system not because of the US threat. As a matter of fact, the US had no right to meddle in our labour system. If there is any outside party having such a right it would be the ILO (International Labour Organisation) and not the US," he said. "If the US insists on lifting the GSP for Indonesian exports, it means Washington does not appreciate our efforts," Ramly said.

LORD: OZ NOT 'UNDERMINING' U.S.

Voice of America, 8/3/94

By ROBIN POKE, CANBERRA

INTRO: A TOP U-S OFFICIAL SAYS AUSTRALIA'S DECISION TO PROVIDE INCREASED MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO INDONESIA DOES NOT UNDERMINE U-S PLANS TO REDUCE SUCH ASSISTANCE BECAUSE OF

CONCERNS ABOUT INDONESIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, PARTICULARLY IN EAST TIMOR. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE (FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS) WINSTON LORD WAS SPEAKING IN BRISBANE, AUSTRALIA, AFTER TAKING PART IN TALKS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE 15 NATIONS THAT MAKE UP THE SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM. ROBIN POKE REPORTS FROM CANBERRA.

TEXT: AMBASSADOR LORD MADE HIS COMMENTS AFTER ATTENDING THE POST-FORUM DIALOGUE, DURING WHICH NON-FORUM PARTNERS DISCUSS MUTUAL CONCERNS.

HE REJECTED SUGGESTIONS THAT AUSTRALIA'S DECISION UNDERMINED THE UNITED STATES, AND ALSO THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS TRYING TO PUT PRESSURE ON INDONESIA. HE SAID ALTHOUGH THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED BY INDONESIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND HAD SPOKEN TO INDONESIA, IN HIS WORDS, 'VERY DIRECTLY'; THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT CUTTING OFF MILITARY SALES OR ASSISTANCE IN ANY WAY, EXCEPT TO LIMIT SOME SMALL ARMS SALES. AMBASSADOR LORD SAID THE UNITED STATES HAS A WIDE-RANGING RELATIONSHIP WITH INDONESIA THAT WENT BEYOND SUCH CONCERNS.

THE AMBASSADOR WAS ASKED HOW HE RATED THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS FOR THE ASEAN (ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS) REGIONAL FORUM. HE SAID ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FORUM WOULD TAKE TIME, BUT THAT IT HAD EXCEEDED EXPECTATIONS. HE SAID THE GROUP -- WHICH INCLUDES ALL THE ASEAN NATIONS AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA, VIETNAM, CHINA, JAPAN AND KOREA -- AGREED TO A PROGRAM AIMED AT BUILDING UP CONFIDENCE AMONG HISTORICAL OR POTENTIAL ANTAGONISTS. THESE INCLUDED SIMPLE ARRANGEMENTS SUCH AS THE EXCHANGE OF DEFENSE PAPERS, AFTER WHICH MORE AMBITIOUS AGREEMENTS COULD BE ENTERED INTO, SUCH AS THE OBSERVATION OF MILITARY EXERCISES OR JOINT COOPERATION ON DISASTER RELIEF. AMBASSADOR LORD ALSO SAID THERE SHOULD BE REGULAR INFORMAL MEETINGS SO

THE FORUM CAN HAVE A MORE CONCRETE AGENDA AND PROGRAM FOR ACTION NEXT YEAR.

THE AMBASSADOR NEXT GOES TO NEW ZEALAND. HE SAYS HE DOES NOT EXPECT THAT THE UNITED STATES AND NEW ZEALAND WILL RESUME FULL DEFENSE LINKS. THESE WERE SUSPENDED WHEN NEW ZEALAND BANNED AMERICAN NUCLEAR POWERED OR NUCLEAR CAPABLE VESSELS FROM ITS PORTS. AMBASSADOR LORD SAID THE UNITED STATES WOULD LIKE 'VERY MUCH' TO RESUME LINKS OVER TIME, BUT THAT DECISION RESTED WITH NEW ZEALAND ITSELF.

THE BRISBANE MEETING HAD AS ITS THEME 'MANAGING OUR RESOURCES'. THESE WERE MAINLY IDENTIFIED AS FOREST AND FISHERIES. THE FORUM'S TIMBER PRODUCERS -- AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, FIJI, PAPUA NEW GUINEA, THE SOLOMON ISLANDS AND VANUATU -- AGREED TO WORK TOWARDS A COMMON CODE OF CONDUCT GOVERNING THE LOGGING OF INDIGENOUS FORESTS. IT IS A CODE TO WHICH FOREIGN COMPANIES OPERATING IN THOSE COUNTRIES WILL HAVE TO ADHERE. THEY ALSO AGREED TO INCREASE THE MONITORING OF TIMBER EXPORTS. ALL 15 FORUM COUNTRIES AGREED TO PROMOTE THE SUSTAINABLE EXPLOITATION OF FISH STOCKS.

E TIMOR SITUATION NOT AS BAD AS ALLEGED BY FOREIGN PRESS

Berita Antara (Indonesian Government), August 5

Dili - Second Secretary for Political Affairs at the British Embassy, Ian Donaldson, said the situation in Indonesia's youngest province, East Timor, was not as bad as often portrayed by the foreign press. "Development in the province is proceeding smoothly and conditions including public order are good. There is no chaos at all as reported by the foreign press," he said here on Thursday. "I'll report all that I've personally seen to people in Britain, including the press community, later," he added. Donaldson said many Britons had been asking the British embassy about the situation in East Timor but the embassy always replied it was not in a position to provide the answers because only the Indonesian government was entitled to do so. About the nature of his visit to East Timor, Donaldson

said it was a routine one, conducted once a year by his embassy. During his five-day stay in East Timor, Donaldson made courtesy calls on provincial officials including the governor and military commander. Arriving in the province on Monday, Donaldson will return to Jakarta on Friday.

AUSTRALIA DEFENSE MINISTER ON EAST TIMOR

Berita Antara (Indonesian Government), August 5

Asked about East Timor, the Australian defence minister said that East Timor is just the same as other provinces in Indonesia. Australia is the first country to support Indonesia on East Timor, he said. He said that Australia has contributed much assistance to the development of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which integrated into Indonesia in 1997. During his Indonesian visit, Robert Ray who was accompanied by Australian Armed Forces Chief AL Beaumont and a number of staff officers, met with President Soeharto and Vice President Try Sutrisno. Senator Robert Ray flew to his country on Friday aboard a special Royal Australian Air Force plane. He was seen off by Defence Minister Edi Sudradjat at the airport.

CONGRESS AGREES ON 13.7-BILLION-DOLLAR AID BILL

WASHINGTON, Jul 29 (IPS) - Key lawmakers agreed Friday on the final terms for a 13.7-billion-dollar 1995 foreign aid bill -- about five percent below what Congress approved last year.

Delegates from the House of Representatives and the Senate reconciled their two versions of the bill, which was also about 400 million dollars less than Clinton's original request for fiscal 1995, beginning Oct. 1.

At the last minute, however, lawmakers agreed to write off 99 million dollars of Jordan's 900-million-dollar bilateral debt as a reward for King Hussein's commitment to working out a peace agreement with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

The two leaders met publicly for the first time here this week and later made a joint address to the Congress.

Conferees also approved a last-minute Clinton request to earmark 50 million dollars in emergency aid for Rwandan refugees. The president said later Friday he will ask Congress to approve another 270 million dollars in relief aid in the coming days.

The bill cuts 50 million dollars from Clinton's request of 900 million dollars for the new states of the former Soviet Union.

It also cuts Clinton's requests for U.S. contributions to the concessional arms of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). But the bill increases funding for population and environmental programmes abroad.

On the bilateral front, appropriations of three billion dollars and 2.1 billion dollars for Israel and Egypt, respectively, top the aid figures. The two have traditionally dominated U.S. aid bills, accounting for at least one third of all U.S. assistance abroad.

The House-Senate conferees also approved 80 million dollars in aid programmes for development in the West Bank and Gaza. Most of the aid will be supplied to the new Palestinian Administration headed by Palestine Liberation Organisation chief Yassir Arafat.

The lawmakers approved 802 million dollars for development aid to sub-Saharan Africa -- 19 million dollars more than Clinton's original request. As much as 100 million dollars of the total is expected to go to South Africa.

The lawmakers approved 1.2 billion dollars for the International Development Association (IDA), the World Bank facility which provides no-interest loans to the world's poorest nations.

That sum is about 15 million dollars less than Clinton's request. They also called for the General Accounting Office (GAO), Congress' investigative body, to report on salary and benefit levels received by World Bank staff.

The bill make a far deeper cut in Clinton's request for 100 million dollars for the IMF's soft-loan fund, the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF), which provides highly concessional loans to poor countries undergoing far-reaching IMF-backed economic reforms. ESAF is now to get only 25 million dollars.

The conferees said they were unhappy with the IMF's secrecy.

They approved 90 million dollars of a 100-million-dollar request for the Global Environment Facility (GEF), which is co-managed by the World Bank and the U.N. Environment and Development Programmes.

The GEF, which funds projects in developing countries that help protect biodiversity, prevent global warming, the depletion of the Earth's ozone layer, and ocean pollution is supposed to disburse two billion dollars over the next three years. Washington's contribution is 430 million dollars.

Conferees approved the administration's 450-million-dollar request for family planning programmes, including 50 million dollars for the U.N. Population Fund (UNFPA).

But if the U.N. agency spends more in 1995 than the seven million dollars it is spending on its programme in China this year, the difference must be deducted from the 50 million dollars, the lawmakers agreed.

Congress has long fretted over allegedly coercive practices, including abortion, used in China's population programme and has urged UNFPA to disassociate itself from Beijing for that reason.

The 1995 bill provides 671 million dollars for migration and refugee aid, including 80 million dollars to help resettle Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in Israel.

In one contentious issue, the conferees decided to ban the transfer or sale of small arms and crowd-control equipment to Indonesia and the use of aid monies to enroll Indonesian officers in U.S. military training programmes.

Military aid and sales to Indonesia have become controversial in Congress since the Nov. 1991 massacre of at least 100 demonstrators in Dili, East Timor.

Some lawmakers wanted to impose stiffer sanctions against Jakarta, including bans on the use of any U.S.-made military equipment in East Timor and on any participation by Indonesian officers in military training.

But these initiatives were blocked by the administration and other legislators who feared that such measures would be interpreted as a slap for one of Washington's East Asian allies and one of its most promising markets. (END/IPS/JL/YJC/94)

Update: The Foreign Aid Bill Conference Committee report was passed by the House of Representatives last week. The Senate is expected to act on it on Wednesday, August 10.

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: PROTESTERS BEATEN, DETAINED AND "DISAPPEARED"

This News Service is posted by the International Secretariat of Amnesty International, 2 AUGUST 1994

AI INDEX: ASA 21/WU 09/94

Recent beatings, detentions and "disappearances" of East Timorese pro-independence protesters contradict assurances by the Indonesian Government that the situation in East Timor is 'normal' and the human rights problems resolved, Amnesty International said in a report issued today.

"While the Indonesian Government has insisted upon its commitment to human rights principles, in practice anyone who

expresses even the mildest criticism of Indonesian rule in East Timor continues to be at risk of torture or arbitrary detention," the organization said.

At least three young activists were reportedly arrested on 10 July for organizing a brief demonstration during a visit to East Timor by the United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, arbitrary and summary executions. Their current circumstances are unknown and there are serious fears for their safety.

The following week, on 14 July, security forces violently broke up what was described by eye-witnesses as a largely peaceful demonstration at the University of East Timor campus. Dozens of students were severely beaten by police, up to nine people reportedly "disappeared" and at least 22 were arrested during and after the demonstration.

Restrictions on access to police and military detention centres by independent human rights monitors have made it impossible to determine the number and fate of those arrested. Amnesty International is seriously concerned that detainees may be at risk of torture and "disappearance".

Later in July, the military command in East Timor was reported to be searching for anyone suspected of organizing or participating in the demonstration. One student organizer was reportedly captured on 23 July and subjected to a public beating for three hours before being taken away by soldiers to an unknown fate.

These developments confirm fears expressed by Amnesty International in its annual statement before the UN Special Committee on Decolonization on 13 July. The statement documents human rights violations, including torture and killings which have occurred during the past year.

At the Committee, the human rights organization pointed out that through their inaction, member states of the UN share the blame for the continuing human rights problem in East Timor.

In its report, Amnesty International deplored the recent beatings and torture of students and other pro-independence activists and called upon the Indonesian Government to act immediately to guarantee the safety of all detainees and make public information about their whereabouts.

CHINA HUMAN-RIGHTS TACTIC SPREADS

New York Times, August 1, 1994. First business page.

Subhead: Others in Asia Say Growth Comes First

By Ken Brown

[The article is preceded by a photo of Indonesian police beating demonstrators as they lie on the ground, with the caption:

Increasingly, American companies are pushing exports to Asian countries despite their human-rights records, eager to beat out competition from Japan and Germany. Above, riot troops in Indonesia in late June attacked a group in Jakarta protesting the banning of three weekly news magazines.]

After years of trying unsuccessfully to quiet criticism of human-rights records, Asian nations have found powerful allies: American businesses eager to invest in their growing markets and the Clinton Administration, with its emphasis on economic interests in post-cold-war foreign policy.

The Clinton Administration's spring decision to continue China's favorable trade status gave some of the largest and fastest growing countries new confidence that their influence is now strong enough to have an effect on American policy. And from India and Indonesia to smaller nations like Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand and Malaysia, they are showing it.

"It seems to me the message is loud and clear: if American business gets strongly involved in a country, human rights takes second place or even less than that," Ashutosh Varshney, an India expert at Harvard University, said of the China decision.

For decades India, a socialist country, closed itself to trade and foreign investment. But now the world's second most populous country has been quick to seize its newly liberalized and quickly growing market as the key to muting criticism on its use of child labor and its crackdowns on unrest in Kashmir and Punjab.

The India Interest Group, an organization of large American companies that do business with the country, was founded last fall and is actively promoting the promise of an economy with 850 million potential customers.

"What we have been doing is sitting down and briefing the key Administration officials that are negotiating with the Indians and really identifying for them what U.S. business is doing in India and what we'd like to see happen there to improve the environment for U.S. exports and U.S. investment there," said R. Michael Gadbow, the vice president for international law and policy at General Electric and a founder of the group, whose members include Ford, AT&T, Coca-Cola, I.B.M. and Polaroid.

The members' investments vary widely. What they share is a belief that they are looking at another China, a huge untapped market poised on the edge of a boom. General Electric, which has been in India since 1902, recently set up joint ventures to make home appliances and light bulbs, and opened

a subsidiary of GE Capital. The company and its affiliates now employ more than 6,300 people in India.

Ford's investment is limited to a plant that makes radiators, yet it hopes one day to build millions of cars for the Indian market.

The India Interest Group helped arrange Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao's visit to the United States in May - an unusual trip for two reasons. For the first time, a top Indian political leader traveled to the United States with a group of Indian business leaders, and for the first time, an Indian leader refused to meet with human rights groups.

The India Interest Group did discuss human rights with Mr. Rao, and does support Washington's basic objectives in promoting human rights. "But we also want to make sure that the issues that are raised are put into the context of our relationship with India and what's going on there and recognizing this is a very large country," Mr. Gadbow said.

The Administration's China decision was also closely watched by Indonesia, which is in the middle of the latest trade case brought against it by American labor unions. The case comes under the Guaranteed System of Preferences, which was created to help developing countries, and will be decided by the United States trade representative. Under the preferences program, Indonesia can export \$650 million worth of goods duty free to the United States.

The A.F.L.-C.I.O. is protesting what it says is Indonesia's quashing of its labor movement. A ruling is due this month, but there is a growing feeling in Indonesia that the battle is already won.

Trade Group Confident

"I think the Indonesians are resting a little easier that the decision won't go against them," said Wayne J. Forrest, the executive director of the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, a group founded in 1949, whose members include Mobil, Texaco and several other large oil and mining companies as well as some small businesses.

A month after the Clinton Administration's May 26 decision to continue China's most-favored-nation status with virtually no conditions, despite its spotty record on human rights, the Indonesian Government shut three of the country's most influential magazines and broke up a protest in Jakarta over the closings. Amnesty International said 56 people were beaten and arrested. In mid-April, more than 100 workers and labor campaigners were arrested after strikes and demonstrations.

Meanwhile, human rights groups say that abuses continue in the disputed territory of

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

An Indonesian Embassy official in Washington, who insisted on anonymity, said Indonesia had followed China's lead and enlisted American oil and mining companies that do business in Indonesia to stress the country's economic importance to the United States. Nearly 800 big American companies wrote to President Clinton supporting China, a tactic crucial to China's success in the trade decision.

Chinese Called Lax on Data

Asian nations have long emphasized their own human-rights philosophy, stressing stability and economic growth rather than individual liberties, and the Indonesian official said the closing of the magazines was done in the name of "unity and national stability."

Human-rights advocates, who applauded Mr. Clinton's strong stand on their issue during his election campaign, concede that it is impossible to connect specific human rights cases with trade policy.

But in a report issued last week, Human Rights Watch/Asia said that since the trade decision, China has begun trials of labor and human rights campaigners that had been postponed for nearly a year and has started holding leading dissidents incommunicado, in some cases not even acknowledging their arrests. "In the absence of international pressure, China has steadily tightened the noose on all forms of dissident activity," said the group, which opposed the Clinton decision.

Supporters of the China decision, however, argue that the Administration's approach will improve human rights in the long run.

Sunglasses and Culture

"Before this there was a lockout, they said it was a cultural difference you can't talk to us about it," said Representative Gary Ackerman, a New York Democrat who is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific. "Now people who want brand-name sunglasses for their children don't talk about cultural differences."

Human-rights advocates see a certain irony in the United States' new trade logic. For decades, they point out, human-rights questions were subsumed beneath cold war tensions: a dictator who may have been nasty at least was our dictator. Now, they say, the rationale is the need to get into an emerging market before the Japanese or Germans do.

The latest round in the new-markets war is being fought in Vietnam, where both human rights groups and the State Department have been sharply critical of Vietnam's disregard of Western perspectives on human

rights. The Clinton Administration ended the United States trade embargo in Vietnam in February.

The Vietnam-American Chamber of Commerce, which was founded in 1992 and includes dozens of American corporations, is lobbying Congress to remove the remaining restrictions on trade. "Certainly if we can trade with China and other countries in Asia where there are human rights problems there is no reason to single out Vietnam," Irwin Jay Robinson, the group's president, said.

AI FI198/94 INDONESIA TORTURE FEAR

*EXTERNAL (for general distribution) AI
Index: ASA 21/36/94 Distr: UA/SC
9 August 1994*

Further information on UA 198/94 (ASA 21/12/94, 23 May 1994) and follow-ups (ASA 21/15/94, 2 June; ASA 21/23/94, 20 June; ASA 21/26/94, 27 June) - Fear of torture / arbitrary detention

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR:

Jose Antonio Neves {held in Malang, East Java}

Antonio Soares {now released}

Detained in East Timor:

Anibal

Isaac Soares (note full name)

Lucas Tilman dos Santos

Marcos

Miguel de Deus (note full name)

Nuno de Andrade Sarmento Corvelho

Octaviano

Pantaleao Amaral (note full name)

Pedro Fatima Tilman

Rosalino dos Santos (note full name)

Rui Fernandes

The public prosecutor in Malang, East Java announced in late July 1994 that East Timorese human rights activist, Jose Antonio Neves, would soon be brought to trial. Another activist, Pedro Fatima Tilman, is currently on trial in East Timor and a third, Rosalino dos Santos, has been sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment, also in East Timor.

In late July 1994 the public prosecutor in Malang announced that documents for the case against Jose Antonio Neves were ready to be handed to the District Court. Jose Antonio Neves was arrested in Malang on 19 May 1994. He had recently returned from East Timor, where he had gathered information about human rights violations and political developments. He had hoped to make this information available to the international community. According to press reports, a police officer had become suspicious when he saw Jose Antonio Neves sending a letter abroad. The content of

the letter, addressed to Germany, was said to "vilify Indonesia".

Pedro Fatima Tilman and Rosalino dos Santos were arrested in May 1994, along with the other East Timorese named above, for organizing a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in Dili during a visit to East Timor by foreign journalists.

Amnesty International considers all those named above to be prisoners of conscience. It urges the Indonesian Government to release them immediately and unconditionally.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED

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

- expressing concern that East Timorese human rights activist, Jose Antonio Neves, is to be brought to trial for attempts to report human rights violations in East Timor;

- expressing concern at the trial of Pedro Fatima Tilman, and that Rosalino dos Santos has been sentenced to 20-month imprisonment for participating in a peaceful demonstration during a visit by foreign journalists to East Timor in April;

- expressing further concern that the defendants may have been tried in contravention of both Indonesian and international law and denied access to legal counsel of their own choosing;

- urging the Indonesian Government to immediately release all those detained solely for peaceful political activities.

APPEALS TO:

MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

Haji Utoyo Usman S.H. [Salutation: Dear Minister Utoyo Usman] Menteri Kehakiman Jl. Rasuna Said Kav. 6-7 Kuningan Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia Faxes: +62 21 3141 625 Telexes: 44404 ditjenim ia Telegrams: Justice Minister, Jakarta, Indonesia
MILITARY COMMANDER REGION IX - covers Bali, Lombok and Nusa Tenggara including East Timor]:

Brigadier-General R. Adang Ruchiatna [Salutation: Dear Brigadier-General Adang Ruchiatna] Pangdam Markas Besar KODAM IX Udayana Denpasar Bali, Indonesia Telegrams: Pangdam IX/Udayana, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO: His Excellency Mr Junus Effendy Habibie, Embassy of Indonesia, 38 Grosvenor Square, London W1X 9AD

AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO THE FOLLOWING:

Lt. Gen. (Ret) Ali Said Chairman, National Commission on Human Rights c/o Direktorat Jenderal Pemasarakatan Jl. Veteran No. 11 Jakarta Pusat Indonesia Faxes: +62 21 3141 625 (c/o Ministry of Justice)

A LIGHT ON EAST TIMOR

"Commentary" section, Sojourners magazine, ("Faith, Politics, and Culture") September-October, 1994.

Indonesia's brutal 19-year occupation of East Timor has caused the deaths of one-third of the island's population - some 200,000 people - and shows no sign of letting up soon. Yet for most of the world, East Timor still seems too distant a tragedy to be troubled about - especially in light of similar but better publicized brutalities that make the evening news.

But its invisibility isn't simply because of lack of concern. Indonesia has waged a well-orchestrated international public relations campaign to block information of the Timorese genocide from reaching much of the world. Only the most horrific atrocities - such as the Santa Cruz Cemetery massacre in 1991 where at least 200 Timorese protesters were killed - get covered by the mainstream media. Meanwhile, much of the Timorese population continues to be confined to concentration camps, its culture threatened by Indonesia's efforts to repopulate the island with Javanese settlers.

Indonesia uses its powerful influence in the Southeast Asian community to cover up its actions in East Timor. Recently it all but blocked the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) held in Manila by threatening to pull its extensive investments out of the Philippines and to end talks it was mediating between Manila and Filipino Muslim insurgents. And although the Filipino government bent to the pressure and banned a number of well-known human rights activists from attending the meeting, Indonesia's interference in APCET in time backfired and served to focus international attention on its East Timor policy.

Showing their solidarity for international human rights, Filipino students, academics, activists, and members of the religious community rallied in support of the East Timor activists who had made it to Manila. Archbishop Jaime Sin of Manila publicly apologized to D. Ximenes Belo, the bishop of the East Timor capital Dili, for the Philippines' role in the boycott of the APCET conference, saying, "I know how your people have suffered ... following the abominable violations of human rights among your flock. It is Christ who suffers each time that freedom is shamefully usurped."

EAST TIMOR IS one of the two predominately Catholic populations in Asia (along with the Philippines), but the church has yet to make self-determination of the East Timorese a priority. The Vatican has made a statement by refusing to integrate the East Timorese church into the Indone-

sian conference of churches, yet much consciousness raising, mobilization, and prayer are still required if the church is to take a solid stance in opposition to the genocide of the East Timorese people.

Although East Timor receives scant coverage in the mainstream media, individuals such as linguist Noam Chomsky and journalists who have seen the Timorese struggle firsthand incessantly raise the issue through the channels open to them. Portugal, which bears responsibility as the former colonizer of East Timor, has made Indonesia's occupation of the island its number one foreign policy concern and continues to advocate for East Timor in the United Nations and in other international forums. The United States, however, has yet to make waves internationally on the topic of East Timor. On June 29, the U.S. Senate had its first East Timor vote, striking a provision from a foreign aid bill that would have stopped Indonesia from using U.S.-sold weapons in East Timor. And though Bill Clinton raised East Timor as a human rights concern several times during his presidential campaign, since taking office he has succumbed to a realpolitik attitude toward Indonesia, the fourth-largest nation on Earth, a major oil producer, and America's "traditional friend" in Southeast Asia. The administration even sidestepped an October 1992 decree by the House of Representatives that barred Indonesia from purchasing military training from the United States - the U.S. now provides the same training for "a fee."

Clinton's trip to Jakarta this fall for the Asia Pacific Economic Summit and the increased awareness in Congress of the East Timor situation create new opportunities for grassroots lobbying efforts to be heard. In the past, people of faith and conscience have played a major role in raising little-known issues of injustice in the public arena. And if we don't now, who will? We are called to bring light to the dark places - especially to those corners of the world where the powerful seek to hide their insidious actions.

-- Aaron Gallegos -----

Sidebar: On-Line Resistance

A worldwide network of East Timor solidarity groups has formed to raise awareness about what is happening on the island. The East Timor solidarity movement is one of the first to make extensive use of new computer communication technologies that enable people around the world to share news and information instantly that would never receive widespread distribution through mainstream channels. The computer bulletin board meeting "reg.easttimor" is one of the most active gatherings on the PeaceNet on-line network. The meeting is

also accessible through CompuServe, America Online, and other computer networks.

As the activists' computer networking for "real-time" change in East Timor has shown, computer bulletin board networks are quickly becoming a vital tool for people of conscience seeking to build movements for social change and justice. Charles Scheiner, the coordinator of East Timor Action Network/US, said that while on-line activism is a supplement rather than a substitute for in-person organizing, computer networking "has been very valuable for the East Timor solidarity movement and the resistance in exile." The medium's potential for more extensive use by the faith-based peace and justice community lies waiting to be tapped.

-- AG

For information on East Timor solidarity groups, contact ETAN/US, P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602; (914)428-7299. For information on PeaceNet, contact IGC Networks, 18 De Boom St., San Francisco, CA 94107; (415)442-0220.

A separate brief article is included in the "Between the Lines" section of the same magazine:

Costly Faith in East Timor

Protesting government abuses on the Indonesia-occupied island of East Timor can be a dangerous undertaking, as students learned in a July 14 march. Government soldiers charged into demonstrators who were marching from their university to the nearby Parliament building, killing three people and injuring 30, according to the Associated Press.

The students were protesting the Muslim government's campaign of harassment against Roman Catholics in East Timor. Two Indonesian soldiers reportedly desecrated Communion wafers at a small church in late June, and other Indonesians were accused of insulting Catholic nuns on campus the day before the march.

The government violence was the worst in East Timor since the 1991 funeral massacre in which some 200 Timorese protesters were killed.

-- By Jim Rice. Jill Carroll Lafferty contributed research.

[Comment from Charlie Scheiner, ETAN: Indonesia, of course, does not have a "Muslim government." Although the majority of the population is Muslim, the government is a strictly secular military dictatorship.]

JAPANESE MPS WANT TROOP WITHDRAWAL

BBC World Service and UPI, 10 August 1994. Abridged

From the BBC's Catherine Napier:

Jakarta -- A delegation of Japanese MPs visiting Jakarta has called on the Indonesian government to withdraw its troops from the former Portuguese colony, East Timor. The MPs, who leave the capital today for a fact-finding tour of the disputed territory, made their call during a meeting in Jakarta with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas. Napier's report [slightly abridged] follows:

The five member delegation represents a cross party group of sixty-six MPs concerned with human rights in East Timor. This will be the first time representatives of the group have travelled to East Timor but already the visit appears to have got off to a less than auspicious start. Following their meeting with Alatas, the group's spokeswoman, Tomiko Okazaki said she felt that the time had been too short for a proper exchange of views. She went on to say that the delegation regretted it would not have the chance to meet the imprisoned East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão.

But her strongest misgivings were reserved for the military presence in East Timor, which she described as oppressive for the population and said should be ended as soon as possible.

In recent months the Indonesian government has allowed increased access by foreigners to East Timor as part of a strategy aimed at improving its human rights image in the disputed territory. With a high profile meeting of Asia Pacific leaders looming in November, officials are anxious that the East Timor issue should not be allowed to cloud what will be an important diplomatic event for Indonesia. But while Japan is Jakarta's largest foreign aid donor and remains a staunch support of economic development, it seems its parliamentarians need further convincing that progress in East Timor has been achieved.

Add from UPI:

Speaking through an interpreter, Okazaki, a legislator in the Japanese ruling coalition's Socialist Party, said: "We think that the military should be removed from East Timor as soon as possible," adding: "It is important to secure freedom for the people" in East Timor.

The delegation is scheduled to arrive in Dili on Thursday. They will visit the cemetery that was the site of the pro-independence protest in 1991 when Indonesian soldiers shot and killed dozens of demonstrators

JAPANESE MPS VISIT TO INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR: 2ND DAY

The following news items have been obtained. 3 translated from Japanese. One Reuter.

1. Japanese MPs Call for Improvement of Human Rights

Kyodo Aug. 10, 1994 Byline: Jakarta Translated from Japanese

observe the situation in East Timor met with Foreign Minister Alatas today where they requested that the human rights situation in East Timor be improved.

The groups consists of five members of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor whose secretary-general is Rep. Tomiko Okazaki.

According to Okazaki and others, they stated during the meeting, referring to the Dili incident in November 1991 in which shootings by the Indonesian military on East Timorese resulted in many deaths, that it "does not contribute to the friendship between Indonesia and Japan", and that such an incident should not be repeated.

Foreign Minister Alatas said that the incident was a shock to Indonesia, too, but that the shootings to the demonstrators were accidental.

The parliamentary group requested the Foreign Minister to give the message written by the Speaker of the House of Representative, Takako Doi, to imprisoned former Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão. The letter hopes for a immediate peaceful solution of the issue with dialogues among the all parties involved.

The group will visit East Timor between August 11 and 13 with plans to meet Governor Soares, military officers and so on.

2. Japanese MPs: Indonesia Should Withdraw

Jiji Aug. 10, 1994 Byline: Jakarta Original Language: Japanese

The leader of the visiting Japanese supra-partisan group, Diet Members Forum on East Timor, Rep. Tomiko Okazaki (Socialist) today told journalists after a meeting with Foreign Minister Alatas, that "Indonesian troops should withdraw from East Timor as immediately as possible." She also expressed her regret about the Indonesian government's not allowing them to meet Xanana Gusmão, the Fretilin leader now in prison.

3. Five Representatives Discussed Human Rights with Foreign Minister

Mainichi Rapid News Service Aug. 10, 1994 By Jakarta Original Language: Japanese

[Rapid news service can be accessed only through computer. Usually news of this

rapid service will be found on next day's paper.]

The leader of the visiting supra-partisan parliamentary group, Diet Members Forum on East Timor, Rep. Tomiko Okazaki (Socialist) today met with Foreign Minister Alatas and exchanged views over human rights in East Timor. Among the group are Rep. Tomiko Okazaki, Rep. Banri Kaieda (Japan New Party), Rep. Koki Chuma (LDP) and other two.

The group requested the carrying out of a referendum to decide the status of the territory and improvement of the human rights situation. Foreign Minister asked for their understanding about the historical process of the question. The meeting did not result in any agreement. Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976 by force, but the United Nations has not recognized it yet.

The five parliamentarians also requested the Foreign Minister to realize a meeting with the leader of the East Timorese independence movement in prison. The Foreign Minister said that he would consider the request.

The group will visit East Timor for three days from August 11. According to Okazaki, it is the first Japanese parliamentary group to visit the territory.

4. Japanese MPs Seek to Resolve Timor Issue

Reuter Aug. 10, 1994 Byline: Jakarta Translated from English Remarks: Full text

Jakarta, Aug 10 (Reuter) - Japan hopes to help find an amicable solution to a continuing guerrilla campaign for independence in East Timor, five Japanese legislators said on Wednesday before visiting the former Portuguese colony.

"We will help resolve the problem at international forums," delegation chief Tomiko Okazaki was quoted as saying by the official Antara news agency.

The parliamentarians, part of a 20-member delegation that includes journalists and translators, will hold talks with officials and representatives from non-governmental groups in East Timor on Thursday and Friday.

The team wanted to meet East Timor guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão, at his prison near Jakarta and deliver a letter from the speaker of Japan's House of Representative, Takako Doi.

"They brought a letter from Takako Doi ... but I think such things were not usually done," Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was quoted as saying by Antara.

"The letter has been entrusted to the Foreign Ministry and I will have a look at it first," he said after meeting the team in Jakarta on Wednesday.

The Japanese will be the first foreigners to visit East Timor since police violently broke up a demonstration on July 14 by hundreds of mostly Roman Catholic protesters.

Okazaki said the legislators -- three from the Socialist Party and one each from the Liberal Democratic Party and opposition Japan New Party -- wanted to see for themselves the human rights situation in East Timor.

The delegation will meet East Timor's Governor Abilio Soares, local Roman Catholic church leader Bishop Carlos Belo and the rector of the province's university, Bra-tasudharma.

"We want to resolve the East Timor problem," Okazaki said.

The United States and Australia expressed concern over the July 14 incident, in which about 20 people were injured. It was the worst clash since troops opened fire on demonstrators in a Dili cemetery in 1991, killing up to 200 people.

AI ALERT: FEAR OF TORTURE

EXTERNAL (for general distribution) AI Index: ASA 21/37/94 Distr: UA/SC

UA 294/94 Fear of torture / "Disappearance" 10 August 1994

EAST TIMOR (1) Francisco Malac Geronimo Comisari Geronimo Etnou

(2) Abilio da Costa Ambrosio Tilman Ana Bela Guterres Aniceto das Neves Antonio Fernandes Antonio Neves Bartolomeu Carvalho (known as Arnold) Cipriano Oliveira Emilia Francisco Leao Francisco de Jesus Jaime Martins Manuel Sarmiento Osorio Florindo Tito dos Santos

(3) Mateus Afonso

(4) Antonio Florentino Maya

Amnesty International is urgently concerned for the safety of those named above, all of whom were arrested in July 1994. Their current whereabouts are unknown and they are at risk of torture or "disappearance". Amnesty International calls upon the Indonesian Government to clarify their whereabouts immediately and to guarantee their safety.

The three named in (1) above were reportedly arrested on 10 July after they had organized a demonstration during a visit by the United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, arbitrary and summary executions. According to sources in East Timor the three briefly unfurled pro-independence banners as the Rapporteur travelled by and were subsequently arrested and taken away by soldiers. They have not been seen since then.

The 15 people named in (2) above were reportedly arrested after police and military broke up a peaceful student demonstration which started out from the campus of the University of East Timor in Dili on 14 July. Eyewitnesses said that dozens of students were severely beaten by police and military and some were seriously injured. Mateus Afonso was reportedly arrested on 23 July after admitting that he was one of the organizers of the 14 July demonstration. Witnesses reported that he was publicly beaten by soldiers over a three-hour period, after which he was taken away. Indonesian military authorities have stated that 14 people were held for questioning after the demonstration, but have not released their names or said where they are being held.

Since the demonstration Amnesty International has learned that three others, named in (4) above, may have also "disappeared". They were apparently detained on suspicion of having spoken with foreign journalists and they are reportedly being held in a secret military detention centre in Becora (East Dili).

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The arrest and possible "disappearance" of the 22 East Timorese are consistent with a long-standing pattern of human rights violations against real or alleged political opponents of Indonesian rule in East Timor. In the past two years alone, hundreds of East Timorese political suspects have been held by military authorities for periods ranging from a few hours to several days, before being released without charge; others are known to have been held in military custody without trial for several months. Many of those detained are known to have tortured or ill-treated and some have "disappeared". (For a fuller account of the July 1994 events see East Timor: Protesters beaten, detained, "disappeared" (ASA 21/34/94, August 1994).

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

- expressing urgent concern for the safety of all those named above (where possible please list names and give dates of arrest);
- urging the government to act immediately to protect them from torture or ill-treatment and to clarify their whereabouts;
- calling upon the government to permit all political detainees to have immediate access to legal counsel of their own choosing;
- urging the government to release immediately all those held for their non-violent political activities.

APPEALS TO:

Same as listed above, plus

COMMANDER RESORT MILITARY COMMAND (KOREM) 164 (East Timor):

Colonel Johny Lumintang [Salutation: Dear Colonel Lumintang] Markas KOREM 164/Wiradharma Dili, East Timor (Indonesia) Telegrams: KOREM 164, DILI EAST TIMOR (INDONESIA)

US ENVOY VISITS UDAY ANA MILITARY COMMAND

Berita Antara (Indonesian govt), August 10
Denpasar, Bali - US Ambassador to Indonesia Robert Barry paid a courtesy call on the Chief of the Udayana Military Command, Maj. Gen Adang Ruchiatna, here on Wednesday. The ambassador said that his visit to Bali is part of his official tour of the eastern parts of the country which includes Ambon, Irian Jaya and East Timor in an effort to take a closer look at the socio-political activities in the provinces. Barry said the results of his visit will be used by his embassy to respond questions of the US Congress on various issues particularly those related to East Timor as issue of the province has for some time been considered as a reason in terminating the military training cooperation with Indonesia's Armed Forces. He said the cooperation on military training hopefully will be continued when clarifications are made regarding East Timor. The International Red Cross can help Indonesia explain to the US Congress about the situation of East Timor, he added. Meanwhile, Maj. Gen. Ruchiatna said that the Indonesian government has strived to counter criticisms of a certain party trying to manipulate religious issues in the province. He said the government has promoted development activities in the province especially on education so that East Timorese can also pursue high studies and participate in all the fields of development. However, he added, it would really take time and needs the strong commitment of the government and all members of the society here to achieve the objectives of development.

US NAVAL SHIP VISITS AMBON

Berita Antara (Indonesian govt), August 10
Ambon, Maluku - The US Naval ship USS Beaufort, under the command of Lt. Philip G. Beierl, anchored here in Maluku Wednesday morning for a four-day goodwill visit from August 10 to 13. A rescue vessel, the USS Beaufort is the first American naval ship to have visited Ambon in the past six years, giving the local people the opportunity to observe the ship's modern equipment and systems on board. Earlier, the ship also called on Manado's seaport of North

Sulawesi. The ship is later scheduled to visit Surabaya's harbour of East Java. Meanwhile, US Consul General in Surabaya Mark Eaton who accompanied Beierl here said that the US government wants to establish a cooperation with the Regional Development Board (Bappeda) and the local Investment Coordination Board (BKPM) in Maluku in a bid to lure more investors to Maluku. In a meeting with Maluku's Vice-Governor R. Soentoro, Eaton acknowledged that Maluku, who is historically familiar with foreign nations bec tourism potentials. He believes that American businessmen will be interested in investing in the province. The US Embassy in Jakarta last year sent two teams to Maluku to obtain first-hand information of the province's potentials. He said the US government has so far established cooperation with Maluku in the field of education and culture only.

INTERVIEWS FROM EAST TIMOR

By Hugh O'Shaughnessy, BBC Radio 4, August 10, 1994. unabridged transcript

[Hugh O'Shaughnessy, columnist of The Observer, visited East Timor late last month. After three days in the capital, Dili, he was told to leave by the military authorities.]

Hugh O'Shaughnessy: It's midnight on the waterfront in Dili. In the bright moonlight I can see, a hundred yards away on my right, the remains of the Indonesian landing craft which put the invaders ashore here eighteen years ago. Over there on my left are three spruce new Indonesian landing craft which have just docked. They're here to remind the Timorese that, now as then, General Suharto in Jakarta maintains his iron grip on this tense and unhappy place.

Since the Dili massacre in 1991, General Suharto's men have tried to be on their best behaviour, and persuade the world that the Timorese have quietly accepted their fate as just another province of Indonesia. But events of the past few weeks have shown that Timorese resistance is becoming stronger on all fronts. Among the guerrillas of the Fretilin [sic] in the hills, among the peasants in the fields, and among the students and the townspeople in the dusty outpost of the East Indies.

Last month, things flared up at the university. Two Indonesian officials harassed two young Timorese nuns as they were going in to sit their entrance exams. One student, who understandably wants to remain anonymous, describes the incident.

Student (speaking through an interpreter): On the 13 of July, new students were undertaking entrance examinations at

the university in Dili. Amongst them were two Catholic nuns. Two Muslims went to the nuns and asked them, "Why don't you have a husband?" and "Have you ever been pregnant?" They also blew smoke into the sisters' faces. As a result the nuns started crying, and told the Timorese students, who are Catholic, what had happened. The students took immediate action, hitting and punching the Muslims who had insulted the nuns.

Hugh O'Shaughnessy: The next day the occupying forces got their own back. Scores of Timorese students were injured as the police and the military lashed into a peaceful demonstration.

In the past few weeks, all Timorese frustrations about the occupation have been coming together. They're particularly worried about Indonesia's new strategy. This, it seems, aims to humble the Catholic Church and make the Timorese into "good Muslims". But the church continues to be a bastion of the resistance, as Joao, a leading figure of the resistance, explains.

Joao (speaking through an interpreter): In Timor, the resistance continues at all levels, military and clandestine. But the missionaries are the real strength. The Bishop has never closed his eyes to the continuous human rights violations taking place in Timor. So the military perceive the missionaries as strongly resisting them. They're putting pressure on the population, intimidating them to stay away from the priests and the church. By getting us to stay away from the priests they want to divide us, so they can conquer us.

Audio: a large congregation singing a hymn

Hugh O'Shaughnessy: Today, in their thousands, the Timorese flocked to Mass. The churches that the Portuguese left behind have become too small, and services like this one have to be held in the open air, the women sitting on the left in their traditional blue dresses, the men on the right, curly-haired and bare-headed; nobody would take them for Indonesians.

The leader of East Timor's Catholics is Bishop Carlos Felipe Belo. He is a prime political target of the Indonesians, and he's often not had much support from the Vatican either.

Belo: The problem is that during 1976 and up till now there were really efforts from the military to Islamicise this Catholic community, obliging the people to become Muslims or Protestants, and in many districts they said, "Either you are Muslim or you are Fretilin, you are anti-integration." The military commanders, they are pushing for the building up of the Muslims.

Hugh O'Shaughnessy: As the Indonesians pull out all the stops to try and integrate the

country into Indonesia, they're concentrating their efforts heavily on the younger and more active Timorese.

Belo: Many young people, leaders of the community, lay people, members of pastoral councils, they were arrested, in very many different places, and beaten, tortured with electric shocks. And then told, "You must confess that you are anti-integration because the Bishop told you to do that, and the priests, they are also anti-integration."

Audio: Pop song in Tetun

Hugh O'Shaughnessy: Toni (sp?) Pereira is unique. He is the world's only pop star who sings in Tetun, the lingua franca of East Timor. By doing so, he's making a political statement. The Indonesians have tried hard to impose their language, Bahasa, but it has become a patriotic duty for the Timorese to speak, and sing, in Tetun, their own tongue.

Audio: voice on loudspeaker

Hugh O'Shaughnessy: General Suharto, president of Indonesia, is addressing military cadets on the television set in the lobby of Dili's largest hotel, beloved of Indonesia's visiting businessmen. They've got their fingers in every money-making venture in this small and rundown city, they've got the cash and the jobs, while Timorese, unemployed, wander the streets of Dili in search of the work that they're unlikely to find. Things are even worse in the countryside, where the boatloads of Indonesian incomers, tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands of them, have been settled on the best land. The whole operation is called transmigration. Domingos Soares, a priest in charge of one of East Timor's country parishes, sees their operation at first hand every day.

Domingos Soares (speaking through an interpreter): They've got their tactics for the countryside. Their traders go out with things to sell, or they open little shops. They give credit, lots of credit, to the East Timorese. When somebody can't pay, they give them three options. They have to give up their land, or they have to become Muslims, or the trader reports them to the police.

Hugh O'Shaughnessy: One man has his finger on the pulse of Timorese youth. Armindo Maia is the vice-rector of Dili's university. Late at night, in a car in a remote spot where we were unlikely to be interrupted, he told me how the Indonesians had failed in their drive to capture the hearts and minds young people here.

Armindo Maia: The more they know about Indonesia, the more they resent it. The more they know about Indonesian law and the more they know about Indonesian history, the more they reject it, because they compare the situation here in East Timor, you know, it's just a lie. They're

more and more anti-Indonesian than ever before.

IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR INDONESIA TO DEAL WITH EAST TIMOR CONFERENCE IN HONGKONG AND MACAU

Kompas, 1 August 1994. By Rene L. Patti-radjawane. Translated from Bahasa

Hongkong -- It will be difficult for Indonesia to use the methods it adopted towards ASEAN countries regarding conferences about East Timor that are planned to take place in Hongkong and Macau this coming November, according to an interim Indonesian Consul-General in Hongkong, Tupuk Sutrisno.

The newspaper, Eastern Express in Macau reported 30 July that a controversial organisation headed by Jose Ramos-Horta has announced two-day 'international debates' in Hongkong and Macau during November and the Dalai Lama has been invited as the chief guest.

Ramos-Horta told the paper in Macau that the meetings would discuss the international legal aspects of East Timor's integration into Indonesia in 1975. Meanwhile, the office of Tibet's spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, said that as yet he had not received an invitation to attend.

Tupuk Sutrisno told Kompas he had already reported these plans to the Foreign Department in Jakarta and awaits further instructions on how to anticipate these events. "These conferences are planned on the basis of academic freedom so that the approach we took towards the ASEAN countries will be more difficult," he said.

While awaiting instructions, he said it was necessary to approach the political advisor of the governor of Hongkong, as Indonesia did in the case of the Philippines and Malaysia when similar conference were planned. "But we foresee that it will be difficult to prevent these conferences from taking place."

He said that Indonesia could not remain silent regarding these events. "What we should possibly try to do is to make approaches through official channels to the UK using utmost discretion without having any undue repercussions," he said.

He went on to say that we could of course take the same steps as we took towards Manila and Bangkok but it will certainly not have the same results. But if the Dalai Lama fails to attend, it will be difficult for the groups that oppose Indonesia's integration of East Timor to have successful meeting.

"The Dalai Lama factor will probably be helpful because his presence in Hongkong

and Macao will certainly be strongly resisted by China. It would be a great blessing [syukur alhamdulillah] if the Dalai Lama doesn't go because the meetings will lose their significance. The meetings are intended to provide a show-case of comparisons between Tibet and East Timor."

But Tupuk admitted that meetings about East Timor can take place at a scientific level if they avoid mentioning what they talk about in their propaganda as the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. "In the case of a scientific conference, expert NGOs like the CSIS or even people from the (Indonesian) Foreign Ministry could attend. But I have my doubts whether these meetings will be scientific because they are being convened by Ramos-Horta who is busy with his political campaigning to discredit Indonesia," he went on.

Asked about the possible response of the Hongkong population, Tupuk said the people of Hongkong are mainly concerned about business; a conference about politics related to another country has little in for them. "Such a meeting will find no support in Hongkong," he said.

A senior Thai diplomat in Bangkok, questioned by Kompas during the recent meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers, said that there was a new strategy afoot to corner Indonesia by convening scientific conferences. "Such events are usually timed to coincide with Indonesia's involvement in some international occasion such as the ASEAN foreign ministers meeting or in the run-up to the forthcoming APEC meeting," he said.

According to information available to Kompas, there is possibly going to be a conference in September in Germany to be attended by various NGOs from around the world. At about the same time, on 22-24 September, there will be the 11th meeting of ASEAN-European Union foreign ministers in Karlsruhe which will also be attended by Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas.

EAST TIMOR BISHOP HITS OUT AT INDONESIA

Reuter, 11 August 1994. By K.T. Arasu. Abridged

[Today, Britain's leading TV channel, Channel 4, carried a six-minute item in its News At Seven based on a recent televised interview of Bishop Belo, focusing on his remarks confirming that a second massacre occurred in Dili after the killings at the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991. And BBC World Service's Newshour also carried a report about the interview.]

Jakarta -- East Timor's Roman Catholic bishop has scathingly attacked Indonesia for

alleged killings, torture and arbitrary arrests and wants a public referendum to decide its future.

Bishop Belo said in an open letter, obtained by Reuters on Thursday, that Indonesia should reduce its military presence and hold talks with those fighting for self-rule.

The letter, signed by Belo and bearing the diocesan seal, has been widely circulated in East Timor, residents said. A copy was sent to the Vatican's diplomatic mission in Jakarta.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Irawan Abidin said in Jakarta he regretted Belo's remarks and dismissed them as allegations.

Belo's attack comes after troops used teargas to sticks to break up a demonstration in the capital, Dili, in July when hundreds of protesters marched to the local parliament after two nuns were insulted by four men.

Belo who turned down offers to serve in European churches after he was ordained in 1980, said in the letter the Catholic Church was concerned over the worsening religious and cultural conditions.

"The people are living in fear of violence ... and controls that went beyond the limits. Extra-judicial institutions have brought about extra-judicial killings, punishment, torture and arbitrary and illegal arrests," he said in his letter.

Belo said holding a public referendum in East Timor, where a majority of the 750,000 are Catholics, was the democratic way to accommodate the people's aspirations. "However, if there are questions over the holding of a referendum, including worries over possible bloodshed, the church suggests Indonesia, as the occupying force, grant East Timor great autonomy," he said.

"To determine the meaning of autonomy, the Church suggests that the Indonesian government holding a series of talks with political parties that once existed in East Timor," he said.

Belo said the church was prepared to be the mediator at the talks and was itself ready to hold talks with the Indonesian government.

He said the church should also be given the freedom to bring in foreign missionaries and urged Indonesia to cooperate with the United Nations in seeking a solution in East Timor

PILGER'S FILMS SMACK OF OPPORTUNISM

Jakarta Post, 1 August 1994. By Dino Patti Djalal

[NOTE: Regular readers of this conference will recognise Dino Patti Djalal as the author of a long two-part article, also pub-

lished in the Jakarta Post, trying to discredit the figure of 200,000 deaths in East Timor since the invasion. What the Jakarta Post did _not_ say then or now is that Dino Patti Djalal is in fact a member of the Indonesian diplomatic staff in London, the Third Secretary at the Indonesian Embassy. This is a serious piece of deception on the part of the Jakarta Post and of Djalal himself. -- Carmel]

London -- In September 1989, two British citizens went to Indochina to do some field research.

A year later, Anthony De Normann and Christopher MacKenzie were shocked to learn that their pictures were being shown in a television program on Cambodia.

The film _Cambodia: The Betrayal_ depicted their trip to Cambodia as part of a secret British MI6 operation to train the notorious Khmer Rouge guerrillas near the Thai border.

Their names emerged as hot subjects of disgrace in parliamentary questioning and the media fuss. That same year, the producer of the film, John Pilger, received the United States's George Foster Peabody Award and France's Frontiers Award.

In July 1991, they sued Pilger and the television station which aired the film for libel. Pilger's lawyer knew that his case was thin: there was plenty of evidence that the De Normann-MacKenzie's self financed trip had been meticulously prearranged with the Vietnamese authorities and Hun Sen's government in Phnom Penh. When his efforts to get out of the case proved futile, Pilger was persuaded to quickly settle out of court for a financial sum that both sides agreed would not be publicly disclosed.

This case reveals much about John Pilger and his brand of journalism. Pilger is now being sued, again for libel, by a British member of Parliament, Rupert Allason, whom Pilger falsely accused of complicity in peddling intelligence information in the case surrounding the death by hanging of a British journalist in Iraq.

In November 1992 a strong complaint, this time from the United Nations Border Relief Operation (UNBRO), was also lodged against Pilger to the Broadcasting Complaints Commission pertaining to Pilger's allegation that United Nations logistical facilities in Cambodia were being secretly rented to the Khmer Rouge as a munitions warehouse.

The same Pilger recently produced a film on East Timor entitled _Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy_. Although it is generally understood that certain conditions in East Timor remain problematic, Pilger's film contains too many fabrications.

The film certainly did not deter the UN Human Rights Commission to issue a posi-

tive chairman statement on human rights in East Timor earlier this year, despite the film being shown in Geneva and a personal appearance by Pilger.

Death of A Nation has become a key mobilizing instrument for the international campaign now being waged by Timorese anti-integration activists to generate support for their cause.

Reportedly, the film will be shown in 40 countries. When it was aired in New Zealand recently, the country's Parliamentarians reacted strongly by producing a resolution on East Timor, followed by a request to visit the area. Pilger has boasted about the impact in New Zealand, and is expecting similar reactions in other countries.

To understand Pilger, one must fathom the depth of his contempt for government. In Pilger's world, governments are the source of all evil. His pen is a sword not to defend a cause but to bleed governments. He revels in saying "I have made enemies in Southeast Asia".

Hence, it is controversy making rather than fact-finding that is the hallmark of Pilger's journalism. Hype takes a premium over accuracy; impact over balance.

It is not known how Pilger became entangled with East Timor. When he published *Heroes* in 1986, he touched on a wide range of political issues but no mention was made of Indonesia or the East Timor case.

What is certain, however, is the clear intellectual deference Pilger accords to long time anti-Indonesia activists such as Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong (no relation to the Indonesian conglomerate) in the making of the film.

Carmel and Liem are founders of TAPOL, a London-based anti-Indonesia political organization whose ideological slant is now opportunistically couched as "The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign".

They became Indonesian political outcasts after the abortive coup of the communist party in 1965 and, driven by grudge and hatred, have since spent their time launching a smear campaign against Indonesia. inventing bizarre pseudo-academic concepts such as Islamization, Javanese imperialism and forced sterilization.

TAPOL activists happily furnished these concepts to Timorese anti-integrationists when they established contact in the second half of the 1970's.

By establishing a symbiotic link with Carmel and the likes, Pilger has in effect provided a visual medium to what may be regarded as the "loony literature" on Indonesia, which has been long regarded as too radical to be taken seriously by conventional academics and politicians.

In *Death of A Nation*, these sideline crusaders finally found an access to the mainstream.

The astonishing thing about Pilger's film is really not the message, which is an old song in a flashy jukebox. but the fact that some uninformed or semi-informed circles, unable to place the film in context, are taking his propositions as truth.

The general public cannot perceive the games and schemes involved in the vicious public relations campaign on East Timor.

Let's face it, East Timor is no rose garden. but with all the things that genuinely need fixing there, the danger of the film is that it creates out of touch hot heads and misleads them in the real issues at stake and what is needed to address the issues constructively.

The bottom line is this: to secure their future, the East Timorese must come to terms with their past and mend the socio-political fractures and emotional wounds which have blistered since 1975. After all these years, greater socio-economic progress and reconciliation - not prolonged conflict - are what the East Timorese need and deserve most.

Some international circles must stop treating the East Timorese as if they are prized gladiators endlessly cheered, jeered and agitated by excited international spectators.

Indeed, many of the propositions in Pilger's film can be easily picked apart. But a recent chance to put Pilger to the test ended in disappointment, when Carmel Budiardjo and Pilger organized a discussion on East Timor in London on June 30.

What started as a completely partisan discussion turned interesting when a number of East Timorese figures unexpectedly showed up and challenged Pilger's account. Pilger, obviously surprised, seemed unable to bear the irony of being publicly confronted by the very people he claimed to champion, and did what would be considered odd for a star speaker: he and David Munro left the talk before they concluded, leaving behind an almost speechless Carmel Budiardjo.

Among the Timorese present that evening was Francisco Xavier Amaral, the ex-chairman of Fretilin and President of the Fretilin founded Democratic Republic of East Timor. He later issued a statement in which he accused Pilger of "liberally corroborating the many lies, rumors and propaganda (on East Timor) in his film". and called Pilger's film "part of a game" to turn his people into "political commodities".

When Pilger charged UNBRO of commercial complicity with the Khmer Rouge, he conveniently attributed the information to "our sources" and left it at that. The Broadcasting Complaints Commission, after

thoroughly examining the case, later stated that "The Commission are not persuaded that the program makers had sufficient - or indeed any evidence of UNBRO's involvement" in property dealings with the Khmer Rouge.

Given all this, Australian journalist Greg Sheridan had a point in stating that "Pilger's films have generally been full of misrepresentation, half truth, exaggeration and extreme tendentiousness." Rupert Allason has also expressed dismay at Pilger's "deplorable methods in writing stories"

Consider Pilger's claim that British made Hawks were used to bomb East Timor. One may ask, for example, if entire villages were wiped out in 1983, as he claimed, how could Amnesty International completely miss this out in its annual reports on East Timor the same year? What's more, how Pilger managed to find a fluent English-speaking Timorese peasant as a "witness" deep in the interior of East Timor is beyond anybody's guess - something which I certainly was not able to do during my last visit there.

Equally dubious was his other "witness", a Timorese man in exile whose impressive knowledge of the physical features of the Hawks made him look as if he was uttering memorized cues. (Outside East Timor capital of Dili, the locals still have difficulty identifying models of automobile let alone jets). Was this yet another smart gimmick which Pilger crafted to capture his British viewers?

What motivates Pilger? "That's really beyond me," Rupert Allason said. Some may point to an insatiable craving for personal fame, which Pilger certainly has done a good job at. De Normann, however, is more straightforward: "Money. He simply loves money".

Whatever the answer, what captured my attention was a curious sentence at the very end of what was supposed to be a news column: "Pilger's account is contained in *Distant Voices*, 7.99 pounds sterling."

The writer is a regular contributor to The Jakarta Post

----- COMMENT FROM JONATHAN HUMPHREYS (BRITISH COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR)

Readers of email will probably have read the article in the Jakarta Post written by the Indonesian diplomat Dino Patti Djalal. I thought Carmel was remarkably restrained in her prefatory note to the article. I think the truth should be told, so I would like to respond to a couple of points made by Djalal.

Djalal describes a 'discussion' on East Timor held in London on June 30. This was

in fact a panel discussion held at the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA). The panel consisted of John Pilger, David Munro, Dr. John Taylor (chair), Carmel Budiardjo and myself as the humblest member of this august group. Before the meeting began the panel participants gathered to discuss, with ICA officials, the technicalities of the evening. All members of the panel agreed that the ICA's proposed length for the meeting (two hours) was too long and both Pilger and Munro clearly indicated that they had to leave after an hour. Thus is Djalal's snide insinuation that Pilger and Munro slunk out of the meeting because they couldn't take Timorese criticism seen in its real context.

Djalal says that "a number of East Timorese figures unexpectedly showed up". Well they certainly were "unexpected" to me. Little did I realise that the Indonesian government's fear of free and open discussion of the issue would lead them to fly in Francisco Xavier Amaral and Jose Martins all the way from Jakarta just for the evening and also Paulino Gama from Europe (Gama bought Amaral a British Coalition T-shirt and I hope he is wearing it around Indonesia!). Also present was a sizeable group of Indonesian students, presumably ordered to be there by the Embassy. They behaved noisily and afterwards handed out tracts written by Amaral, Martins and Gama.

The intended scenario of a serious discussion was thus obviated from the start: a Colonel Blimp character jumped up and started calling us all "communists" and that what was being said was "bullshit", an intellectual analysis that borders on the imbecile. The paying members of the British public with real questions to ask were given almost no chance to lodge their queries or engage in critical debate and Dr. Taylor had the utmost difficulty in maintaining some kind order, the pre-requisite for rational argumentation.

I was glad when it was all over.

As a post-script to the kind of pecuniary avarice that Djalal implies with regard to Pilger - some days after the ICA meeting, I received a cheque for #30 as an honorarium for taking part in the debate. I assume that John Pilger received the same. I conclude that his espousal of the East Timorese cause is not exactly making him as rich as Croesus. Indeed, I find the constant harping about money deeply revealing of the state of mind of those committed to integration. A couple of years ago I staged a short hunger strike outside the Indonesian Embassy in London. They have an official who comes out at about seven in the morning to raise the Indonesian flag and scrub the portico. He came over to me and asked; "How much is Carmel paying you for this?" I thought of answering: "#100,000", but I don't think I could

have swung that with TAPOL. Why are they so afraid of TAPOL and Carmel? Why do they have to stifle debate concerning East Timor in every forum that they can? Why are they so afraid?

I have written to the Jakarta Post about Djalal's article. I do not expect that they will print my letter. I have also written to the Indonesian Ambassador in London asking him if he will allow a meeting between myself and Dino Patti Djalal. Such a meeting will probably never take place.

Letter to the Editor

The following letter appeared in the Letters Column of Jakarta Post on 12 August 1994:

I must admit to being taken aback by the low quality of journalism represented by Dino Patti Djalal's article on John Pilger's film. The writer seems to mistake personal attack for analysis (a common tendency alas) and a belief that if one quotes a few fellow thinkers, that this should be enough.

It is usual in these events to allow the 'defendant' a say, but in view of the sensitive nature of the issue, it would clearly not be allowed in Indonesia's current ambiguous climate. What I may think of the film (having seen it in Australia) is in this instance neither here nor there, but that it has been supported by the evidence of both rapporteurs of the United Nations and eminent churchpersons, tends to off-balance Mas Dino's assertions that the film is totally 'full of misrepresentations, half truth exaggeration and extreme tendentiousness'. In fact, he gives little attention to the film itself but resorts to snide asides and allegations of alternative motives. I am only sorry that good trees were sacrificed for his inelegant prose.

I feel concerned that comment such as his are fundamentally anti-intellectual and that railing against something as ferociously as he does only leads me to believe that he "protesteth too much".

Melise Van Kamp, Jakarta

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Francis M Auburn, David Ong and Vivian L Forbes

ISBN 1 86342 345 1, February 1994, pp.74. AU\$10.00

The importance of the Timor Gap Treaty is its establishment of a regime acceptable to

both countries covering a substantial area of the continental shelf which has been said to be of considerable prospective interest for oil and natural gas reserves. In the absence of such a regime it would not be possible for either country to proceed with licensing, without raising a major confrontation. This painstaking and highly technical research is presented in a very readable format.

Briefing Paper No. 4

US Response to the East Timor Massacre: Historical Grounds for Scepticism about a Suggested Remedy

Robert H Bruce

ISBN 1 86342 189 0, May 1992, pp.15. AU\$6.00

Professor Bruce raises the claim made by a US State Department spokesman, Richard Boucher, that US training of the Indonesian military would expose them to 'democratic ideas and humanitarian standards', which, he claims, will 'reform their behaviour'. The sceptical analysis presented by Robert Bruce makes excellent reading.

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EAST TIMOR TENSE FOR ANNIVERSARY

JAKARTA, Reuters, August 11: Indonesia yesterday prepared to mark the 18th anniversary of its formal annexation of East Timor, amid religious tension fuelled by the most violent confrontation between troops and protesters in three years.

Indonesia also rejected a US Senate decision to curb small arms sales to the Jakarta government over the situation in East Timor. It said it would not accept any conditions for future arm sales from the US.

East Timor's capital Dili was awash with Indonesian flags along with banners hailing what Jakarta calls "integration". 18 years ago.

"Long Live East Timor" said one banner stretched across the main road running past the local governor's office.

But despite the relative calm in Dili yesterday, residents feared more violence after riot troops last Thursday fired tear-gas and then broke up a protest by 200 mainly Catholic demonstrators marching to the local parliament building. "Tension is in the air. The situation is still tense," Armindo Maia,

vice-rector for academic affairs at the East Timor University, said.

About 20 people were injured, some seriously, and 14 others arrested in the most violent confrontation with troops since 1991, when security forces shot and killed up to 200 people during a funeral procession at a Dili cemetery.

Since invading the eastern half of Timor island in 1975, largely Muslim Indonesia has faced widespread resentment for its rule, which is not recognised by the United Nations.

The US Senate, responding to calls to "send a strong message to Indonesia on human rights, unanimously voted last week to restrict small arms sales to Jakarta and to also provide money to human rights groups there.

Indonesia's Foreign Ministry spokesman Irawan Abidin said: "We are indeed unhappy to hear this. However, it will only press us to look for other sources such as Great Britain for the procurement of small arms. we are sad because from the very outset we have said we will not accept any programme which is linked to conditions [over human rights]," Mr. Abidin said. Meanwhile, police in Dili, who removed roadblocks yesterday but continued to patrol the streets, said they did not expect any protests to disrupt today's events, which will involve speeches and large gatherings.

But residents said Catholic anger towards Jakarta was high. "This things has not finished. The students are talking about doing something but we do not know what," one resident said.

Officials from the Red Cross and Dili's university said last Friday that they were investigating claims that up to four people had been killed during Thursday's violent clash.

JAPANESE LAWMAKERS CALL FOR NEW PROBE OF 1991 EAST TIMOR SLAUGHTER

AP, 11 August 1994. Abridged

Dili -- A delegation of Japanese legislators called Thursday for a new investigation of a 1991 protest in which Indonesian troops shot and killed dozens of East Timorese.

"We asked the governor about the real number of people who were killed and those still missing," said Tomiko Okazaki of the Japanese ruling coalition's Socialist Party, after meeting governor Abilio Soares.

The delegation earlier visited Santa Cruz cemetery, site of the 1991 protest and held a communion over the grave of Sebastião Go-

mes whose slaying by the Indonesian military provoked the protest.

On Wednesday the MPs called for an immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.

Governor Soares ruled out a request from the lawmakers to visit Baucau and Suai, where they claimed the military launched a bloody operation in recent days

AUSTRALIAN COURT RESERVES JUDGMENT ON TIMOR GAP CASE

Radio Australia, 10 August 1994. From BBC monitoring

The Australian High Court has reserved its decision on a case which could lead to a constitutional challenge to the validity of Australia's 1989 Timor Gap treaty with Indonesia, under which the two countries share the profits of oil production in the area.

Three members of the East Timorese resistance movement who live in Australia brought the case on their own behalf and on behalf of the National Council of Maubere Resistance which is seeking independence for East Timor from Indonesia, Radio Australia said today.

The legal action which began in June 1993 claims that as the United Nations does not recognise the Indonesian takeover of East Timor, Australian legislation bringing the treaty into effect was not valid under international law

THE HIDDEN HORROR

Abroad at Home column, by Anthony Lewis

The New York Times, Op-Ed page, August 12, 1994

[Also published in the International Herald Tribune on 13-14 August under the title: 'Remember the Rape of East Timor']

Even in a world with Rwanda and Bosnia, the cruelty at this place has been horrifying: an invasion by a foreign army that has killed as much as a third of the population.

The place is East Timor, the killers the Government and army of Indonesia. East Timor is half of an island 300 miles north of Australia, so remote that Indonesia has been largely successful in hiding from the world the slaughter and repression it has carried out since occupying the territory in 1975.

The shroud covering the occupation was pierced in 1991, when Indonesian soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners at a cemetery, killing more than 100. An American was there and wrote about the massacre, and a Briton filmed parts of it.

Now we have powerful new evidence of the horror in East Timor. John Pilger, an

Australian reporter, and two others went in incognito and used hidden cameras. British Independent Television has shown their film, "Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy."

The film includes firsthand descriptions, ghastly in their detail, of the mass killing of Timorese civilians. It also has much new material on the role of Britain, Australia and the United States in aiding Indonesia and condoning the invasion.

President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger visited Indonesia for several days just before the invasion. Philip Liechty, a C.I.A. official there at the time, says in the film that he is sure President Suharto "was explicitly given the green light to do what he did."

Mr. Liechty says that most of the weapons used by Indonesia, as well as ammunition and even food, were American. Aides cabled Secretary Kissinger that such use of materiel supplied for "defense" would violate American law. He excoriated them for putting the point in writing, saying that it might leak and embarrass him.

The Pilger film quotes Mr. Kissinger as telling a staff meeting: "Can't we construe a Communist Government in the middle of Indonesia as self-defense?" The Timorese, 90 percent, of them Roman Catholics, had shown no sympathy for Communism. They just wanted independence for their country.

Today, nearly 20 years after the invasion, the Suharto Government continues to make strenuous efforts to prevent international discussion of East Timor. It put pressure on the Philippine Government to limit a conference on the subject in May and is now trying to stop a meeting in Malaysia.

But more evidence of continuing repression is emerging. Some of it comes from Western journalists who have been allowed into East Timor this year on tours that were carefully controlled but that nevertheless let reality slip through from time to time.

The Economist magazine had a writer there with others on a guided tour in April. He wrote that they were treated to robotic praise of Indonesia, but that discontent was evident. The Indonesian-appointed Governor, Abilio Soares, admitted to them that between 100,000 and 200,000 Timorese had died as a result of conflict since the invasion. Before, the population was 688,000.

A conservative British weekly, The Spectator, had a piece in February by Edward Theberton. On a visit to East Timor he found it reminiscent of the Baltic States when they were under Soviet occupation, full of soldiers and informers and lies. The striking sights, he said, were the countless cemeteries. He concluded that President Suharto was "the Pol Pot of East Timor."

The world is said to be suffering from compassion fatigue these days. A place as small and distant as East Timor is going to have a hard time persuading major governments to support its people's desire, simple as it is, for the right to express their views in a referendum on how they should be governed.

But President Clinton will have an opportunity to say a private word to President Suharto this fall, when he is scheduled to go to Indonesia for a summit meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. He could at least make clear American disapproval of the repression in East Timor.

And the press should continue to bring the world's attention to the reality of East Timor. In that regard it is shameful that "Death of a Nation," which has been seen in Britain and 35 other countries, has not yet found an outlet on American television.

BISHOP CRIES OUT FOR JUSTICE IN EAST TIMOR

Source unknown, August 12, 1994

World attention is again on East Timor, in part due to the courage of Bishop Carlos Belo.

Bishop Carlos Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, who lives virtually as a prisoner in his own country, has accused Western governments of deliberately covering up the "number and scale of massacres" committed by the Indonesian regime. "They are lying about what has happened to us," he said, referring in particular to the killing of survivors of the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery in November 1991. "Their lies and hypocrisy are in the cause of economic interests. We ask the people of the world to understand this, and not to forget that we are here, struggling for life every day."

In a series of rare interviews given by telephone late at night in Dili, the East Timorese capital, Bishop Belo described in often vivid detail the "routine nightmare that we live under." He confirmed that "at least" 200,000 people had died under the Indonesian occupation; and he refuted the statements of Western officials who have recently sought to cast doubt on the credibility of witnesses to a "second massacre" in Dili in November 1991.

Referring to a claim by Australia's pro-Jakarta Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, that a second round of killings did not happen, he said: "How does he know? Is he here, with us? I know well the witnesses. They have spoken the truth."

Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo has been bishop since 1983. The Vatican like the United Nations, does not recognise Indone-

sia's sovereignty over East Timor; and Bishop Belo is independent of the Indonesian bishops and directly responsible to Rome. Unlike his predecessor, Lopez de Cruz who died in exile, according to Carmel Budiardjo, "of neglect and a broken heart," unable to break the silence that surrounded his people's suffering. Carlos Belo was not in East Timor when the Indonesians invaded in 1975 and was not the choice of the Timorese priests. However if the Indonesians believed that this self-effacing, scholarly man would fail to marshal the popular forces of the church against them, they have been proved spectacularly wrong.

Year after year he has spoken out more boldly and is today considered a beacon in what his people call their "island prison." As such, he is a reminder of those Latin American Catholic clergy who established in tyrannies a "people's church," defying the state and its death squads and providing a refuge for the resistance, while often paying for their popularity with their lives. With his nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize, true distinction is restored to that honour.

Bishop Belo's courage is astonishing. "Our conversation is being listened to," he said; yet he spoke openly about the atrocities committed by the regime and the dangers he himself faced. He disclosed for the first time that there had been two attempts to assassinate him.

"The first time they tried was in 1989," he said. "I had just written a letter to the secretary-general of the United Nations (in which he appealed for international help, saying: 'We are dying as a nation'). Soon after that they prepared an ambush for me while I was travelling; but I got away. In 1991, they tried again when I went to the site of a massacre near Viqueque, where more than 1000 people were killed in 1983. It was after I had seen the graves, the evidence of the massacre, that they tried again. But they were unsuccessful and I escaped. Yes, there is pressure on me all the time."

I said that Western governments claimed that Indonesian rule in East Timor was no longer harsh. I quoted to him a recent statement by the British Foreign Office that it was "wrong to suggest that the widespread abuses of human rights persist in East Timor."

"I cannot believe they mean that," he said. "They must know it isn't true. It has never been worse here. There are more restrictions than ever before. No one can speak. No one can demonstrate. People disappear."

What of Jakarta's claims that East Timor was now so "peaceful" that the Indonesian military was beginning to withdraw?

"There is not a sign of this, I don't believe it. Do not believe it....you must understand

that we are undergoing a second colonisation. If I am asked for one description, I would say we live as if under the old Soviet Union regime. For the ordinary people, there is no freedom, only a continuing nightmare."

I said: "The regime insists that it has brought great material benefit to East Timor in the building of roads, schools..." He cut me off. "Who is this developments for?" he said. "Who enjoys it? Not us, the Timorese. It is for the immigrants they are bringing in from Java and Sumatra, while our young people find it impossible to get a job. Actually, they are using this so-called development to change our society, to destroy it...Look at the compulsory methods of birth control. Women are given drugs to sterilise them when they are not aware. This is a policy being enforced. This is what they call development."

He accused the regime of a creeping policy of "Islamisation" and described how Indonesian soldiers had taken communion wafers and spat them out "in order to humiliate us."

He talked at length about the massacre of hundreds of young people in the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991. "Was this a turning point for you?" I asked. "You seemed to speak out much more after that."

"No," he replied. "There were massacres before that, many of them, and I spoke about them. But there was no international interest, no documentary film; no one listened." I said that the British Government had described the massacre as an "incident" and Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, had called it an "aberration," not a deliberate act of state policy.

"Unfortunately, I do not have a good impression of this Mr Evans, because of the extraordinary statements he makes. This was not an incident. It was a real massacre. It was well-prepared. It was a deliberate operation that was designed to teach us a lesson. To say otherwise is to deny the evidence of our ears and eyes."

"Was there a second massacre of the wounded?"

"There were certainly more killings, but I don't know how many. Some of the killings happened near my house. When I visited the hospital at 11am on the day of the first massacre, 12 November, there were hundreds of wounded. When I came back the next day, there were only 90. Witnesses have told me the killings of the wounded began at eight o'clock that night, and the most deaths occurred between two and three in the morning on the 13th when the lights suddenly went down in the city. I don't know what happened to these people. Maybe they were put into the sea. I told all

I knew to the commission of inquiry sent by Jakarta but they weren't interested."

I said that the British Foreign Office and Senator Evans had cast doubt on the veracity of the witnesses to these later killings. "It is they who are lying," he said. "This is more hypocrisy and attempts to cover the truth for economic reasons."

I said that the Jakarta regime insisted that any journalist could come to East Timor to investigate this. He laughed. "That's not true. They must have escorts. They are followed and watched. And when they come with Indonesian officials, I will not see them. There is no point." (Last month, three East Timorese were each sentenced to 20 months' prison for unfurling a banner in front of foreign ministers on a Government-guided press tour).

I read to him Senator Evans's recent statement that "it is impossible for East Timor to regain its independence because this will create a precedent that may lead to the disintegration of Indonesia." The Indonesian occupation, he said, was "irreversible."

"The matter of whether or not we are independent," he replied, "is one for the people of East Timor, not for Mr Evans or for any other foreigners. As to this point about the disintegration of Indonesia, that is Indonesia's problem, not ours. We are not them, and they are not us."

I asked him if he was afraid that the outside world would again forget East Timor.

"Yes, yes," he replied. "There is a real fear that, if one day the issue of East Timor is finished, then we are all finished...Contact with the outside world is very, very important... it gives us hope and some of us protection." "What can outsiders do to help?"

"More films please, more conferences, more letters...keep speaking, everyone must keep speaking about us."

In 1989, Bishop Belo sent a letter to the then UN secretary-general Perez de Cuellar, in which he appealed for help from the world. He received a reply only the other day - from the present incumbent in New York, Boutros-Boutros Ghali. He read it to me. "The United Nations is committed," wrote the UN chief, "to make every effort of a final, just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution."

"How do you feel about that?" I asked.

"At least" he said drily, "after five years I got a reply."

Although containing nothing new, the reply is part of the momentum that is building on East Timor. A UN human rights special rapporteur is on his way to East Timor for the first time - against a background of heightened public interest worldwide.

In May, the New Zealand Press Association reported that following the showing of

"Death of a Nation," the majority of the New Zealand Parliament demanded action on East Timor, and the Governor-General Dame Catherine Tizard, "took the rare step of voicing her concern."

In Ireland, East Timor is now something of a national issue; and the Foreign Minister, Dick Spring, has said he supports sanctions against Indonesia - the first EU minister, apart from the Portuguese, to break Europe's silence on the issue.

In Australia, the Keating Government, Jakarta's foremost friend in the West, nervously awaits the judgment in the Australian High Court and the World Court on the legality of its "Timor Gap treaty" with Indonesia. Signed in 1989, this allows foreign companies to exploit East Timor's huge oil and gas reserves. If the World Court finds against Australia, the Government will be obliged to disengage from one of the biggest commercial deals in Australian history. This will be especially damaging for Mr Keating and Senator Evans, whose foreign policy in Asia is based almost evangelically on a commercial "partnership" with its northern neighbour.

It is this "partnership," said Mr Keating, that "will stand as a model for cooperation between developed and developing countries." He described the "stability" of the Suharto regime as "the single most beneficial strategic development to have affected Australia and its region in the past 30 years." He did not make a single reference to human rights abuses by a regime that, according to Amnesty International, is unmatched in the world for its record of "casual mass murder".

Last week Mr Keating and senator Evans were able to observe this "model stability" for themselves. Hours before Mr Keating arrived in Jakarta on an official visit, riot police beat and tears-gassed hundreds of journalist, students and Human Right activists protesting against the banning of three magazines. Mr Keating reportedly spend much of the flight from Sydney attempting to find "discreet" words with which to react. The Prime Minister, said his aides, "Expressed his concern to President Soeharto privately and quietly". By ordering the closure of the magazine of the eve of Mr Keating's visit. Soeharto clearly indicated how little he cared about his guests "concern".

It was shortly after the signed the Timor Gap treaty that Senator Evans was asked about the legality and morality of recognising a territory acquired by force, as Australia has done over East Timor. He said: "The world is a pretty unfair place."

Bishop Belo and the people of East Timor would hardly disagree; the difference today is that their voice is being heard, mak-

ing change in an unfair world at last seem possible.

'Distant Voices', by John Pilger, revised and with a new centre-piece on East Timor, has just been published by Vintage Books.

"BISHOPS URGED TO EXPRESS SOLIDARITY"

IRISH CATHOLIC, 11 AUG.

THE EAST TIMOR IRELAND SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN HAVE CALLED ON THE IRISH BISHOPS TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR TAKING THE LEAD FROM THE US BISHOPS.

FOLLOWING THE PUBLICATION OF THE STATEMENT FROM THE US BISHOPS IN WHICH THEY SAY THAT EAST TIMOR SEEMS TO REPRESENT A FAR LESS THORNY PROBLEM THAT MANY OTHERS WHICH OUR WORLD HAS FACED AND THEREFORE CAN AND SHOULD BE SOLVED.

IN THEIR STATEMENT THE US BISHOPS EXPRESSED ADMIRATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR FOR THEIR BRAVERY, THEIR SUFFERING AND THEIR DETERMINATION TO PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE AGAINST OVERWHELMING ODDS.

"BUT", THE STATEMENT CONTINUED, "WE ALSO FEEL THE SPECIAL BOND WITH THEM FROM OUR SHARED CATHOLIC FAITH. THE CHURCH OF EAST TIMOR, LED BY BISHOP CARLOS XIMENES BELO, S.D.B. HAS BECOME A SOURCE OF HOPE AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR ALL THE PEOPLE".

IN CONCLUSION THE STATEMENT INVITED PEOPLE TO PRAY FOR THE WELL-BEING OF THE TIMORESE PEOPLE "THAT THEY AMY CONTINUE TO GROW IN THEIR RICH CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS, FREE OF OUTSIDE PRESSURES AND COERCION. AND WE EXPRESS FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY WITH BISHOP BELO AND ALL THE CHURCH OF DILI, ASKING GOD'S BLESSING ON THEIR MINISTRY TO THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR".

ENDORSEMENT OF BISHOP BELO'S OPEN LETTER ON DETERIORATING EAST TIMOR SITUATION

From JOSE RAMOS HORTA, CNRM Special Representative, 13 August 1994

The National Council of Maubere Resistance, CNRM, expresses its total support for the open letter recently issued by the Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Monsignor Belo. In his letter, the bishop denounces the deplorable- and worsening- human rights situation in the territory, calling for Indonesian troop withdrawals, and the holding of a self-determination referendum.

As the supreme organisation of the East Timorese nationalists struggling for self-determination and independence, CNRM is fully aware of the intolerably oppressive conditions the people of East Timor have had to endure since 1975 under the brutal and genocidal military occupation by Indonesia. Bishop Belo's latest statement is totally consistent with the grave accusations continuously made over the last 19 years by Resistance, Church, and international human rights bodies.

In this letter Bishop Belo's once again repeats his increasingly frequent calls for an end to Indonesian military occupation of East Timor, and its accompanying terror, injustice and murder. In a rare video interview just released, the bishop has also denounced the current Indonesian military campaign of deliberate provocation of religious conflict between Catholics and members of other religions. This new military strategy, again aimed at gaining the control of the East Timorese population which so far has eluded Indonesia, has led to further tensions, conflict and deaths. As is already evident, this irresponsible military policy only heightens the rejection of the Indonesian occupiers by the East Timorese people, adding further suffering and turmoil to the troubled territory.

It is indicative of Indonesia's ill-faith and lack of credibility that these new acts of aggression take place at the time Foreign Minister Alatas shamelessly postures to be seeking a confidence building process in the diplomatic arena, aimed, he pretends, at achieving an internationally acceptable solution to the problem.

CNRM welcomes Bishop Belo's call for a reduction in Indonesian military presence in East Timor, as the first step in a process culminating in a genuine act of self-determination. This is congruent with CNRM's Three Phase Peace Plan, advanced to assist the UN Secretary General's mandate to find a solution to the East Timor

conflict, and consistent with current UN and Portuguese approaches.

The CNRM Peace Plan envisages:

Phase One (one to two years): Indonesia-Portugal talks under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, with East Timorese participation, to achieve an end to armed activities in East Timor; release of political prisoners; reduction of Indonesian military personnel; removal of armaments; expansion of International Committee of the Red Cross activities; reduction of Indonesian civil servants; population census; access by UN Specialised Agencies for restoration and protection of the environment, resettlement, district development, women and children care and public health and immunisation; restoration of all basic human rights, removal of restrictions on Portuguese and Tetum languages; setting up of an independent Human Rights Commission; appointment of a UN Secretary General Resident Representative in East Timor.

Phase Two -autonomy- (five years): This is a transition stage of autonomy in which East Timorese would govern themselves democratically through their own local institutions. This would require: Democratic election of a local Assembly with a five-year mandate under UN supervision and assistance. Only East Timorese may vote and be elected; election of an East Timorese Governor for a five-year term by the Assembly; Assembly powers would include, among others, legislation concerning international trade relations, investment, property, and immigration; withdrawal of all Indonesian troops and further reduction in Indonesian civil servants; a UN-organised territorial police force, placed under the command of the Governor, the territory is to have no army. Phase two may be extended by mutual consent between Indonesia and the East Timorese population expressing its views through a referendum.

Phase Three -self-determination-: Covers preparation for a self-determination referendum, to be held within one year of the commencement of this phase, whereby the population may choose between free association or integration into Indonesia, or independence.

CNRM welcomes the availability of Bishop Belo, the highly respected leader of the East Timorese Church and the great majority of the East Timorese people, to make use of his position of political neutrality to act as a facilitator in a process of dialogue between the Indonesian authorities and Resistance members. The National Council of Maubere Resistance pledges its full support for any genuine initiative in this respect.

THREE TIMOR STUDENTS ARRESTED

Jakarta Post, 8 August 1994

Bobonaro, East Timor -- Governor Abilio Osorio Soares said security authorities arrested three local students for bringing in forbidden books and foreign items.

The East Timorese, who pursue their studies in Java, were arrested on their arrival in Dili at 2am Saturday in Dili, Abilio told The Jakarta Post after swearing in the new Bobonaro regent, Guilherme dos Santos.

The students, identified as Arsenio P. Bano, Barytolomeu Sexuira and Jose de Tafaes, were later released on Saturday but were requested to keep in touch with the authorities until they got back to Java.

He said the authorities confiscated unspecified books published by the Jakarta-based Pijar (Glow) Foundation and items imported from abroad.

Abilio, who said he was just informed of the incident by East Timor police chief Andreas Sugarto, declined to comment when asked why the books were banned in the province

PRESS FREEDOM, INDONESIAN STYLE

Editorial, The New York Times. August 13, 1994

President Suharto of Indonesia, now serving his sixth five-year term, spoke encouragingly on his re-election last year about the need for more "democratization." The country's bolder and livelier publications took him at his word, and for a brief, heady period there were actually articles on such forbidden topics as human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and who might succeed the aging President.

That wasn't what Mr. Suharto had in mind. A few weeks ago, two respected magazines and a popular tabloid were banned; closure threats were sent to various newspapers, their apparent offense being to report critically about a Government decision to spend \$1.1 billion on a fleet of decrepit East German warships.

When a magazine called Forum reported on this press crackdown, another sharp warning emanated from Director General Subrata of the Ministry of Information, explaining that Forum did not fully comprehend the meaning of press freedom in Indonesia. The inference is plain: Indonesia's press is free to guess what it can write about.

The press is certainly free to quote Mr. Suharto's call for more openness, but it should understand that the President does not really mean what he says. The spirit of

the situation is admirably caught by Ring Lardner's quote "'Shut up,' he explained."

All this is becoming a matter of more acute concern to the United States. In November, President Clinton is due to attend a meeting of Asian and Pacific leaders that President Suharto will host in Jakarta. It is hard to see how he can avoid referring to Indonesia's lawless 1975 invasion and subsequent annexation of East Timor, where war and privation have killed as many as 200,000 people, nearly a third of its former population. A new crackdown is under way, and Bishop Carlos Felipe Belo, the territory's Roman Catholic leader, told a press agency in July, "East Timor is like hell."

Dismayed by such reports, the U.S. Congress voted last month, with the support of the Clinton Administration, to ban the sale of small weapons, light arms and crowd-control equipment to Indonesia. This falls short of the wider ban urged by Senators Patrick Leahy of Vermont and Russell Feingold of Wisconsin, but it is the first time any such restrictions have been imposed on Indonesia, a major customer in the arms bazaar. The interesting question is how Mr. Clinton will deal with this come November, and whether the Indonesian press, or what's left of it, will be free to report what the President of the United States says on Indonesian soil.

PROTESTERS BEATEN, DETAINED, "DISAPPEARED"

Amnesty International Report, August 14
Introduction

Despite Indonesian Government assurances that the situation in East Timor is "normal", and that human rights problems have been resolved, tension between Indonesian security forces and the East Timorese has intensified in recent weeks. While the Indonesian Government has insisted upon its commitment to human rights principles, in practice anyone who expresses even the mildest criticism of Indonesian rule in East Timor is at risk of human rights abuse. Human rights investigation and monitoring, including that conducted by a United Nations (UN) observer in July, continues to be subject to heavy restrictions by the military; and East Timorese who approach UN representatives, or other foreign delegations, risk arbitrary arrest and torture. In recent months the Indonesian Government has also exerted pressure upon other Southeast Asian Governments to forbid conferences at which human rights in East Timor will be discussed.

Serious human rights violations, including beatings and arbitrary detention were reported after students organized a peaceful

protest demonstration on 14 July. Residents in Dili have reported that up to nine people have "disappeared" since the demonstration. Towards the end of July the military command in East Timor was reported to be searching for anyone suspected of organizing or participating in the demonstration. One student is said to have been publicly beaten and tortured. Students, church workers and other activists continue to be subjected to threats and intimidation by the military. Three other activists, and possibly many more were reportedly arrested for organizing a brief demonstration during a visit of the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, arbitrary and summary executions, also in July.

These developments confirm fears expressed by Amnesty International in its annual statement before the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization on 13 July.

The statement provided evidence of violations, including extrajudicial execution, "disappearance", torture and arbitrary arrest in the year following delivery of its July 1993 statement. Amnesty International deplores the recent beatings and torture of students and other pro-independence activists. It calls upon the Indonesian Government to act immediately to stop beatings and torture and to guarantee the safety of all detainees. It also calls again upon the government to ensure that no one is detained solely for the peaceful expression of their political views, including opposition to Indonesian rule.

Student protesters beaten, detained, "disappeared" on 14 July

Security forces violently broke up a demonstration at the University of East Timor (UNTIM) campus on 14 July 1994. Dozens of students were severely beaten by police and military authorities and some were seriously injured. Up to four people may have been killed although this has not been confirmed. Twenty two people, and possibly many more, were arrested during and after the demonstration. Restrictions on access to police and military detention centres by independent human rights monitors have rendered it impossible to determine the number, fate and whereabouts of those arrested and there is serious concern that detainees may be at risk of torture and that some have "disappeared". By 16 July, residents had reported that large numbers of people were visiting the offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) daily for news of friends or relatives who may have "disappeared".

The demonstration followed an incident which occurred at around 9am on 13 July. Three or four men, who may have been plainclothes military intelligence agents,

entered the UNTIM campus and insulted two Roman Catholic nuns, asking when they would "get pregnant" or "get married". Other students became angry and sought out the four men. A clash ensued in which one person may have been killed and three were seriously injured. After this incident, a large number of students gathered to plan a demonstration.

Military and civilian officials went to the campus to hold discussions with the students but were unable to disperse the crowd. Troops remained on campus overnight.

The following day, on 14 July, about 200 students attempted to march from the university to the regional parliament building (DPRD) in Dili. According to the official version of events the demonstrators began throwing stones and security forces moved in to prevent "security problems". Eyewitnesses stated that, on the contrary, the demonstration was largely peaceful and that the march was stopped less than 50 metres from its starting point. They reported that police and military moved in on the students, using shields and tear gas and indiscriminately beating the demonstrators with riot batons. On 17 July the Rectorate of the University of East Timor issued a statement which challenged the official account of the demonstration. It said, in part:

We were witness to, we saw, we were close to the event as it unfolded and were witness to the fact that the violence was not initiated by the demonstrators, that the injuries inflicted on the wounded were not only the result of stone-throwing but were more the result of the violence perpetrated by the security forces. Some stone throwing did indeed take place but those who did so have not been identified, nor is it clear who was throwing stones at whom.

The statement also said the most serious injuries were sustained by students who jumped over the fence surrounding the campus into the adjacent quarters of Company C of Battalion 744 of the armed forces, where they were beaten by soldiers.

One student organizer, 27-year-old Mateus Afonso, was reportedly captured on 23 July by soldiers from Indonesia's special forces command Kopassus. After admitting that he had organized the 14 July demonstration he and a colleague were publicly beaten.

Eyewitnesses, who have asked not to be named, said that the torture lasted for three hours. After the beating he was taken away by the soldiers and he has not been seen since. Harassment and intimidation since the demonstration has not been confined to the direct participants. Roman Catholic nuns in

the Manatuto area are said to have been shot at by soldiers. Staff members of East Timor's newspaper Suara Timor-Timur, have been intimidated and the staff car burned by Indonesian soldiers apparently because the paper reported the events of 13 and 14 July.

Official and military versions of the demonstration and its aftermath are directly contradicted by eyewitness testimony including that of the Rectorate of the University, highlighting yet again that official information about military actions in East Timor cannot be taken at face value. Following the demonstration a military spokesman in East Timor said that ten people had been detained for questioning and that eight others were being treated for injuries. Data at the police station in Dili reportedly indicated that 14 protesters had been injured and another 14 detained. Military and other officials in Dili categorically denied that anyone had been killed. On 18 July a military spokesman in Dili stated that 14 people were being held for questioning but that only four were students. He said the others were "outsiders" who had organized the protest and that one of them had a knife.

Information from independent sources indicates that these figures may be at best inaccurate and at worst seriously misleading. The problem of establishing exactly how many people were arrested has been compounded by the military and police practice of issuing separate and incomplete statements about total numbers of arrests. Residents and human rights activists have compiled the names of 22 people who were arrested during the demonstration who, by 25 July, were thought to be held either in police custody or at the military headquarters of Battalion 744. The whereabouts of nine more people are reportedly unknown and they may have "disappeared" while in police or military custody. By 24 July seven of the eight students admitted to the hospital were reported to have been discharged but the whereabouts of the eighth remained unknown.

UN Special Rapporteur visits Jakarta and East Timor

Earlier in July, three people were reported to have been arrested in connection with a visit to East Timor by the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, arbitrary and summary executions in July. Francisco Malak, Geronimo Comisari and Geronimo Etou apparently waited at various points along a route to be travelled by the Rapporteur and, as he passed, jumped forward briefly and unfurled pro-independence banners before retreating.

The three, from the Desa Kulu-Hun district of Dili, were arrested on 10 July. Their

current fate and whereabouts are unknown and there are serious fears for their safety.

The UN Special Rapporteur visited Jakarta and East Timor between 3 and 13 July 1994. Before leaving Jakarta he told the press that the UN Commission on Human Rights had considered insufficient the information provided so far by the government about the numbers of people killed or "disappeared" during and after the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor's capital, Dili. The Special Rapporteur told reporters that he had posed precise questions about what autopsies had been performed, who had conducted the official inquiry into the massacre, what methods had been used and what results had been obtained. A full report of the visit will be published before the 1995 session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, to be held in February and March.

Virtually all visits by foreign delegations to East Timor, illegally occupied by the Indonesian Government since 1975, have been accompanied by widespread reports of military intimidation, including death threats, beatings and arbitrary arrest, of real and suspected opponents of Indonesian rule. East Timorese who approach foreign visitors are liable to be taken into custody for questioning, and some have been tortured or tried unfairly and imprisoned.

Indonesian Government moves to forbid discussion of East Timor in Southeast Asia

In a separate development, the Government of Thailand "blacklisted" eleven East Timorese who planned to visit Bangkok to attend a human rights conference scheduled to coincide with a ministerial meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Governments from 19 to 25 July. A Thai Government representative said the ban was in line with the "ASEAN spirit" of not allowing one country to be used to discredit another. The Thai Government source said it had not been necessary for the Indonesian Government to object to the meeting because they did not want to face difficulties similar to those confronting the Philippines, where an East Timor conference took place in May and June. The Indonesian Government had exerted heavy pressure on the Philippine Government, threatening to withdraw its role as intermediary in peace talks between the Philippine Government and an armed Muslim opposition group, postponing a business conference and arresting Filipino fishermen who had strayed into Indonesian waters.

On 22 July the Thai authorities deported three foreign participants in the conference, including the media director for the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the umbrella organization for groups seeking

East Timorese independence. The following day, three other foreign participants were prevented by Thai security guards from reading and distributing a statement in the Bangkok hotel where the ASEAN meeting was being held. The statement, prepared by regional human rights activists, accused the Indonesian Government of stifling regional discussion on human rights violations, including extrajudicial execution, torture "disappearance" and detention without trial.

Amnesty International's 1994 statement to UN Special Committee on Decolonization

On 13 July Amnesty International delivered an oral statement before the UN Special Committee on Decolonization. In the year since Amnesty International last addressed the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, torture and ill-treatment have remained the centre-piece of a strategy for silencing real and suspected political opponents of Indonesian rule in East Timor, and for extracting political intelligence through intimidation and coercion. Extrajudicial executions have continued to be reported, while the fate of those killed or "disappeared" in the Santa Cruz massacre of November 1991, and in previous years, has yet to be clarified. Following a well-established pattern, hundreds of alleged political opponents have been arbitrarily detained within the past year, and at least 26 are currently serving terms of up to life imprisonment following unfair political trials.

Amnesty International's statement argued that, because of their silence and inaction in the past year, member states of the UN share responsibility with the Government of Indonesia for the continuing human rights problem in East Timor. In 1994 the weakness of the international posture toward Indonesia was epitomized by a Consensus Statement read by the Chair of the UN Commission on Human Rights in March of 1994. Despite the fact that the Indonesian Government had failed utterly to implement any of the concrete recommendations made in previous resolutions - in particular the Commission's 1993 resolution - the Consensus statement praised the government for unspecified "positive measures" it had taken toward the protection of human rights. The dangers inherent in such a weak statement have been grimly illustrated by evidence of continuing human rights violations in the past year. Far from encouraging the Indonesian authorities to improve their human rights practice - as some government claimed it would do - the Consensus statement appears only to have encouraged them to preserve the status quo.

Despite its stated commitment to the protection of human rights, the Indonesian Government has done little to investigate

past violations, and has failed to take significant measures to prevent their future occurrence. Military authorities continue to dominate the government and to operate with considerable autonomy in East Timor, with scant regard to human rights concerns. With rare exceptions, the perpetrators of human rights crimes have not been brought to justice. Finally, notwithstanding repeated government claims of increased openness, access to the territory remains restricted and some international human rights organizations - including Amnesty International - continue to be denied access to the territory altogether.

APPENDIX

People detained during or after 14 July demonstration at University of East Timor
Held at police station or Battalion 744.
Agustino da Costa Mendonsa, Becora*
Alberto Jesus, Becora
Augusto, Beto
Carlito Mascarenhas, Balide**
Cristov da Jesus, Aituri Laran
Domingos Conceição, Balide
Edmundo dos Reis, Bairro Pite
Edmundo da Cruz, Hospital
Francisco Martins, Bairro Pite**
Francisco Jesus, Beto
Gomes Gonsalves, Becora
Jaime Hamjam, Bairro Pite
Joanico Pereira, Becora
Justino de Jesus, Taibesse
Manuel Expósito, Beto
Manuel Abilio Beto
Maria da Costa Ximenes, Aituri Laran
Martinho Pereira, Balide
Mateus Alves, Balide
Sabino Mendonsa, Aituri Laran
Saturnino Alves, Quintal Bot
* District of origin.

** May have been taken to Military Hospital at Wirahusada and subsequently discharged.

"Disappeared", during or after 14 July demonstration at University of East Timor
Ana Bela Guterres, Taibesse
Aniceto das Neves, Taibesse
Antonio Fernandes, Aituri Laran
Antonio Neves, Aituri Laran
Cipriano Oliveira, Aituri Laran
Francisco Leão, Aituri Laran
Francisco de Jesus, Aituri Laran
Manuel Sarmento, Aituri Laran
Mateus Afonso, Desa Kulu-hun
Osorio Florindo, Aituri Laran
Arrested, possibly "disappeared" on 10 July in connection with visit by UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, arbitrary and summary executions

Francisco Malac
Geronimo Comisari
Geronimo Etnou

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS: Please send airmail letters in English or your own language:

The 14 July demonstration

Expressing concern about recent reports of beatings, arbitrary detention and "disappearance" in East Timor during and after the 14 July demonstration.

[Please list the names of those arrested and "disappeared"].

Urging the Indonesian Government to take immediate steps to clarify the names and numbers of all those arrested during and after the 14 July demonstration at UNTIM, Dili, and the places where they are held.

Urging the government to allow detainees immediate access to lawyers, doctors, relatives and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

The UN Special Rapporteur's visit

Expressing concern for the safety of the three people [please list names] who are reported to have been arrested for unfurling pro-independence banners during the visit of the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions.

Urging the authorities to clarify their current whereabouts.

Noting with regret that East Timorese appear to have been detained for approaching the UN Special Rapporteur and expressing their views about the future political status of East Timor.

Noting also that the Special Rapporteur visited East Timor following a 1993 resolution by the UN Commission on Human Rights; and that the resolution had condemned human rights violations in East Timor.

General

Urging the government to immediately release all those detained solely for the peaceful expression of their political views, including those for independence from Indonesian rule in East Timor.

APPEALS TO:

1. Abilio Jose Osorio Soares [Governor of East Timor] Gubernur KDH 1 Timor Timur Jl. Inpantai D. Hendrikue Dili East Timor (Indonesia)
2. Brig-Gen R. Adang Ruchiatna [Military Commander for region covering Pangdam IX/Udayana East Timor] Markas Besar Kodam IX Udayana Denpasar Bali Indonesia
3. Colonel Johny Lumintang [Military Commander, East Timor] Markas KOREM 164/Wiradharma Dili East Timor (Indonesia)

COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:
Gen. Edi Sudrajat [Minister of Defence and Security] Menteri Pertahanan dan keamanan Jalan Medan Merdeka Barat No. 13-14 Jakarta 10110 Indonesia

Lt.Gen. (Ret.) Ali Said Chair, Komnas HAM [National Commission on Human Rights] c/o Direktorat Jenderal Pemasyarakatan Jl. Veteran No. 11 Jakarta Pusat Indonesia

Rights] c/o Direktorat Jenderal Pemasyarakatan Jl. Veteran No. 11 Jakarta Pusat Indonesia

WINDOWS TO THE WORLD: FOREIGN AID HELPS FLOW OF INFORMATION ON TIMOR

By Margot Cohen in Jakarta. Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 August 1994

Nearly two decades of isolation may be drawing to a close for East Timor, Indonesia's youngest and most embittered province. A surge of foreign aid and community-based activity by non-government organizations (NGOs) looks likely to promote broader contact between the outside world and the people of Timor, contact long inhibited by a thicket of military surveillance. The results of this quiet change may reverberate long after the clamour over the disputed Timorese rights conference in Manila in June and the Bangkok gathering in late July dies down.

Like much else in East Timor, however, the political ramifications of this new aid are subject to broad interpretation. Jakarta sees the aid as an "endorsement by other governments that development in East Timor is going in the right direction," says Irawan Abidin, the director for information at the Department of Foreign Affairs. "If overseas organisations have sympathy in providing assistance, it reflects ever-increasing confidence in the state of affairs on the island."

Yet many aid providers see their task as encouraging initiatives from the bottom up, as opposed to the top-down development strategy pursued by the government. "Part of our interests in East Timor is that the Timorese have more control over their own destiny," the United States ambassador, Robert Barry, told the REVIEW. "To the degree that the Timorese have more of a role in the economy...and a larger role in society, this serves their interests and our interests as well." The U.S. recognises Indonesia's 1976 "incorporation" of East Timor --- though "without maintaining that a valid act of self-determination has taken place."

The respective goals of Jakarta and the donor community have led to a new climate of cooperation. Within the context of shifting aid priorities to the eastern part of the archipelago, the Indonesian Government has moved to ease restrictions on travel and facilitate bureaucratic approval of projects in East Timor, according to REVIEW sources.

The warmer welcome extended toward NGO activity in East Timor also reflects a nationwide trend. Whether it's the environment, Aids, or population control, the New Order bureaucracy has begun to shed its

long-standing distrust of NGOs in the realisation that these groups often have the skills and funds to work in hard-to-reach communities. There has also been a shift in perspective in NGO circles. While anti-integration groups have long lobbied against aid activity in East Timor, labelling it *de facto* collaboration with the Suharto government, there is fresh interest in networking on the ground.

All the parties concerned recognise the urgent needs in East Timor. While the Indonesian Government points proudly at the resources poured into roads, bridges, and schools, the development of physical infrastructure has far outpaced gains in social welfare.

In a province where more than 90 percent of the population resides in rural areas, only a quarter of the children are considered well-nourished, in contrast to more than 50 percent nationwide, according to government statistics. The infant mortality rate for male babies is a staggering 107 per 1,000, compared to a national average of 74. More than 300 Timorese villages are included in the government's new anti-poverty programme, known as *Inpres Desa Tertinggal*.

At the urging of Ambassador Barry, who arrived in Indonesia in August 1992 and is now preparing for his third trip to the province, the U.S. has been a key player in generating increased activity in East Timor. The U.S. aid budget for the province quadrupled between 1993 and 1994, with an estimated US\$4.1 million committed for 1994 and US\$4.5 million projected for next year.

In addition to what goes directly to Timor-based groups and Catholic church-run charities, U.S. funds are also flowing through the Asia Foundation and Bina Swadaya, a large Indonesian NGO based in Jakarta, which established a five-member office in Dili last January. Proposals from the relief organisation CARE International Indonesia and other international groups are pending.

Meanwhile, Australia has boosted its aid expenditures in the province to A\$3.2 million (US\$2.4 million) for 1993-94, up from A\$2.21 million last year, along with A\$1.5 million for a separate veterinary services project. The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, a foundation funded by Germany's Christian Democratic Party, is providing support, as is UNICEF. And the International Committee of the Red Cross is involved in village-based water projects.

The flow of aid promises a freer flow of information. "Having people travel down there is useful in a lot of ways," comments Barry. "[It] provides us with first-hand views." Irawan says that the government is comfortable with prospect of more outsiders circulating in the countryside as long as

there is proper coordination with local officials.

Yet East Timor's ability to absorb aid remains extremely limited. Part of the problem lies in the management skills of the predominantly Javanese officials relegated to this perceived hardship post. And while many outside groups say they prefer to work through local NGOs rather than the provincial government, there is only one full-fledged Timorese NGO, called Etadep, now in operation. This vacuum is largely the result of government fears that community-based groups would act as fronts for separatist activity. To fill the void, donors have turned to the resilient, far-flung Catholic Church network.

Etadep director Florentino Sarmento says that his group, which focuses on water and agricultural projects, has been approached by no less than 20 donor agencies. While he welcomes the growing interest in easing poverty in East Timor, he expresses concern over the stampede.

"All of this money is creating a new dependency," Sarmento says. "There is no strategy for empowerment, which would mean eventually tapering off funds from the outside." Sarmento also admits to pessimism over the prospects for expanding grass-roots activities in the province. "In this atmosphere of complete uncertainty, people live in fear. How can they participate? This is the paradox."

EAST TIMOR: THE ANGER THAT WILL NOT GO AWAY

By James Dunn, Melbourne Age, 11 August

Despite Prime Minister Keating's insistence that East Timor is an issue of the past, it keeps on resurfacing with surprising vigour. The recent crackdown by security forces on a small, peaceful demonstration in Dili, and the subsequent emotional appeal by Timorese Bishop Carlos Belo, has led to appeals to the Federal Government to act in support of the human rights of the Timorese. These included an appeal from Australia's Catholic primate, Cardinal Clancy, as well as from other bishops and church leaders.

But is the Keating Government capable of changing a policy which has now been around, with little change, for almost twenty years? The latest incident is yet another reminder of the oppressive and unpopular nature of Indonesia's administration of East Timor but Government responses so far have probably done more to stiffen Jakarta's resistance to international pressure for a fundamental change of the territory's status, than to redress human rights violations. This week our Defence Minister, Senator Ray, is

in Jakarta for talks on closer defence cooperation, including the participation of an Indonesian military contingent in forthcoming joint exercises. The very notion that the killers of tens of thousands of Timorese, a military whose main function is domestic political control, will be given an opportunity to improve further their combat skills, has affronted many Australians. Senator Ray has merely shrugged off the protests, countering insensitively with the extraordinary statement that Indonesia's human rights performance had improved "immensely". But there are signs that Foreign Minister Gareth Evans may be more concerned at the durability of a policy which has done more to shield the Suharto regime from criticism than improve the lot of the East Timorese.

It is hard to be optimistic about the prospects of changing a policy that has led Australia into a kind of complicity in relation to Indonesia's incorporation of the former Portuguese colony. Of course "quiet diplomacy" has been used over the past 20 years but, in the light of what happened to the Timorese during that time, the results of that dubious technique speak for themselves. Australian governments gambled on the Timorese eventually surrendering to the reality of integration, on the basis of accelerated economic and social development of the province. Fretilin's armed resistance would eventually collapse and East Timor would disappear from the UN agenda.

Things have not turned out that way. The armed resistance may no longer amount to much, but popular opposition to integration has increased in momentum, aided by a slight easing of political repression. Internationally, interest in East Timor's plight has expanded over the past couple of years, spurred on by other events, highlighting the absolute unacceptability of aggression and territorial annexation. In the United Nations, East Timor is now the biggest problem before the UN's Decolonisation Committee. Bishop Belo has himself appealed for UN intervention, and has described political conditions for the Timorese as nightmarish. International support for the Timorese has widened, with parliamentary and NGO support in North America, Europe, Latin America, Japan and even in Southeast Asia.

If we really want this issue resolved it is time for something more robust than quiet diplomacy.

First, we need to change the framework, acknowledging that our own guilt as an accomplice, if unwittingly, to the rape of East Timor. We need to move away from the military, whose dominant role is not in our interests. Only with its decline will there likely to be a basic change in East Timor.

Second, the Government must accept that the annexation of East Timor will not go away until the concerns of the Timorese themselves have been properly addressed, and on that basis we should be urging the Indonesians to agree to open negotiations. The issue simply cannot be resolved by disregarding the right to self-determination, which as a matter of international legal principle, continues to exist until it has been exercised.

Third, we need to accept that these people have been deeply antagonised by their past treatment, and see themselves not as part of Indonesia, but as being ruled by another colonial power.

Fourth, we should end our apologist role, i.e., cease responding defensively in relation to human rights violations.

Fifth, let's end the distasteful practice of blaming the Portuguese, by distorting events of the past, in order to put Indonesia's position in the best light.

Sixth, we should encourage the idea of internationalising the Timor problem, with UN observers deployed in the territory until its future is resolved. We should be promoting the notion of reappraisal and change, and stop using that word "irreversible", the wishful thinking of the integrationists.

One final word for Senator Ray: the more we pander to the military, who have killed hundreds of thousands of people in the past 30 years in defence of their oppressive state, the harder it will be for Indonesia's growing democracy movement to achieve its goal, which is the only durable basis for a meaningful relationship.

DILI TROOPS BEAT STUDENTS PROTESTERS

From: geni@nusa.or.id (Yayasan GENI Salatiga), August 15

Indonesia security forces today attacked and beat student protesters in the East Timorese capital of Dili, injuring dozens of people, some of them seriously.

The violence was the worst since soldiers killed scores of demonstrators at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery in 1992.

However, the International Committee of the Red Cross as well as the Dili General Hospital said no one was killed in today's incident, contradicting an earlier Associated Press then three students had died. A Red Cross officials said dozens of people were injured, some of them seriously, but 'nobody was killed'.

Residents told journalists that police and soldiers wearing riot gear and wielding batons flailed into a crowd of about 500 near the local university.

The AP report quoted Mr Da Costa Bello of the ETADep Foundations, whose aim is to improve the standard of living of Timorese, as saying that "three students were killed on the spot" and at least 30 hurt. He also said more than 60 were arrested.

A military spokesman, Major Laedan Simbolon, said from Dili that two students were injured and 10 detained before the students dispersed after prayers.

Tensions have been rising in Dili since two Indonesian soldiers committed acts of sacrilege at a Catholic Church on 28 June. The incident tapped anti-Muslim sentiment among the predominantly Catholic Timorese population, many of whom oppose Indonesian rule of the former Portuguese colony.

A protest leader, Mr. Armindo Mayo, vice-president of the university of Timor Timor, said the protesters wanted to march from the university to Parliament to meet MPs to plead for freedom of religion in East Timor. He said the protesters wanted to demand action against the soldiers who committed the sacrilege.

Resident said that dozens of students panicked and run when the security forces moved to stop the march only 50 metres from where it started.

One university lecturer said he saw students beaten with batons and taken away.

Reuter reported one unnamed resident as saying: "It has been very tense in the past two weeks, and it just got worse today."

Resident said the demonstrations followed an incident on the campus yesterday in which a group of Muslim students of Javanese origin were accused by Catholic students of having offended two nuns who were taking an entrance exam.

The 'Voice of East Timor' newspaper reported today that three of the Muslim were beaten and had to be treated in hospital.

On Monday, about 300 East Timorese peacefully marched to the Governor's office to protest against the church incident in which two soldiers pretended to be Christians, asked for Communion but then stamped on Communion wafers.

After what was described by Indonesian officials as a minor confrontation with police, the protesters were allowed to meet with the Vice-Governor, Brigadier-General Johanes Haribowo.

But today the security forces were under apparent orders not to let another march proceed. Soldiers and police surrounded the campus for several hours. Inside, several hundred students shouted protest slogans, including demand for a separated states.

The trouble erupted only days after a special United Nations rapporteur visited East Timor to investigate claims of extrajudicial and arbitrary executions. The rapporteur, Mr. Bruce Waly Ndiaye, will not

make his assessment public for three months

INTELLIGENCE: PEACEKEEPER'S NEW ROLE

Far Eastern Economic Review, 4 August 1994

A former battalion commander [unnamed] with the United Nations peacekeeping force in Cambodia is believed to be the replacement for East Timor military commander Col. Jhony Lumintang, who is expected to be promoted to chief of staff of the Bali-based 9th Military Region. Lumintang gets high marks for his performance in the troubled province, but diplomats say they are pleased with the credentials of the officer they have been told will replace him.

ABRI RESHUFFLES CHIEFS OF STRATEGIC COMMANDS

Jakarta Post. 13 August 1994. One paragraph only.

Col Johny Lumintang, the current chief of Wira Dharma military regiment in East Timor, will be re-assigned as commander of Kostrad's First Infantry Division. The ABRI statement did not say who will fill the position in East Timor

A number of senior ABRI officers rotated

Kompas, 13 August 1994. Translated from Indonesian. Abridged

The following ABRI senior officer rotations have been announced:

Name Was Becomes

1. Maj-Gen Pranowo Bkt Barisan (N Sum) Ast Kassospol in HQ
2. Brig-Gen Arie Kumaat Ast Chief BIA Bkt Barisan

3. Maj-Gen Syamsir Siregar Sriwijaya (S Sum) Ast Intel Kasum HQ

4. Maj-Gen Yunus Yusufian Infantry Weapons Sriwijaya

5. Maj-Gen Arie Sudewo Ast Intel Kasum HQ ?

6. Brig-Gen Arifin Tarigan Waasops KASAD Infantry Weapons

7. Maj-Gen Tarub Trikora (Irian) Kostrad chief

8. Maj-Gen Kuntara Kostrad chief ?

9. Brig-Gen Ketut Wirdhana Irops Itjen HQ Trikora

10. Brig-Gen Agum Gumelar Kopassus chief Ast Bkt Barisan

11. Brig-Gen Subagyo Hari Siswoyo Kadispamsanad Kopassus chief
12. Col Johnny Lumintang Korem East Timor Kostrad Div I

The item goes on to give detailed career histories for all the men.

Remark: Of most general interest are the rotations in (strike bound) North Sumatra, Irian Jaya, and East Timor. No replacement for Lumintang in East Timor has been announced. The list differs substantially from that in FEER of 18/8, which predicted Col Sutyoso for Kopassus chief, Prabowo for his deputy. Lumintang was predicted to move onto to Udayana command (Bali). The move for Agum Gumelar is regarded as a demotion [perhaps for his role in the PDI affair earlier this year?]. GvK.

TIMOR IN POP CULTURE

East Timor is creeping into the popular culture.

In the new movie 'Clear and Present Danger' from the Tom Clancy novel includes 2 passing references to East Timor.

A TV news report refers to a 'rebel' takeover of a radio station in Dili. And later the President's national security advisor tells the president that the situation in East Timor is calm.

The plot by the way concerns drugs lords and illegal US troops in Central America.

John Miller, ETAN/US

UPDATE ON TIMOR GAP CHALLENGE IN HIGH COURT

SBS TV News, 7 August 1994.

READER: A member of Australia's East Timorese community will take the Australian government to the High Court next week to challenge on constitutional grounds a deal between Australia and Indonesia over the Timor Gap. The Treaty divides oil deposits in the Timor sea between the two countries. But the East Timorese say it is unconstitutional and a breach of international law.

MATHEW CARNEY: When Indonesia and Australia finalised the Timor Gap Treaty in 1989 it settled a 10-year stand-off of mineral rights in the seabed between Australia and Timor. The area could contain up to a billion barrels of oil and the Treaty means that Indonesia and Australia will take an equal cut from the most perspective area. Jose Ramos Horta says the potential profits were one of the reasons for Australia's acceptance of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

JRH: The best alternative option left for us and in which we have enormous hope is the Australian judicial system, the Australian legal system, which has shown to be independent with integrity.

MC: The groups' lawyer, the same team that won the historic Mabo case will argue that because the United Nations and most of

the international community do not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor that the Treaty is unconstitutional and a breach of international law.

PROFESSOR GARTH NETTHEIM: This would be politically embarrassing to Australia, it will be a decision by the highest court of the country, that Australia was in breach of international law in entering into that Treaty relationship.

MC: The case has been dubbed East Timor's Mabo. The political ramifications for Australia's foreign policy so great that the Government lawyers will argue the High Court should not consider the matter.

BISHOP CALLS FOR POLL ON EAST TIMOR

Sydney Morning Herald, 11 August 1994

JAKARTA, Thursday: East Timor's Roman Catholic bishop has scathingly attacked Indonesia for alleged killings, torture and arbitrary arrests in the former Portuguese colony and wants a public referendum to decide its future.

Bishop Carlo Belo said in an open letter that Indonesia should reduce its military presence and hold talks with those fighting for self-rule. Indonesia annexed East Timor 18 years ago with a bloody invasion.

The letter, signed by Bishop Belo and bearing the diocesan seal, had been widely circulated in East Timor, residents said. A copy was sent to the Vatican diplomatic mission in Jakarta.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr Irawan Abidin said in Jakarta that he regretted Bishop Belo's remarks and dismissed them as allegations.

"There is nothing new in what he is saying", Mr Abidin said. "We cannot turn the clock back. East Timor was made part of Indonesia in accordance with all the rules."

Bishop Belo's attack came after troops used tear gas and sticks to break up a demonstration in East Timor's capital, Dili, last month when hundreds of protesters marched to the local Parliament building after two nuns were insulted by four men.

Bishop Belo said in the letter that the Church was concerned over the worsening religious and cultural conditions.

He said that holding a public referendum in East Timor, where most of the 750,000 residents are Catholic, was the democratic way to accommodate the people's aspirations.

"However, if there are questions over the holding of a referendum, including worries over possible bloodshed among East Timorese, the Church suggests Indonesia, as the occupying force, grant East Timor greater autonomy", he said. - Reuter

URGENT ACTION: SBSI LEADER ARRESTED

TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Urgent Action today 15 August 1994:

MOCHTAR PAKPAHAN, SBSI LEADER, ARRESTED, LIKELY TO GO ON TRIAL IN MEDAN

The General Chairman of the **INDONESIAN WELFARE TRADE UNION (SBSI)**, Mochtar Pakpahan, was arrested in Jakarta Saturday, 13 August 1994 and taken to Medan, North Sumatra. He was taken from his home at 7am by a unit of twenty police officers from Medan led by the Medan police criminal investigation bureau chief, Major Feisal.

The arrest followed two long interrogation sessions when Medan police subjected the union leader to tough questioning in June. SBSI spokesperson Tohap Simanungkalit told the press in Jakarta on Saturday that Pakpahan is likely to be charged and tried for 'masterminding' the workers' actions in Medan in April when tens of thousands of workers took to the streets in the North Sumatra capital to demand substantial wage increases and freedom of association. They were also calling for an investigation into the death of a worker named Rusli, whose body was found in a river after a workers' rally in Medan in March.

All the leaders of the Medan branch of the SBSI were arrested after the April demonstrations and have been subjected to intensive interrogation ever since. The use of violence during interrogation is routine.

The Medan protests turned into ethnic riots instigated by outside elements; Chinese-owned property was attacked and during the course of these riots, a Chinese factory-owner was killed. The local army and police have sought to pin the blame for these riots on the SBSI. In response Pakpahan has insisted that the union and local NGOs were certainly responsible for the workers protest action but had no hand in the violence which subsequently occurred.

The Medan union leaders now under arrest are:

Amosi Telaumbanua, branch chairperson, held since 29 April
Fatiwando Zega, deputy secretary, held since 29 April
Hayati, 21, treasurer, held since 16 April
Soniman Laao, vice-chairperson, held since 29 April
Riswan Lubis, secretary, held since 15 April.

Three local NGO activists also involved in the workers' action are also under arrest:

Jannes Hutahean, arrested in Jakarta on 13 June
Parlin Manihuruk, also arrested in Jakarta on 13 June
Maiyasyak Johan, human rights lawyer

The first of the union and NGO activists to go on trial is Riswan Lubis whose trial began in Medan at the end of July. He is being tried for 'incitement' under Article 160 of the Criminal Code and faces a maximum penalty of six years. Colleagues who saw him at the Medan police station a few days after his arrest on 15 April say that he had obviously been beaten by his captors.

Pakpahan, the prime target

The security authorities have been looking for grounds to arrest and try Pakpahan since February this year when the SBSI issued a call for a one-hour nationwide strike calling for better pay and freedom of association. Days before the strike was due to take place, Pakpahan and other central SBSI leaders were arrested in Central Java and interrogated for having held an 'illegal meeting' with local SBSI activists. They were held until after the day on which the strike had been called.

Decapitating the SBSI

The clampdown on SBSI leaders in Medan and now the arrest of its General Chairperson is clearly aimed at decapitating the union and thereby forcing it out of existence. The union was set up in April 1992 challenging the regime's insistence that only one trade union can be allowed. The government-backed SPSI has never supported workers' rights and sides with the bosses in most labour disputes.

All efforts by the SBSI to seek formal recognition from the government have been ignored. In April this year, the Interior Ministry declared that the SBSI was a 'banned organisation' but took no follow-up action. Officials apparently saw the folly of banning an organisation which they had never recognised as existing.

With the round-up and imprisonment of union leaders, the authorities may hope that the SBSI will wither away. The SBSI has been most successful in building support in Medan which explains why union leaders there have become the target.

KINDLY CALL ON THE AUTHORITIES:

I. to release Mochtar Pakpahan as well as all the SBSI leaders and NGO activists in Medan; ii. to allow freedom of association for workers and to stop preventing the SBSI from carrying out legitimate activities in defence of workers rights.

ADDRESS YOUR FAXES OR CABLES TO:

President Suharto, Istana Negara, Jalan Veteran, Central Jakarta Fax: c/o Foreign Ministry +62-21 36 7782

Colonel (Pol) Drs Chairuddin Ismail, Chief of Medan Police Jalan Durian, Medan, North Sumatra

Major-General A Pranowo, Military Commander of North Sumatra, Jalan Binjai, Medan, North Sumatra

COPIES OF YOUR FAXES OR CABLES, PLEASE, TO:

SBSI, Jalan Kayu Ramin 32, Utan Kayu Utara, Jakarta Timur 13120 Fax: +62-21 489 8465

TAPOL would also appreciate being kept informed.

SUHARTO IS SITTING ON A TIMORESE POWDER KEG

The Observer (London), August 14/94. By Hugh O'Shaughnessy. slightly abridged

East Timor is stumbling once more towards tragedy. Two and a half years after the bloody massacre at the city's Santa Cruz cemetery, when Indonesian occupying forces killed hundreds of unarmed demonstrators, the tension is palpable in the streets of this scruffy little city.

The Timorese are increasingly maddened as they see the Indonesians routinely violating their basic rights, giving their ancestral lands to a flood of immigrants and obliterating their deep-rooted culture.

"One spark and there could be an almighty explosion here," says Jean-Claude, a European and aid worker. "The Timorese have no weapons to speak of, but that wouldn't stop them expressing with their bare hands their fury at the occupying forces."

The fury is building even as the security forces have started to moderate their measures. "They're still electrocuting prisoners but for shorter periods. And they're not using razor blades on human flesh as they did once," Jean-Claude adds.

But 18 years of occupation has become too much for the people of this former Portuguese colony.

One thing is agreed by Timorese, open-minded Indonesians and foreign aid workers alike; unless the occupying forces lighten the burden of their presence the native population will rise up.

Despite every effort by the regime of General Suharto in Jakarta, the occupation forces have failed in their attempts to mix 600,000 Timorese into the ocean of 190 million Indonesians next door.

"The Indonesians say they have spent billions of rupiah here. But we don't want their money. We want to be our own people -- even if this means we stay poor," said Paulo, a Timorese intellectual. "Enough of this slavery!"

The triumphal arches of plywood erected last month all over Dili to celebrate the anniversary of Indonesia's purported annexation of East Timor in 1976 are quietly being

taken down but some banners and flags still hang listlessly over the dusty streets. In the harbour three smartly-painted grey naval landing craft and a gunboat are moored.

The ships and the mass of troops patrolling the city's streets in their neat khaki uniforms and with their British equipment are on hand to emphasise that, despite the lingering Timorese guerrilla movement, Gen Suharto still wields the mailed fist.

The locals are no in mood to celebrate 1976 and the beginning of their national martyrdom. The Timorese are particularly alarmed at the rising flood of foreign immigration.

For years the Jakarta regime has been drafting Indonesians into their land with the dual aim of reducing pressure in densely populated islands such as Java and Bali and thus diluting the Timorese resistance. "Not a week goes by without one or two ships arriving with hundreds of settlers," says a Timorese named Juliao.

Driving for miles through villages and paddy fields, another Timorese, Celso, exclaims, "Look, they're Javanese there. And there. More over there. They're everywhere. Like a plague."

Culturally, the Timorese have little in common with the people of Java, the Indonesian heartland. The teaching of Portuguese, East Timor's link to the outside world, has been replaced by Indonesian Bahasa. As a reaction the Timorese, speaking 30 different tongues, have adopted one, Tetum, as their lingua franca.

Unlike the Indonesians, most Timorese are Catholic. This year religious differences have become a running sore, despite the fact that, officially, Indonesia is a multi-faith and not a Muslim state.

Bishop Carlos Felipe Belo, leader of East Timor's Catholics and strongly tipped for the Nobel Peace Prize, has been preaching restraint to his flock, but even he has been increasingly critical in public of Indonesian action.

"If it weren't for Belo's efforts there would have been an explosion long ago," says Paulo.

So far there have only been small explosions. Last month villagers in Remexio beat up two Indonesians who spat at villagers queuing for Communion. A few days later there was more trouble at the university.

The Timorese students are in a fretful mood. This marks a change. During previous visits to East Timor, talk kept returning to the possibility of success for the Falintil guerrilla movement waging a brave but lonely war against the invaders. With their leader Xanana Gusmão jailed in Jakarta, the guerrillas are now not the only symbol of resistance.

Indonesia's effort to make education more widely available in Timor is rebounding on it by producing a crop of young people who are very aware of Indonesia's political games. "A new generation of politically-conscious young men and women is growing up here. They're beginning to co-ordinate with Indonesians in Java who don't like Suharto and what he's doing in their name in Timor," said Paulo.

"There is a broadly-based and well-educated civilian resistance growing up," said another. "Timorese opposed to the occupation no longer have to choose between joining the guerrillas or going into exile. They are being quietly and effectively active here."

The occupying forces are living to rue the day they brought higher education to East Timor. But it is too late for them to do anything about that now.

SIDEBAR: HOW THE INDONESIANS THREW ME OUT

"Who have you been speaking to?" said the captain peremptorily.

"Friends," I answered.

It was 7 am at the Mahkota Hotel, a run-down place with a loud karaoke that stands near the jetty in Dili where in 1975 the Indonesian invasion forces executed 20 Timorese women with babies in their arms.

The captain -- he never told me his name -- worked at Korem, the military headquarters in Dili, and was aghast that a journalist had been in East Timor without the Indonesian permit that allows local officials to make their usual preparations to accompany or shadow him or her.

After a day of consultations, it was clear I would not be able to stay and work. The captain demanded to know how I was leaving.

"A friend is giving me a lift out of Dili by road," I said. The next day the captain accompanied me to my friend Hilario's jeep and scowled when he found that he was a Timorese. He took the registration number.

"I shall be checking up on you," he said as we drove away.

I will be checking up on Hilario in occupied East Timor.

HIGH COURT CHALLENGE TO TIMOR GAP TREATY

By Jon Land, Green Left, August 15

A High Court hearing on the legality of the Timor Gap Treaty took place in Canberra on August 9-10. If successful, the outcome will have a major impact on Australia's relations with Indonesia and the East Timorese' struggle for independence.

Plaintiffs for the case, Jose Ramos Horta, Jose Gusmão and Abel Guterres from the

National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), submitted the challenge in June 1993. They contest that Australia's signing of the Timor Gap Treaty with Indonesia contravenes international law and the constitutional obligation of Australia to abide by such laws. They also argue that, in signing the treaty, the government had gone beyond the range of its external affairs power. The United Nations does not recognise the Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

"[The Australian government] claim they acted on the basis of the federal government's external powers to enter into treaties with other countries, and that since Australia had recognised East Timor as part of Indonesia, it was not violating international obligations," Horta told Green Left

"Our councillors are arguing that this treaty is illegal - that the Australian government has no right to enter into a treaty which is in violation of these international obligations.

"If the court was to rule in our favour, it will throw into question the Australia's foreign policy in relation to Indonesia and East Timor. Australia would have to de-recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor." Horta said that regardless of the outcome, "the High Court challenge will help the people of Australia understand the nature of the problem of East Timor and Australia's involvement".

On the first day of the hearing, the legal representative for the challenge, Ron Casson QC, told the court that "the purpose of the external affairs power is for Australia to engage in international relations as a lawful and legitimate player on the international stage, not as an international outlaw".

The federal government has called for the challenge to be scrapped. Gavan Smith QC, the federal solicitor general, argued that Australia's foreign policy could only be decided by the government of the day, and that the courts were not the place to determine whether any part of foreign policy contravened international law.

A final decision from the High Court on the validity of the case may not be reached until April next year. Portugal began proceedings in the International Court of Jurists in February 1991 against Australia over the Timor Gap Treaty (Indonesia does not accept ICJ jurisdiction) which will pass judgment in early 1995.

East Timor solidarity groups are stepping up their campaign in support of independence for East Timor and against the growing military ties between Australia and Indonesia. Wendy Robertson, spokesperson for the radical youth group Resistance said that "more and more people, especially young people, are demanding that the Australian government stop supporting Indone-

sia's illegal and violent occupation of East Timor".

CAMPAIGN TO REVOKE TIMOR GAP TREATY LAUNCHED

By Alex Bainbridge, Green Left, August 15

MELBOURNE - A national petition campaign calling on the Australian government to revoke the Timor Gap Oil Treaty was launched here on August 9. This campaign coincides with a High Court challenge to the Commonwealth government over the validity of the Treaty.

Petroz NL, in association with BHP, is preparing to drill for oil in the Timorese seabed. This has been made possible by Australia's signing of the Treaty. Timorese activists are claiming that not only are these actions by Australia unjust, they are also illegal. Australia is also facing action at the International Court of Justice over the Timor Gap Treaty.

The petition campaign was launched at a well-attended lunchtime meeting at Melbourne University. The speakers were: former ALP MP Tom Uren; ALP MP Lindsay Tanner; Democrat leader Vicki Bourne; Independent MP Phil Cleary; Bishop Deakin; and Cancio Noronhaha from the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT).

Commenting on the meeting, Vanessa Hearman from Aksi - Indonesia Solidarity Action, welcomed the petition campaign and said that Australian people need to support the Timorese campaign for independence by building a strong solidarity movement here. "The Australian government already has a strong position on East Timor - they strongly support the Indonesian occupation. We need to demonstrate our opposition to their actions."

[Originally posted in the Pegasus conference greenleft.news by Green Left Weekly.]

WEEKEND OF PEACEFUL PROTEST AT BRITISH AEROSPACE

Press release from the organizers, August 16.

Peace activists held a weekend of peaceful protest outside the British Aerospace (BAe) factory at Warton, Lancs, Britain from Friday 5th until Monday 8th August. They were protesting at the company's recent sale of 24 Hawk aircraft to Indonesia [1], and the use of Hawk aircraft in the Indonesian slaughter of 200,000 East Timorese [2].

Weekend activities included:

* a peace camp all weekend, with banners, songs and camp fires. Many local people visited the camp to discuss the issues and pledge their support; some gave food and financial donations.

* the peace campers leafletted workers as they left the factory on Friday, held a constant vigil up to Saturday afternoon, and also distributed leaflets in nearby towns over the weekend.

* on Sunday, 4 activists climbed into the factory and held a vigil on the runway. They left flowers together with a small banner with the message "In memory of the dead in East Timor: victims of violence and oppression. STOP THE HAWK DEAL. Work for life not death".

* the official "no photography allowed" notice was corrected with a banner reading "We make things which kill people -- don't look at us".

* on Monday, the peace protestors blockaded the main entrance to the factory for about 20 minutes, and held a vigil.

The peace camp, organized by "Stop the Hawk Deal" group, was declared an amazing success. Patricia Allen, one of the organizers, said "We are committed to doing what we can to stop the Hawk aircraft, which are assembled here at BAe Warton, from leaving for Indonesia. Both British Aerospace and the British government are fully aware that these aircraft will be used in combat by Indonesia to continue their illegal (and UN-condemned) invasion of East Timor. Hundreds of thousands of innocent lives have been lost. It's about time this stopped and we'll continue to take action to ensure the Hawks never leave Warton for Indonesia."

The BAe Warton protest is the most recent in a series of demonstrations against the Hawk deal. In Feb, 20 people climbed onto roofs and entered the Warton factory; 2 women also sprayed slogans on BAe's HQ [London] and dyed the fountains red in memory of the blood split in East Timor; there have also been vigils and leafletting outside air shows and other BAe factories.

NOTES

[1] In June 1993, a deal was signed between British Aerospace and Indonesia for 24 Hawk aircraft. This supplements previous deals. Sources indicate that Indonesia is also considering purchasing up to 144 Hawks.

[2] Indonesia invaded the island of East Timor in Dec 1975. Since then the UN has passed 10 resolutions condemning the invasion as illegal and supporting the East Timorese peoples' right to self-determination. Since the invasion, a third of the population (some 200,000) people have been killed by the Indonesian troops. Eye witnesses also tell of BAe Hawks being used to drop bombs in East Timor.

FOR MORE INFORMATION contact Patricia Allen on (UK) 061-860 4469 or via email at banem@essex.ac.uk or correspondence (and donations!) can be sent to STOP THE HAWK DEAL, c/o One World Centre, 6 Mount St, Manchester M2 5NS.

SOFT SHOE DIPLOMACY

The Bulletin, Sydney, August 2, 1994. by Kerry-Anne Walsh. Extracts from a longer article

Optimism is growing in political & diplomatic circles that Indonesia will accede to Foreign Minister Evans repeated requests for the re-opening of an Australian consulate in East Timor.

An official Australian presence on island to oversee aid operations and play a watchdog role would counter claims that Australia's low key response to human rights abuses on Timor has had no impact on the Indonesian government.

Evans is sensitive to accusations, which have resurfaced over the last few weeks after another demonstration in Timor, was quelled by the military with scores of injuries. Evans' reaction through diplomatic channels, and publicly, was to describe the events as 'regrettable' and 'disappointing'. Reports of religious intimidation has increased international resolve to force Indonesia to account over the military's role in Timor.

Evans believes the Indonesian government is now the closest it has ever been to liberalizing its attitude to Timor.

"There's a lot of acknowledgement at senior levels of the Indonesian government that they really have to do something, to use Alatas's metaphor, to get the stone out of the shoe", he told the Bulletin before taking off to the ASEAN regional conference last week.

"It is not helping anyone to maintain the military presence there ... All of this has a cumulative effect, and the message is really biting home in Jakarta that this is a situation they really do have to address, and have to make a major attempt at a more conciliatory approach. There's a reasonable chance of that occurring."

While he would not echo optimistic bureaucratic and diplomatic observations that that the Indonesian government may, by the year end, agree to the re-opening of the consulate. Evans says that his latest request (made at top ministerial level in Jakarta 3 weeks ago) was received more positively than before.

JAPAN'S SPEAKER SAYS DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER TIMOR

Reuter, 16 August 1994. Abridged

The Speaker of Japan's House of Representatives, Takako Doi, has expressed deep concern over what she called the tragedy of East Timor in a letter to the jailed guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão.

Doi said in the letter, a copy of which was made available to Reuter, that she wished 'from my heart' the decolonisation problem of East Timor would be (solved) as immediately as possible in a peaceful and just way.

'It is since much before the Santa Cruz massacre that I have been deeply concerned with the tragedy of East Timor,' Doi said in the letter.

The letter was to have been handed to Xanana Gusmão by a team of Japanese parliamentarians who visited East Timor last week but the meeting was cancelled because they could not get government approval.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said of Doi's letter last Wednesday that such 'things were not usually done' and that the letter should be entrusted to the Foreign Ministry. It could not be confirmed if the ministry handed over the letter to Xanana. The letter was in reply to Xanana's own letter to Doi in May, according to Doi's letter.

The contents of Xanana's letter are not known but, according to Doi's reply, it had urged her to attend the controversial Manila conference on East Timor in Manila last May.

'You urged me in your letter to take part in the Asia-Pacific conference on East Timor. I was unable to do so because the conference was held during the Diet sessions here,' Doi said in her reply.

'I had actually been requested by the conference secretariat to deliver a keynote speech. It was a pity I could not accept the request,' she said

SIXTH TIMORESE ON TRIAL FOR APRIL DEMONSTRATION

Jawa Pos, 11 August 1994. Translated summary only

Dili -- Marcus de Araújo, 21 years old has gone on trial at the Dili district court for demonstrating when foreign journalists were in Dili on 14 April this year.

[The names of the judges and the prosecutor are given but there is no mention of any defence lawyers.]

Marcus is the sixth Timorese to go trial for this incident. The others are Pedro de Fatima, who was given two years, and Pantaleon Amaral, Izaac Soares, Miguel de Deus and Rosalina dos Santos who all got twenty months each.

Marcus's trial commenced on 6 August because he was not arrested until 4 June. He had gone into hiding after the incident and was arrested in his hiding place in Balide, Dili.

Marcus has frankly admitted that he took part in the demonstration, saying that he unfurled a banner praising the East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão and supporting the resistance struggle. He also said that he shouted slogans support the struggle twenty times, then threw his banner in the direction of the journalists and fled, to avoid being arrested.

[His action is clearly seen in the film of the incident made by BBC's Jonathan Birchall shown on Newsnight on 21 April.

INDONESIA LEADER DEFENDS RULE

AP, August 16

JAKARTA, Indonesia (AP) -- President Suharto, under fire for a crackdown on the press and reported human rights violations, defended his authoritarian rule Tuesday as a means to achieve economic growth and stability. In his annual speech to the House of Representatives on the eve of Indonesia's independence day, Suharto said openness was necessary for democratic reforms to take root. But he stressed that his government would maintain restrictions. "Openness does not mean unlimited freedom -- even worse, freedom to be hostile, pitting one party against another and unconstitutionally imposing one's ideas," he said. Journalists have protested the government's banning of three major publications in June on the grounds that their stories were threatening stability by pitting officials against one another. Another source of increased tension is East Timor, the former Portuguese colony controlled by Indonesia. More than a dozen students were injured there last month in a clash with the military in perhaps the worst confrontation since government soldiers killed dozens of demonstrators on Nov. 12, 1991. Last week, the Indonesian military commander banned demonstrations in East Timor and threatened stern action against protesters. Suharto defended the military's influential role in politics since he took power 28 years ago. "National stability definitely requires a peaceful and orderly atmosphere," he said. The 73-year-old president took credit for changing Indonesia's economic structure. He

said the country had made great economic progress the last 25 years, reaching an average annual growth rate

DARWIN 17 AUGUST DEMONSTRATIONS

From Darwin East Timor Action Group, August 17

Members of Darwin's solidarity groups for East Timor converged outside the Indonesian consulate at 8.30 am on Wednesday 17 August to protest against Indonesia's illegal invasion and occupation of East Timor. The demonstration coincided with the consulate's National Day speeches and flag-raising ceremony to celebrate Indonesia's independence.

"Independence of whom, and from what?" asked activist Judy Conway. "When Indonesia originally gained independence from the Dutch, they did have something to celebrate; but as they have since invaded and colonised countries like East Timor and West Papua themselves, these celebrations are a joke."

The invited guests gathered inside the consulate grounds, their eyes averted from the direction of the fence and the demonstration. Upon the request of police, the protesters moved behind a cordon a short distance from the fence.

As the Fretilin flag was raised, calls of "Free East Timor" and "Independence for East Timor" grew louder. An effigy filled with straw and wearing an Indonesian-flag as a mask was strung up and burned amidst cheers. These easily drowned out the speeches being made inside the consulate's grounds. Jose Gusmão called for the Indonesian government to withdraw their troops from East Timor and to let the Timorese people have a say in their country's future. As the consulate's flag was raised, Gusmão solemnly raised an Indonesian flag and set it alight. Within minutes only ashes were left.

"This demonstration was very effective because we were able to address the Indonesians face to face and could therefore put our message across," Gusmão said. "We stressed to them that if they want to be respected, first that they must respect East Timor's rights. The message given to them by the burning of the flag and the effigy is this: the majority of East Timorese refuse to accept forced integration with Indonesia."

This demonstration was a part of the 'East Timor Week' activities organised by the Darwin East Timor Action Group. Other functions this week include the showing of "Death of a Nation" Tuesday 16th, demonstrations planned for Thursday 18th and Friday 19th to coincide with Prime

Minister Paul Keating's visit to Darwin, and a "Darwin to Dili Dance" on Saturday 20th.

For further information contact: Rob Wesley-Smith, phone (089) 832 113 Sally-Anne Watson, phone (089) 856 920

END AMERICAN COMPLICITY WITH INDONESIAN CRIMES

Op-ed column in The Christian Science Monitor, August 10, 1994.

By Eyal Press

The 1995 United States foreign aid bill, finalized by House and Senate lawmakers on July 29 and due to be passed this week, contains an important provision pressuring Indonesia to end its brutal occupation of East Timor. The small Pacific island was illegally invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and has been occupied ever since. In addition to extending the ban on US military training assistance to Indonesia, this foreign aid bill bars the sale of small arms to Jakarta until it shows progress on human rights and East Timor.

The latter provision was largely the work of Sens. Patrick Leahy (D) of Vermont and Russell Feingold (D) of Wisconsin, who fought off an earlier attempt by Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (R) of Louisiana to drop all conditions on US military assistance and arms sales to Indonesia. Senator Johnston argued, without presenting real evidence, that Indonesia "has made huge steps forward in human rights" and stressed America's vital commercial interests in Indonesia. Not coincidentally, Johnston has close ties to Freeport-McMoRan Inc., the Louisiana-based mining and exploration company that has an estimated \$1 billion invested in Indonesia gold and copper operations.

Johnston and other staunch Indonesia loyalists have long turned a blind eye to the plight of East Timor, which has suffered the death of roughly 200,000 noncombatants - a third of its population - since Indonesia's genocidal occupation of the island began. For two decades of brutality, US arms shipments to Indonesia have been steadfast, accounting for an estimated 90 percent of Jakarta's military hardware during the peak of the massacre in the late 1970s. Moreover, since the Nov. 12, 1991 Dili massacre, when Indonesian troops killed 271 peaceful Timorese demonstrators and hospitalized two US reporters, the State Department has licensed some 250 military sales to Indonesia, including machine guns, riot gear, and spare parts for F-16 jets.

Congressional action to bar equipment may indicate the tide is turning on Indonesia, thanks largely to the perseverance of the Timorese resistance movement and a global

network of solidarity groups. In June these groups organized a private conference on East Timor in Manila. Indonesian President Suharto demanded the Philippines cancel it. Despite Jakarta's attempted sabotage, the conference proceeded and drew press coverage further highlighting the plight of East Timor. Indonesia also recently banned three popular magazines that had reported on the Suharto regime's corruption, an action that prompted demonstrations and more publicity.

Indonesia's attempt to silence its critics has begun to backfire. But additional pressure must come from the Clinton administration, Jakarta's principal sponsor and trading partner. President Clinton should raise the issue of East Timor and human rights concerns (such as Indonesia's abysmal labor conditions) at the upcoming Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting with Suharto in November. Also, the US should take the lead in endorsing an orderly process of decolonization through the United Nations, with the goal of staging a referendum for the East Timorese to determine their status. Such steps will buttress Congress's recent action and put an end to two decades of shameful complicity.

Eyal Press writes freelance and for The Nation in New York.

EAST TIMORESE CHALLENGE TO TREATY FAILS COURT TEST

THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, Friday, August 19, 1994

The High Court yesterday [August 17, 1994] upheld the validity of legislation giving effect to the Timor Gap treaty between Indonesia and Australia. In their joint judgment, the seven High Court judges made no pronouncement but gave a powerful hint that the lawfulness of Indonesia's occupation and sovereign claim over East Timor was not a matter which could be determined in an Australian court.

One of the primary grounds of the challenge was a claim by the East Timorese plaintiffs that the Timor Gap treaty was invalid because Indonesia's claimed sovereignty over East Timor was illegal and should never been recognised by Australia in 1989.

The treaty was signed between Indonesia and Australia in 1989 to provide mutual arrangements for the exploration of oil resources in the sea between East Timor and Australia.

Earlier this month, three East Timorese men and the National Council of Maubere Resistance, an organisation whose political

aim is the self-determination of East Timor, mounted a challenge to the Petroleum (Australia-Indonesia Zone of Co-operation) Act 1990, which gives effect to Australia's obligations under the treaty.

The seven judges found that the legislation fell within the external affairs power in section 51 (29) of the Constitution and that it would do so even if there were no treaty in existence. They said the legislation dealt with matters geographically external to Australia which had an obvious and substantial nexus with Australia. The judges therefore decided it was unnecessary to answer claims by the East Timorese that Australia was in breach of international law by entering the treaty.

The seven judges said, however: "In particular", nothing in this judgment should be understood as lending any support at all for the proposition that, in the absence of some real question of sham or circuitous device to attract legislative power, the propriety of the recognition by the Commonwealth executive of the sovereignty of a foreign nation over foreign territory can be raised in the courts of this country". The court ordered the plaintiff East Timorese to pay the Commonwealth's costs in the action

OZ HIGH COURT CHALLENGE TO TIMOR GAP TREATY FAILS

SBS-TV News Extra, Thursday 18 August 1994

NEWSREADER: A full bench of the High Court [Australia's highest court] has rejected a challenge to the validity of the Timor Gap Treaty.

VOICE-OVER: The Timor Gap Treaty was signed by the Indonesian and Australian governments to explore the oil-rich sea bed off Timor. [Dec '89]

But the East-Timorese who brought the case to court say the annexation of their country by Indonesia is illegal, and that Australia has contravened international law by entering into the agreement with the Indonesian Government.

JOSE RAMOS HORTA - PLAINTIFF: The High Court decision was to be expected, that it took the side of the federal government because the stakes are immense.

If the High Court were to rule according to justice, to law, it would [have to(?)] nullify the treaty and the consequences for Australian-Indonesian relations would be enormous.

VOICE-OVER: The East Timorese are hopeful of victory when a decision on their case is handed down in The Hague's International Court of Justice next year

DARWIN DEMONSTRATION -- KEATING SUHARTO'S BACKSCRATCHER

PRESS RELEASE from Darwin East Timor Action Group

Contact: Sally-Anne Watson phone
+(6189) 856 820

Fifty vocal and angry demonstrators gathered outside Darwin's new Parliament House at 8.30 am on Friday 19 August to protest against the Australian government's complicity with the Indonesian government's invasion, occupation and genocide in East Timor, and in particular against the signing of the Timor Gap Oil Treaty with Indonesia. This protest coincided with a conference held at Parliament House attended by Prime Minister Paul Keating and parliamentarians.

The courtyard of Parliament House rang with chanting as protestors demanded justice: "Stop the rapes, stop the killings. Free East Timor Now!" "No Blood for Oil!" "Australia out of Timor Gap!" Jose Gusmão and Rob Wesley-Smith were amongst those who called for Paul Keating to stop licking the boots of Indonesia and to stand up for Australia and for East Timor.

Although most parliamentarians had to walk past the demonstration to enter the building, Paul Keating arrived through the back door - apparently to avoid confrontation. "Yaa, Jellyback Junior!" protestors called. "Keating Back Door man!" "Suharto's backscratcher!" "Traitor, Keating! Not only to East Timor but to democracy and to all Australians!"

This demonstration, like the one on Wednesday where we burned the Indonesian flag and an effigy of Suharto at the Indonesian consulate, is international news said Jose Gusmão. "Already I have received a fax from East Timor Supporters in Macau, applauding our demonstration". The letter reads: "We are not able to be physically present, but our thoughts are with you as you attempt to make Australians aware of the mistake they are making in choosing Indonesia as a friend. Our message for today is that lasting friendship is not based in financial interest, least of all on the blood of 210 000 East Timorese".

Gusmão added, "public support and solidarity with East Timor is rapidly increasing, not only within Australia but all over the world".

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WORKERS RESOLUTION

Resolution passed at the Social Workers World Conference held in Sri Lanka, July 9-13, 1994

A STATEMENT OF CONCERN ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) expresses its deep concern on the continuous human rights violations committed by the Indonesian military troops occupying East Timor since its invasion in 1975.

We are concerned about the killings which have wiped out a third of the entire population of East Timor during the invasion; of the torture of those arbitrarily arrested and detained; of the children who lost their families; of the victims of Santa Cruz massacre in 1991 that killed at least 100 people and wounded scores of others including women and children; of the hundreds who have disappeared and have not been accounted for until now,

We are especially concerned about the situation of women, the reports of forced sterilization of young girls and the widespread use of rape as a means of torture.

We are concerned about the way Xanana Gusmão and other political oppositionists are being tried. Many before him have been tortured, falsely charged and convicted to long prison terms and denied their rights as political prisoners.

As social workers concerned with the promotion, protection and defense of human rights in East Timor and elsewhere in the world where human rights are similarly grossly violated, we support the United Nations resolutions, including allowing of entry of relief and other assistance by UN and NGOs to East Timor. We appeal to the Indonesian government to withdraw its troops and allow the East Timorese people to determine their own future as a separate and independent nation.

A proposal to support the resolutions of the recent International Conference on East Timor held in Manila:

a. To endorse the nomination of Bishop Belo, of Dili, capital of East Timor to the Nobel Peace Prize. Bishop Belo has been known for his humanitarian work in the war-torn East Timor.

b. To send a human rights mission to East Timor.

c. To send a high level mission composed of parliamentarians to dialogue with the Indonesian government, to visit Xanana Gusmão and other political prisoners and to look at the overall situation of the people.

TIMOR GUERRILLAS OFFER UNILATERAL CEASEFIRE

Reuter, 19 August 1994. Abridged

Lisbon -- Guerrillas fighting for the independence of East Timor said on Friday they would declare a unilateral ceasefire if the government was prepared to start serious talks with them.

Jose Ramos Horta, the Australia-based overseas representative of the armed resistance movement in East Timor, said he had been specifically authorised to make the offer by guerrilla leader Konis Santana.

He made the ceasefire proposal in an interview with Portugal's TSF radio following a series of moves by the Roman Catholic church and the Indonesian armed forces suggesting the start of dialogue in the former Portuguese colony.

"The moment that Indonesia shows it is seriously ready for dialogue the resistance will declare a (unilateral) ceasefire," he said. "We do not want to waste an opportunity. We do not want to be accused of being extremists or radicals who refuse dialogue," he added.

Last week, Carlos Ximenes Belo, the bishop of East Timor, said in an open letter that Indonesia, which invaded East Timor in 1975, should hold a referendum in the territory to decide its future.

Failing that, he proposed talks between the Indonesian government and "the political parties which once existed in East Timor" on how to give effective autonomy to the territory.

Major Simbolon, a military spokesman in the East Timor capital Dili, reacted by saying "we are ready and willing to hold talks with anyone".

Ramos Horta said the commander of the guerrilla forces in East Timor has specifically endorsed Belo's proposal and would declare a unilateral ceasefire if this or any other peace initiative led to the start of a serious dialogue.

"Konis Santana gives his support to Belo's initiative so long as there are safeguards which I have insisted on repeatedly," Horta said.

"The United Nations must be involved in one way or another so that Indonesia does not transform this process into just a dialogue between the resistances and the Indonesian army."

"We have seen certain initiatives which we ourselves are still trying to decipher," the resistance spokesman said.

"This initiative came from the military, not from the foreign minister Ali Alatas. We don't know if this is just an attempt by the armed forces to try to reach a deal with the guerrilla without UN involvement or per-

haps without even the involvement of the government," he added.

He said that while the Indonesian military appeared to be offering talks on one hand, they were launching a fresh offensive on the ground. He said a Japanese parliamentary delegation which visited East Timor last week had been refused access to the towns of Los Palos, Baucau and Viqueque because of military activity nearby.

INDONESIA SAID TO LAUNCH EAST TIMOR INITIATIVE

Reuter, 19 August 1994. By K.T. Arasu, Abridged

[Comment: Taken together with the topic posted today from Lisbon, developments suggest that there are two distinct lines and approaches towards a settlement, among the military in East Timor and in Jakarta. But one thing is clear: all groups on the Indonesian side are convinced that the situation in East Timor is too dreadful to be allowed to continue. Hugh O'Shaughnessy stress on the Timorese powder-keg seems to be on everyone's minds in Dili and Jakarta. -- Carmel]

Jakarta -- Indonesia has launched an initiative to help settle problems in troubled East Timor but will not give up control of the former Portuguese colony, church and academic sources said on Friday.

The Timorese sources said military officials, including President Suharto's son-in-law Colonel Prabowo, held talks last week with East Timorese graduates, Governor Abilio Soares and East Timor's Catholic leader, Bishop Belo.

The territory's military spokesman Major Simbolon was unable to confirm if such talks were held.

The sources said the military team, headed by East Timor's second-in-command Colonel Kiki Syahnakri, had proposed East Timorese be given freedom to pick their own governor and local council members.

"Although it would not make East Timor any different from other (Indonesian) provinces, some graduates seem to think that the proposals were a step in the right direction," a source involved in the discussions said.

The sources said Jakarta's initiative was launched following a recent scathing attack by Bishop Belo against Indonesia for alleged killings, torture and arbitrary arrests in East Timor. Belo said in an open letter Jakarta should hold a referendum on the territory's future, reduce its military presence and hold talks with those seeking independence.

The sources said they did not know details of the military team's talks with Belo but said the officers had apparently agreed

to accede to the bishop's call for the East Timor church to be allowed to bring in foreign missionaries.

The sources said the military team was to report its findings directly to Suharto. He will host an informal summit of the 7-nation Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Indonesia in mid-November.

A SECRET WAR IN WHICH THOUSANDS HAVE DIED.

The Irish Times, 19 August 1994

The following article was accompanied by a map and an East Timor "Fact-File".

IN SPITE OF HUGE ODDS, THE TIMORESE GUERRILLAS OF THE FALINTIL HAVE MANAGED TO SURVIVE THE OCCUPYING FORCES OF INDONESIA. HUGH O'SHAUGHNESSY, WHO WAS RECENTLY EXPELLED FROM DILI, IN EAST TIMOR, REPORTS.

Indonesian military cemeteries are not hard to find outside the villages of occupied East Timor. They stand at the side of the roads. Some contain neat and well kept graves with the flag of the Indonesian occupying forces flying over them; others are abandoned.

They are a reminder of nearly 20 years of secret war between the people of this remote and forgotten former Portuguese colony and the invaders, a war in which thousands of Indonesians died and hundreds of thousands of Timorese perished.

Since Indonesia took over the country in December 1975, the Timorese Guerrillas of the Falintil have survived against huge odds with little or no help from outside, capturing or buying what weapons they have from the enemy force, sustained by the unwillingness of their countrymen to betray them.

Their commander, Xanana Gusmão, was captured by the invaders in 1992 and after a trial before a kangaroo court in the Timorese capital, Dili, was sent to Indonesia, where he is serving a sentence in Jakarta jail. But in brave squads of five or six the guerrillas fight on in the villages and mountains under a new leader.

"We don't publicise his picture too much," one guerrilla leader told me, "He's always nipping in and out of Dili."

The Timorese capital is alive with Indonesian troops, some driving round by the truckload, others lounging in the shops and markets, pistols and bayonets in their belts. Yet not even the most enthusiastic Timorese patriot would claim that militarily the Falintil fighters are capable of any more than inflicting gnat bites on the Indonesian troops, well armed with British and other weapons, who are here in their battalions.

Falintil's supreme importance is that it has maintained the symbol of armed resistance uninterrupted throughout the nineteen years of extreme Timorese suffering.

This year, however, the focus of East Timor's struggle is moving firmly away from the military and into the political field. It has been nineteen years since the Indonesian invasion and eighteen since General Suharto's purported annexation of the territory of 800 000 people in defiance of the UN Security Council.

During that time an estimated 200 000 Timorese have died through the effects of war, most of them ignored by the outside world. It took the courageous act of the British cameraman, Max Stahl, who filmed the Indonesian occupation forces massacring hundreds at the Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991, to reveal to the world the reality of Indonesia's illegal occupation of this country.

Now, however, a new generation of resisters has grown up in Dili who do not feel the need to choose between joining the guerrilla in the mountains and going into exile. They are standing their ground at home, increasingly maddened by the occupiers' strategy of trying to erase their identity completely under a wave of Indonesian immigrants and of denying them their language, their history and their Catholic Religion. Cultural genocide is coming after an attempt at physical genocide.

Between 100 000 and 200 000 Indonesian have been decanted from Java, Sumatra and Celebes into East Timor by Gen. Suharto, taking the best fields and forests from the Timorese in the countryside and grabbing the best jobs in the towns.

When the Indonesians purported to annex East Timor in 1976 they laid too much emphasis on the process of "modernisation" that they were undertaking in a territory which had received little enough attention since the Portuguese arrived in 1515. But the education that the Indonesians provided was tainted. The Portuguese language was banned and replaced by Bahasa Indonesia, the lingua franca of the 195 million Indonesians.

And there has been an increasing strategy of attacks on the Catholic Church, to which the Timorese rallied on masse after the invasion.

Bishop Carlos Belo, the increasingly outspoken leader of the Timorese Catholics, complains that despite the fact that 680 000 of the 800 000 inhabitants of East Timor are Catholic all the teachers in the secondary schools are Muslim. The Indonesian maxim was that opposition to them would die out once a generation of Timorese had grown up under their protection.

(Italics) Hugh O'Shaughnessy is the author of *East Timor, Getting Away With Murder?*

GUERRILLAS NO THREAT - JAKARTA

The Sydney Morning Herald, Monday, August 22, 1994:

JAKARTA, Sunday, AFP: The Indonesian military yesterday [August 21, 1994] rejected an offer of a unilateral cease-fire by East Timorese guerrillas in exchange for talks, saying the offer was groundless because the rebel group no longer posed a serious threat.

A spokesman for the East Timor military command, Major Simbolon, said by phone: "That [the offer] is groundless. That is a propaganda effort to make people know that they will exist ... but indeed they have been paralysed and no longer exist".

Major Simbolon has put the number of guerrillas still fighting from the jungle at no more than 200, saying they no longer represented a security threat.

On Friday, a special representative of the Maubere Resistance National Council, the rebel's umbrella group, told Lisbon radio station TSF that the offer had been proposed in a message from resistance commander KUN- IS SANTANA. Santana and his partisans are fighting for the independence of East Timor. The annexation has never been recognized by the UN.

MNSGR. DELAPORTE ON EAST TIMOR

This is an English translation of the editorial to issue no 5 of the "4 months for East Timor" campaign bulletin by Mgr Jacques Delaporte, Archbishop of Cambrai and President of Justice and Peace/France. This issue, which just appeared, is devoted to the East Timorese church. (Original language: French.)

It is a fact: the Maubere people have closed ranks around the Catholic church. The Indonesian occupation pushed the population into the churches. This Catholic church plays an essential driving role in the popular resistance. The "spotlight" of this bulletin gives more details on this phenomenon. Historians, anthropologists, specialists in political science would have much to say on this conjunction between politics and religion (which may, perhaps, surprise a French mind too comfortably installed in a pacific laicity). The phenomenon does not surprise the believer too much: religious faith is a powerful vector of identity. Forces of oppression can enslave society, submit the bodies, but in the secret of one's conscience, every man is free, in the most radi-

cal sense of the term, and it is in this freedom that the believer finds an unsuspected faith to oppose all totalitarianisms, to proclaim, even when appearances are contrary, that truth and love will always triumph on hatred and lie.

If, as a bishop chairing the Justice and Peace Commission, together with many Christians of France, I participate this action in favour of East Timor, it is not for some corporatist defence, in virtue of which Christians should defend the interests of Christians. More fundamentally Christians defend, or should defend everywhere the rights of freedom, the rights of conscience. This is true when the rights of Christians are trampled on, but it is also true when the rights of other believers or non-believers are trampled on, including and even more so when the oppressors are Christian, which unfortunately also happens.

So, without reticence, yes, one must defend the right of the Maubere people to live free, not to be submitted to oppression and military occupation, to self-determine. In a solidarity with Indonesia which will have to be determined by these two peoples. For this, one must first let the Mauberes speak, and recognise their right to existence and identity.

PHILIPPINES GROUP TO LAUNCH

Full text of a fax received by the East Timor Action Network/US on August 22. PSETI the Philippine national East Timor/Indonesia support group that is part of the Asia-Pacific Coalition on East Timor that developed out of the controversial Asia-Pacific Conference in East Timor in Manila last May-June. -- Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US -----

PHILIPPINE SOLIDARITY FOR EAST TIMOR AND INDONESIA (PSETI) c/o The People's Council for International Solidarity and Peace (PCISP), 3-B Potsdam St., Cubao, Quezon City, Philippines Tel:(63-2)912-8093; 912-0346 fax: 922-8069; 921-6774

Dear Friends,

Warm greetings from the Philippines!

We do hope that it will come as good news to you that the Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia (PSETI), a product of the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) is going to hold its first general assembly and formal launching this August 27 at the Titus Brandsma Center, #24 Acacia Lane, New Manila, Quezon City.

We hope to gather many organizations and individuals who have not been able to

take part in APCET but are nevertheless willing to be part of the solidarity for East Timor.

The first PSETI assembly will also be forging a nationally-coordinated program of action and possibly elect officers if the assembly wishes to have a more structured organization.

As one of our friends abroad, we are inviting you to observe the general assembly and be a part of its formal launching. In case you cannot make it, however, may we solicit a statement of support from you and/or your organization which can be read during the assembly?

So even as the people of East Timor continue to struggle valiantly against annihilation, against repression, and for their survival, independence, and dignity, they know that they are not alone. PSETI is one with them, and so too, we know, are the Filipino people.

We hope you do come, We will be expecting you. See you at the Assembly!

Truly yours,

Renato Constantino Jr., Convenor

MILITARY REJECT CEASEFIRE OFFER

Reuter, 20 August 1994. Abridged

[Comment: As Major Simbolon is on record as saying he was ready to talk to anyone, this latest development must mean that he was reprimanded and ordered to retract. Can it be there is such confusion among the military? -- TAPOL]

INDONESIA'S MILITARY REJECT TIMOR CEASEFIRE OFFER

Indonesia's military on Saturday rejected a ceasefire offer by guerrillas fighting for independence in East Timor and instead urged them to surrender in exchange of an amnesty.

"There will be no compromise... we reject their offer. They are only a few, armed with weapons left behind by the Portuguese nearly two decades ago," East Timor military spokesman Major Simbolon told Reuters by phone from Dili.

"They have been crippled and abandoned by their foreign friends," he said. "They are holed up in some places without any logistical back-up."

Jose Ramos Horta said Friday on TSP Radio that he had been specifically authorised to make the ceasefire offer by guerrilla leader Konis Santana following a series of encouraging moves by the Catholic church and the Indonesian armed forces suggesting the start of a dialogue.

The idea of a dialogue to resolve problems in East Timor was first mooted by

East Timor's Catholic bishop, Ximenes Belo in a widely-circulated open letter.

Major Simbolon had responded by saying the military was "ready and willing to open talks with anyone". He did not say what led to the military's rejection of a ceasefire offer except to say that the guerrillas were a spent force and should surrender.

"There have been several visits to East Timor by parliamentarians, diplomats and journalists who have seen the situation for themselves," he said.

East Timor sources said the rejection could be due to an initiative by the military to resolve problems in East Timor. A military team has been holding talks with East Timor graduates, Bishop Belo and Governor Abilio Soares and had proposed free elections to chose government officials

BISHOP ATTACKS INDONESIA FOR REJECTING TIMOR OFFER

Reuter, 21 August 1994. By K.T. Arasu. Abridged

Jakarta -- Indonesia was being arrogant in rejecting a ceasefire-for-talks offer by guerrillas fighting for independence in East Timor, the Catholic bishop, Ximenes Belo, said on Sunday.

"There must be talks, But Indonesia is arrogant and I don't think there will be a solution to East Timor's problems in the next twenty years," he told Reuters by phone from Dili.

Belo said he was willing to mediate talks between the guerrillas and Indonesia's military but the government did not trust him.

"I don't believe they trust me or the church. Their will to control East Timor has made them arrogant," he said.

The idea of a dialogue was first mooted by Belo in an open letter which, among other things, called for a referendum to decide East Timor's future.

"I wrote the letter after I was asked by the authorities how the problems in East Timor could be resolved," Belo said, adding that they had rejected all his proposals.

"They don't agree with my proposals and have rejected all the points I made in the letter," he said, declining to say what proof he had of the government's rejection.

Belo said immediate steps had to be taken to defuse problems in East Timor. "The people will go (on resisting if their fundamental rights continue to be taken away," he said

TIMOR GAP RULING SETS BACK RESISTANCE

By Kalinga Seneviratne

SYDNEY, Aug 19 (IPS) - The High Court of Australia has crushed an attempt by three East Timorese activists to have the 1990 Timor Gap Treaty signed by Australia and Indonesia declared null and void.

While the full seven-member bench of the High Court made no judgment on the treaty itself, it said in the ruling on Thursday the supporting legislation was valid.

It said the Petroleum Act of 1990 would still be legal whether or not there was a treaty.

The Timor Gap lies on the narrow Torres Straits separating Indonesia and Australia. The sea bed contains one of the world's richest untapped petroleum deposits, which could produce a million barrels of oil a day once in full operation.

Under the Treaty, Australia and Indonesia will share the oil, which is estimated to be between three to seven billion barrels.

East Timorese activists Jose Ramos Horta, Jose Gusmão and Abel Guterres had challenged the validity of the Treaty in court on behalf of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, a political organisation aimed at liberating East Timor from Indonesian rule.

In 1975, Indonesian troops had invaded East Timor, a Portuguese enclave, and had formally made it its 27th province a year later. While the United Nations has yet to recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, Australia did so in 1979.

"I believed strongly in the integrity of the Australian High Court," said a disappointed Gusmão in a phone interview with IPS from his home in Darwin.

He added: "Everybody knows East Timor is not part of Indonesia because the international community doesn't recognise (the annexation). The United Nations doesn't recognise and Portugal still considers it part of its territory. Therefore Indonesia is illegally occupying East Timor."

Gusmão, along with Ramos Horta and Guterres had made similar arguments in their court papers. They said Australia had over-ridden the rights of the East Timorese by making an illegal treaty with Indonesia to exploit oil resources in the Timor Gap.

East Timorese activists are holding a demonstration Friday in Darwin where Prime Minister Paul Keating and state leaders from around Australia are attending the official opening of a new parliament house for the Northern Territory.

During hearings at the High Court last week, the East Timor lawyer Ron Castan argued that the Maubere people were na-

tives of East Timor and therefore entitled to the natural resources of the continental shelf adjacent to their homeland.

Castan told the justices of the High Court that they would have to determine the outer limits of the Australian government's external powers under the constitution.

Under international law that is binding on Australia, all peoples have the right to self-determination and to freely determine their political status, Castan said. Canberra had exceeded its external affairs powers by breaking Australia's obligations under international law, he added.

"The purpose of the external affairs powers is for Australia to engage in international relations as a lawful and legitimate player on the international stage, not as an international outlaw," Castan said.

He added that it might even be necessary for the High Court to deliberate on the lawfulness of Indonesia's take-over of East Timor, since Australia had recognised its annexation.

But Solicitor General Gavan Griffith told the Court that under established constitutional principles, the responsibility for the conduct of Australia's foreign relations rested in the executive branch of government.

He noted that it was established common law principles that the courts were not the appropriate fora for determining whether or not the government's conduct was in breach of international law.

Legal experts say the political ramifications for Australia would have been enormous had the East Timorese activists won the case. They say Canberra would then have to tell Jakarta the Treaty was no more.

Canberra would also have had to review its recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor at a time when Australia is rapidly expanding closer economic, political and military ties with its northern neighbour.

Australia is facing another legal challenge to the Timor Gap Treaty. Portugal has filed a case at the World Court in The Hague, arguing that Australia had infringed on international law by negotiating a treaty with Indonesia.

Portugal says Australia could negotiate such a treaty only with it, since the country is still the legal administrator of East Timor. The World Court is due to hear the case early next year.

Gusmão said they have not been discouraged by the High Court decision: "We will continue the fight and will find other ways to fight for our rights."

(END/IPS/KS/CB/94)

OPEN LETTER TO THE ALLIANCE OF INDEPENDENT JOURNALISTS

The following is the text of an Open Letter sent by the London-based ARTICLE 19 on 17 August 1994 to the Alliance of Independent Journalists:

ARTICLE 19, the International Centre Against Censorship, welcomes the establishment of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AIJ) and supports its call for press freedom in Indonesia. We believe that the Sirna Galih Declaration is consistent with the principles set forth in Article 19 of the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which affirms the right to seek, receive and impart information and opinions freely. We call on the owners and editorial staff of all Indonesian publications to protect the rights of journalists choosing to join the AIJ.

On 22 June 1994, ARTICLE 19 wrote to General Suharto condemning the closure of three Indonesian national newspapers, Editor, DeTik and Tempo. We strongly protest the continued closure of these periodicals and urge the government of Indonesia to lift the ban against them without delay. Reports that other journals may be similarly threatened are of grave concern to the entire international community.

We are troubled by reports that General Suharto, ostensibly welcoming greater openness in Indonesian society, has chosen to define openness in a fashion which excludes dissent and criticism, the hallmarks of a free society. It is an illusion to suppose that national stability will be enhanced by suppressing reports of existing tensions. The right to report on controversial matters of public policy is absolutely essential to a free press.

Frances D'Souza,
Executive Director

AUSTRALIAN AUGUST 17 PROTESTS

Independence for East Timor!

By Jon Land, Green Left, August 23

Demonstrations were held across Australia in support of East Timor on August 17, Indonesian Independence Day. East Timor solidarity groups chose the date to highlight the ongoing illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and the support given to the Suharto regime by the Australian government.

In Perth, 100 people demonstrated outside the Hyatt Regency Hotel where Indonesian and Australian officials and dignitaries had gathered to celebrate Indonesia's

Independence Day. The action, organised by the Friends of East Timor, highlighted the hypocritical nature of the celebration when Indonesia has denied the right to self-determination to the East Timorese.

The protest demanded an end to: the East Timor Oil Gap Treaty between the Indonesian and Australian governments; human rights violations in East Timor; Australian military co-operation with Indonesia; the illegal occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian government; the ongoing genocide in East Timor which has so far resulted in the death of one third of its population.

Retired Senator Gordon McIntosh addressed the crowd and East Timorese singers performed several songs.

In Melbourne, Carolyn Cartwright reports that 100 members of the East Timorese community and their supporters rallied outside the Indonesian consulate on Queens Road. The rally was addressed by John Sinnott (Australia-East Timor Association), Abel Guterres (CNRM) and a spokesperson from Fretilin who described the continuing struggle for national liberation in East Timor since the Suharto regime invaded in 1975.

From Darwin Sally Anne Watson reports that as part of the week of action on East Timor, 50 people picketed the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting at the Northern Territory Parliament House. Activists, who used their whistles, drums and slogans to good effect, drowned out the national media as they attempted to interview various Premiers. Keating entered via the backdoor to avoid meeting the protesters who kept up a steady chant with "No Blood for oil", "Australia out of the Timor Gap" and "Stop attacks on human rights. Free East Timor now". A Green Left Weekly photographer was threatened with arrest for trying to photograph the demonstration.

The week of action included a campus screening of John Pilger's documentary *Death of a Nation*, and a one night paste-up of 1000 posters which criticised the Australian government's silence on East Timor.

Amnesty International has expressed its concern for 24 East Timorese who were arrested after demonstrations in Dili in mid-July. On July 10, Francisco Malac, Geronimo Comisari and Geronimo Etnou were arrested for unfurling pro-independence banners as they were passed by the car of the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, arbitrary and summary executions. They have not been seen since.

A further 15 Timorese have been arrested for their involvement in the July 14 demonstration, including the alleged organiser Mateus Afonso who was publicly beaten by Indonesian soldiers for three hours.

The trial of Jose Antonio Neves, who attempted to send a letter reporting human rights abuses to the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor in Manila in June, is about to start. He is considered a key leader of the liberation movement and faces several years imprisonment. Neves has been refused visits and access by lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute.

NORTHERN IRELAND CAMPAIGN TO BE LAUNCHED

Peace by Peace - the monthly newspaper of the Peace People September issue)

by Patrick Corrigan

As the agony of the people of East Timor continues under the repressive occupation by Indonesia, it has been announced that a Belfast-based campaigning group is to be formally launched towards the end of September.

The group - to be known as the East Timor Solidarity Campaign (Northern Ireland) - will seek to raise awareness of the massive human rights abuses being perpetrated in the small South-East Asian island and to add to the international pressure being brought to bear on the Indonesian Government headed by President Suharto. These abuses were highlighted in the last issue of *Peace By Peace* when we reported on the expulsion of Peace People staffer Mairead Maguire - along with East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign co-ordinator, Tom Hyland - from the Philippines, while attempting to attend the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) in Manila. Indonesia all but blocked the Conference by threatening to pull its extensive investments out of the Philippines and to end talks which it was mediating between Manila and Filipino Muslim insurgents. Although Maguire and other prominent peace and human rights activists were prevented from attending APCET, Indonesia's interference backfired and served to focus international attention on its occupation of East Timor.

The brutal occupation has now continued for some 19 years and has brought about the deaths of an estimated 200,000 people - some one-third of the island's total population. One refugee from the slaughter is Estevao Cabral, now campaigning in Britain on behalf of the East Timorese. He will be in Belfast on 21 September to help officially launch the Northern Ireland campaigning group. A press conference in the afternoon followed by a public meeting in the evening have been lined up by campaign organiser Paul Hainsworth, also well-known locally for his work with Amnesty International.

The East Timor Solidarity Campaign (Northern Ireland) can be contacted c/o One World Centre, 4 Lower Crescent, Belfast.

Peace by Peace is available by subscription from the Peace People, 224 Lisburn Road, Belfast. Write for details.

AUSTRALIA SEEKS TIMOR AUTONOMY

Voice of America, 8/23/94

By ROBIN POKE, CANBERRA

INTRO: AUSTRALIA HAS CALLED ON INDONESIA TO REDUCE ITS TROOP NUMBERS IN EAST TIMOR AND GIVE THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONY MORE AUTONOMY. THE CALL CAME FROM AUSTRALIA'S FOREIGN MINISTER, GARETH EVANS, WHO ALSO REPEATED HIS CONCERNS ABOUT THE RECENT MEDIA CRACKDOWN BY INDONESIA AND THE ARREST OF UNION LEADER MUCHTER PAKPAHAN. ROBIN POLK REPORTS SENATOR EVANS MADE HIS STATEMENT AT THE OPENING OF AN AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA MINISTERIAL FORUM IN CANBERRA.

TEXT: SENATOR EVANS SAID RELATIONS BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL HAVE NEVER BEEN BETTER. BUT, HE ALSO SAID THAT THERE ARE ISSUES ABOUT WHICH THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL DISAGREE AND ABOUT WHICH THERE WOULD BE SOME FRANK EXCHANGES.

HE SAID THE CONTINUING "UNHAPPY" SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR IS ONE SUCH ISSUE. SENATOR EVANS SAID HE HOPED IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE "SOONER RATHER THAN LATER" FOR INDONESIA TO GREATLY REDUCE ITS MILITARY PRESENCE IN EAST TIMOR, AND FOR THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONY TO HAVE A GREATER DEGREE OF AUTONOMY. INDONESIA INVADDED AND ANNEXED EAST TIMOR IN 1975.

IN 1991, INDONESIAN TROOPS KILLED DOZENS OF EAST TIMORESE PROTESTORS IN THE CAPITAL, DILI. AS A RESULT, CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS SAID AUSTRALIA SHOULD TAKE A STRONGER STAND AGAINST INDONESIA'S PRESENCE IN EAST TIMOR.

AUSTRALIA HAS RECOGNIZED INDONESIA'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER EAST TIMOR: THE UNITED NATIONS HAS NOT.

SENATOR EVANS WENT ON TO REPEAT HIS CONCERNS ABOUT THE

RECENT CLOSING BY THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT OF TWO NEWS MAGAZINES AND A NEWSPAPER, AND THE ARREST EARLIER THIS MONTH OF UNION LEADER MUCHTER PAKPAHAN FOLLOWING A DEMONSTRATION IN WHICH AT LEAST ONE CHINESE BUSINESSMAN WAS KILLED. HE SAID HE HOPED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPACT OF THESE ISSUES ON INDONESIA'S INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION WOULD BE ACCEPTED BY INDONESIA AS CONSTRUCTIVE.

IT IS THE SECOND TIME IN LESS THAN A MONTH THAT SENATOR EVANS HAS MADE SUCH REMARKS. LAST MONTH, AT A NEWS CONFERENCE INTRODUCING A BOOK ABOUT INDONESIA'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS UNDER THE NEW ORDER, SENATOR EVANS SAID INDONESIA CONTINUES TO BE HANDICAPPED ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE BY ITS "HEAVY HANDED" APPROACH TO EAST TIMOR. HE ALSO SAID THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAD USED COERCION AND MALPRACTICE IN MAINTAINING POWER.

/// OPT /// BOTH STATEMENTS FOLLOW AN OFFER BY AUSTRALIA TO STEP UP MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA. THAT FOLLOWED A DECISION BY THE UNITED STATES TO REDUCE DEFENSE TIES WITH INDONESIA BECAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS. /// END OPT ///

THE TWO-DAY MEETING HERE, INVOLVING SENIOR MINISTERS FROM BOTH COUNTRIES, IS DESIGNED TO PROMOTE BILATERAL TRADE. AMONG INDONESIA'S REPRESENTATIVES ARE FOREIGN MINISTER ALI ALATAS AND TRADE MINISTER SATRIO YUDONO. THE TALKS AIM TO PLAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS. TOP OF THE AGENDA ARE NEW TRADE, INDUSTRY, AND INVESTMENT TIES.

/// REST OPT ///

FOR AUSTRALIA, EXPANSION OF TRADE WITH INDONESIA IS REGARDED AS VITAL. WITH THE INDONESIAN ECONOMY GROWING AT A RATE OF MORE THAN SIX PER CENT A YEAR AND ITS MIDDLE CLASS DOUBLE THAT OF AUSTRALIA'S, INDONESIA IS SEEN AS RIPE FOR INVESTMENT.

PROGRESS HAS CERTAINLY BEEN MADE. LAST YEAR, TWO-WAY

TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WAS MORE THAN TWO BILLION DOLLARS -- TRIPLE THE AMOUNT OF FIVE YEARS AGO. BUT DESPITE THE PROMISING ECONOMIC PROSPECTS AND THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF OPENNESS AND ENGAGEMENT WITH INDONESIA IN A BID TO REDUCE RECENT TENSIONS, MANY HERE STILL REGARD HUMAN RIGHTS AS THE MOST IMPORTANT BI-LATERAL ISSUE.

TRY SUTRISNO TO OZ

Voice of America, 8/24/94

By ROBIN POKE, CANBERRA
INTRO: AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER PAUL KEATING SAYS NO COUNTRY IS MORE IMPORTANT TO AUSTRALIA THAN INDONESIA. MR. KEATING ALSO SAYS THERE IS A NEW LEVEL OF TRUST BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS AND THAT AUSTRALIA IS MORE INVOLVED WITH INDONESIA THAN WITH ANY OTHER NATION. FROM CANBERRA, ROBIN POKE REPORTS ON THE CONCLUSION OF A TWO-DAY BILATERAL MINISTERIAL MEETING.

TEXT: MR. KEATING SAYS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA HAS NEVER BEEN BETTER THAN AT PRESENT -- NOR MORE BROADLY BASED. HE ALSO SAYS THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA'S PRESIDENT SUHARTO HAS PROVIDED ALL OF SOUTHEAST ASIA WITH GREAT STABILITY.

// OPT // MR. KEATING WENT ON TO SAY HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO WAS PART OF THE ENERGY DRIVING APEC --THE ASIA PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION FORUM -- AND THAT THE SECOND APEC SUMMIT IN JAKARTA IN NOVEMBER WILL BE ANOTHER STEP IN CREATING AN EVEN STRONGER REGIONAL ECONOMY. MR. KEATING SAYS IT IS AN ECONOMY THAT COULD RIVAL THAT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION. // END OPT //

HE ALSO SAYS PRESIDENT SUHARTO SHARES HIS VIEW THAT -- HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE FIRST APEC MEETING IN SEATTLE LAST NOVEMBER, WHICH DEMONSTRATED THE STRENGTH OF APEC -- THE EUROPEANS MAY NOT HAVE SIGNED THE RECENT

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON TRADE.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMENTS WERE LESS CRITICAL THAN THOSE OF AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARETH EVANS. AT THE START OF THE TWO-DAY MINISTERIAL FORUM, SENATOR EVANS CALLED ON INDONESIA TO REDUCE ITS TROOP NUMBERS IN EAST TIMOR AND GIVE THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONY INCREASED AUTONOMY.

// OPT // HE ALSO REPEATED HIS CONCERNS ABOUT THE RECENT MEDIA CRACKDOWN BY INDONESIA AND THE ARREST OF UNION LEADER MUCHTER PAKPAHAN. MR. KEATING REFERRED TO WHAT HE CALLED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES -- BUT SAYS AUSTRALIA HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT, IF A RELATIONSHIP IS STRONG, ANY DIFFERENCES CAN BE DISCUSSED, WITHOUT CREATING MAJOR PROBLEMS. // END OPT //

THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMENTS ARE REGARDED AS A BID TO CREATE PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF A VISIT TO AUSTRALIA NEXT MONTH BY THE VICE PRESIDENT OF INDONESIA, GENERAL TRI SUTRISNO. THE GENERAL'S VISIT IS REGARDED BY SOME HERE AS CONFIRMATION OF AUSTRALIA'S RESURGENT RELATIONSHIP WITH INDONESIA. THE JAKARTA MINISTERS SPOKE OF IT AS A BRIDGE BEING REBUILT.

COMMENTATORS HERE SAY THE VISIT BY GENERAL SUTRISNO WILL TEST THE STRENGTH OF THAT BRIDGE. THEY ALSO SAY THE RECEPTION GIVEN THE VICE PRESIDENT WILL INDICATE WHETHER IT IS YET POLITICALLY ADVISABLE -- GIVEN CONTINUING PROTESTS HERE ABOUT INDONESIA'S INVASION AND ANNEXATION OF EAST TIMOR -- FOR PRESIDENT SUHARTO TO AGAIN VISIT AUSTRALIA. THE PRESIDENT WAS LAST HERE IN APRIL 1975 -- SIX MONTHS BEFORE THE INVASION.

THE INVASION REMAINS A MAJOR SOURCE OF CONCERN HERE. IN RECENT DAYS, PROTESTS HAVE BEEN HELD IN BOTH MELBOURNE AND DARWIN. THE PROTESTERS SAY THAT -- BY BROADENING ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH INDONESIA -- THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT IS CONDONING INDONESIA'S ACTIONS IN TIMOR.

// OPT // THEY ARE PARTICULARLY ANGRY ABOUT THE TIMOR GAP OIL TREATY. THE TIMOR GAP SEPARATES AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA AND CONTAINS ONE OF THE WORLD'S RICHEST UNTAPPED OIL DEPOSITS. UNDER THE TREATY, INDONESIA AND AUSTRALIA WILL SHARE THE OIL -- ESTIMATED TO AMOUNT TO AS MUCH AS SEVEN BILLION BARRELS. // END OPT //

THE PROTESTERS SAY THIS INDICATES AUSTRALIA IS MORE INTERESTED IN ECONOMIC AND TRADE DEVELOPMENT THAN IN HUMAN RIGHTS. A RECENT ATTEMPT BY THREE EAST TIMORESE ACTIVISTS TO HAVE THE TREATY DECLARED NULL AND VOID WAS REJECTED BY AUSTRALIA'S HIGH COURT.

// REST OPTIONAL //

HOWEVER, AUSTRALIA FACES ANOTHER LEGAL CHALLENGE. PORTUGAL HAS FILED A CASE AT THE WORLD COURT IN THE HAGUE, ARGUING THAT -- BY NEGOTIATING A TREATY WITH INDONESIA -- AUSTRALIA HAS INFRINGED ON INTERNATIONAL LAW.

MILITARY WARNS OF 'CIVIL WAR' IN EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post, August 15 1994, abridged

[Note: this seems to be one of the new Indonesian public relations strategies, and is probably not unrelated to their recent attempts to provoke religious incidents in East Timor]

Dili, East Timor -- The military gave a warning Saturday that East Timor would be riddled by a civil war if the government bowed to foreign pressure to withdraw its troops from the territory.

"You may not believe it, but the Vatican ambassador to Indonesia is the one who has warned of such a possibility," East Timor's Wiradharma military commandant Johnny J. Lumintang told a visiting German member of parliament.

In his meeting with Lumintang, MP Gerhart Rudolf Baum posed questions about the military's presence in and development of the former Portuguese colony, which was integrated into Indonesia in 1976.

Baum asked Lumintang if Armed Forces (ABRI) personnel deployed in East Timor were given basic knowledge about human rights standards and if any East Timorese held senior positions in the military.

Lumintang said all ABRI members hold on to an eight point doctrine which requires them to protect the people, protect

women's dignity and respect the local community, which all represent the implementation of human rights concept.

ABRI currently deploys seven territorial battalions and one battle battalion in East Timor, he said. The territorial battalions focus on social services, such as helping local people build public facilities and introducing better farming systems.

"All ABRI personnel are provided with knowledge of the local culture so that they are able to mingle with the local community," Lumintang said, as quoted by Antara.

He added that six East Timor-born officers have completed their training at the military academy. The senior is a major presently posted at the Denpasar-based Udayana military command, which oversees security in Bali, Nusa Tenggara and East Timor.

EAST TIMOR AND CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Submission to the Special Joint Committee Reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy from the Portuguese-Canadian National Congress

June 1994

INTRODUCTION

The Portuguese Canadian National Congress welcomes the opportunity to make a submission to the foreign policy review committee. We would like to focus our presentation on one major issue regarding Canadian foreign policy: the question of East Timor. East Timor highlights many of the problems with the current thrust of Canada's foreign policy.

The Portuguese Canadian National Congress is a national organization composed of individuals, associations, social service agencies and community groups working on behalf of the interests of Canadians of Portuguese origin, a community of over 300,000 people.

Portuguese Canadians have a strong concern about the people of East Timor. East Timor was a Portuguese colony for 500 years. The two nations have common historical, cultural, linguistic and even ethnic links. Inter-marriages between Portuguese and Timorese were common. The two peoples share many traditions and have shared ancestries. Many Portuguese now living in Canada have lived or served in East Timor. Timor has always held a special place in the hearts of Portuguese who were there.

We do not regard East Timor with a paternalistic, colonial attitude. The 1974 revolution in Portugal, which overthrew the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship, saw the independence of Portugal's overseas colonies. In the case of East Timor, sadly, a brutal inva-

sion choked off moves towards independence.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

In 1975, East Timor declared its independence. Ten days later, the Indonesian dictatorship invaded. The United Nations still recognizes Portugal as the administering power, and sponsors talks on East Timor between Portugal and Indonesia. These talks still leave out the most concerned party: the people of East Timor themselves.

We support the right of the people of East Timor to determine their own future through fair and impartial elections. All indications are that the bulk of the population, if given the choice, would choose to become an independent country.

Since the invasion, more than 200,000 people (or, one third of the original East Timorese population of 700,000) have been murdered or have died from starvation caused by the Indonesian occupation, according to Prof. Barbedo de Magalhães and Amnesty International. Countless others have been raped, tortured, executed singly or in mass executions of whole villages, relocated against their will or imprisoned, as reported on numerous occasions by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch-Asia, sources in the Timorese Catholic Church and others.

Human rights abuses continue to this day. In November 1992, the leader of the East Timorese resistance, José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão, was arrested and later sentenced to life imprisonment for "rebellion" in what most observers rejected as a show trial. Xanana holds the same position in the minds and hearts of his people as Nelson Mandela held in South Africa. He is generally acknowledged to be the true leader of his people, held illegally by a government that has no right to imprison him.

Just days before the writing of this brief, Amnesty International reported that three Timorese youths had been sentenced to 20-month jail terms for the "crime" of marching through the streets of Dili, the capital of East Timor, with pro-independence signs. This is typical of the human rights abuses that go on every day in Indonesian-occupied East Timor.

It is not just the people of East Timor who have suffered: massive environmental degradation has been another result of Indonesian military rule.

There have also been reports of an Indonesian-government-sponsored sterilization campaign targeting Timorese women and of forced abortions. The U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops has denounced this campaign as "tantamount to genocide."

Finally, the East Timorese are being subjected to cultural genocide. In the words of Msgr. Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Catholic

Bishop of Dili, "we are dying as a people and as a nation."

The Indonesian dictatorship is trying to wipe out the Timorese as a distinct people by banning or restricting their traditional languages, traditions and cultures. Before the invasion, East Timor was an anthropological treasure trove, home to 30 distinct ethno-linguistic groups, according to Dr. Ruy Cinatti. Under Indonesian occupation, most of these cultures stand on the brink of extinction.

In December 1991, the Indonesian military shut down So José High School in Dili, the only remaining school teaching in Portuguese and Tetum, the traditional lingua franca of East Timor.

Canada's commitment to multiculturalism and the preservation of languages is highly regarded throughout the world, and places Canada in a unique position of being able to foster these values internationally. Where cultures and languages are being destroyed, as in East Timor, Canada should be working to preserve them.

CANADA'S RECORD ON EAST TIMOR

Canada has always stressed the importance of human rights. Our record with regards to South Africa, Haiti and Serbia is one of refusing to bankroll repression. However, when it comes to Indonesia, which is one of the worst human rights abusers in the world, the Canadian record falls far short.

Successive Canadian governments have stood in support of the Indonesian dictatorship. At the United Nations, Canada has opposed resolutions calling for self-determination for the East Timorese people, their right under the UN Charter. In 1982, Canada even opposed a resolution calling for humanitarian aid and peace talks. This is a shameful record for a country which prides itself on its international work for peace and human rights.

We are pleased that Canada, in 1993 and 1994, finally backed positive resolutions supporting the Timorese people at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, along with the European Community and countries in Africa and Latin America. However, nothing has been done to enforce these resolutions. The Canadian government should be working multilaterally with countries like Portugal, Ireland and the Lusophone countries (Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cabo-Verde, So Tom & Principe), to support the efforts of these nations in taking measures to isolate Indonesia.

We are also pleased that Canada has made no sales of military equipment to Indonesia since 1991. However, this action also falls short. Some goods, such as Pratt and Whitney helicopter engines, are not

classified as military goods even though they are used to power Indonesian military aircraft. Additionally, Canadian component parts find their way into weapons systems assembled in other countries, which are re-exported to Indonesia without their "made-in-Canada" label. Export controls need to be tightened, and a formal arms embargo should become a goal of Canadian foreign policy. Canada has worked for a multilateral arms embargo against Burma Q why another against Indonesia, a country much admired by the Burmese generals.

Indonesia has also been a priority for Canadian aid money, receiving between \$35 million and \$70 million in aid from the Canadian International Development Agency. Last year Indonesia ranked second among CIDA's bilateral aid recipients.

On the one hand CIDA is moving towards a more participatory model of development, with special attention to women and grassroots projects, a laudable direction. On the other hand Canada continues to bankroll a government whose actions Q not only in East Timor but in Indonesia itself Q serve to undermine these worthy goals.

With government control so pervasive in Indonesia, it is questionable whether aid dollars are actually reaching the poorest people. Why should Canada be giving money to a brutal dictatorship when our deficit is at an all-time high?

Indonesia is also Canada's largest export market in Southeast Asia, with two-way trade expected to exceed \$1 billion this year, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs. The new Liberal government has indicated that Indonesia will be an increasingly important trading partner.

Trade, however, should benefit all Canadians. Increased trade with Asian economies, such as Indonesia, has not helped our communities.

Many Canadian companies are expanding their investments in Indonesia by leaps and bounds. This has the effect of exporting jobs from Canada to the low-wage Indonesian economy, where workers are lucky to earn \$2 a day. For example, Inco Ltd. is expanding its operations in Sulawesi, Indonesia, at the same time it lays off workers in Sudbury, Ont. and Thompson, Man.

The Portuguese Canadian community has always been concentrated in blue-collar, labour-intensive, low-skilled jobs. The recent economic recession hit the Portuguese communities in Canada especially hard. Portuguese Canadians suffered disproportionately high rates of unemployment. As we continue to close these kinds of blue-collar jobs and open Canadian companies in Indonesia and countries like it, we are exporting the very life-blood of our communities.

For the Portuguese Canadian communities, the East Timor situation represents a double tragedy. Not only is our tax money being used to encourage the export of jobs which have traditionally been our livelihood, but the same money is also subsidizing the continuing destruction of a kindred nation.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Canada should work multilaterally with countries like Portugal, Ireland and the Lusophone states to force Indonesia to allow self-determination for East Timor. If Indonesia continues to ignore UN resolutions, Canada should apply trade and aid sanctions.

2. Canada should use international forums, like the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meetings and the Consultative Group on Indonesia aid donor forum, as platforms to raise human rights concerns.

3. Canada should work for an international embargo on the sale of military equipment to Indonesia.

4. Canada should use its voice to work for the cultural survival of East Timorese peoples.

5. Canada should call for the unconditional release of Xanana Gusmão and all other East Timorese political prisoners.

6. Canada should offer concrete support to institutions in East Timor that are actually helping the people, such as the Catholic Church, International Committee of the Red Cross and UNICEF. No aid money should be given to agencies that are controlled or influenced by the Indonesian government.

7. Canada should work for the inclusion of representatives of the East Timorese people in UN-sponsored talks between Portugal and Indonesia.

THE CHURCH IN EAST TIMOR - VOICE OF A SILENCED PEOPLE

(Elements for recent history)

By Peace is Possible in East Timor, Lisbon, June 1994

"We are dying as a people and as a nation... I ask that a referendum be held". This genuine S.O.S., appealing for a referendum on self-determination, sent to the UN Secretary General by the Catholic Bishop of East Timor, comprehends the different components which have made up the Timorese people's recent history:

1. the Indonesian invasion and genocide practiced since 1975,

2. the struggle of a people that still resists beyond what would seem to be humanly possible,

3. the role of a Church, through which this people seeks to safeguard and maintain its identity,

4. and, finally, the silence and abandonment by the international community.

An approach to the history of East Timor from the main reactions and attitudes of the Catholic Church will give a restricted, but not confined overview because, given the circumstances, the Church has had to overstep the bounds of a strictly religious domain to provide a voice for a people that has been silenced.

BEFORE THE INDONESIAN INVASION

History tells us that the first Europeans to settle on the island of Timor in 1560 were Catholic priests of the Dominican Order, who had arrived aboard Portuguese sailing ships at the time of the Discoveries. Four centuries later, East Timor was a Portuguese colony, barely "colonised" by a distant metropolis with insufficient resources. The Timorese had largely held on to their customs and traditional way of life. Portuguese influence was exerted mainly through the Catholic Church, especially in the realm of education. However, after 400 years of Portuguese presence, and in spite of the privileges enjoyed by Catholicism as the state religion, only 30% of Timorese had embraced the Catholic faith.

When the dictatorship fell in Portugal in 1974, the new regime decided to give the colonies their independence. It soon became apparent that Indonesia did not relish the emergence of an independent nation within its area of influence. A missionary tells how, quite some time before Indonesia's invasion, the Vatican's representative in Jakarta had assured the Portuguese Bishop of East Timor that "the Church has nothing to fear from integration with Indonesia", and the Bishop had relayed this message to his clergy. The infighting among the Timorese, and the abdication of the Portuguese authorities, who were completely absorbed by the democratisation process in their own country, were to give Indonesia a pretext to invade.

CHURCH OF SILENCE

Although some sources report that General Murdani, a Catholic and mastermind behind the invasion, had issued orders to spare the Church, it was in fact violently hit. The Dili seminary was bombed, schools were burned down, numerous churches and religious buildings were plundered. From the very beginning, the fate of the Catholic Church in Timor was bound to the fate of the people. Timor was isolated from the rest of the world; the first letter from a missionary after the invasion only reached its destination in Portugal two years later, when the Portuguese Bishop was substituted as head of the diocese by the oldest Timorese priest, Monsignor da Costa Lopes.

GENOCIDE DENOUNCED

In response to an invitation to take part in a meeting of religious superiors from Indonesia, in 1981 the clergy of East Timor wrote in a collective document: "Our relations with the universal Church were suddenly curtailed. We are the clergy of East Timor who, together with our people, have been thrown into a vacuum and alienated for 6 years, so we have become the silent Church of East Timor". The clergy of Timor realised the implications of the invitation: "we are aware that we are being "persuaded" to set up links with the Indonesian Church, because it is the Church that is closest to us, and the one the government and army have authorised to maintain a closer relationship with us". However, they accepted the invitation to break the silence and expose the consequences of the years of Indonesian occupation: "the tragedy of the people of East Timor, which has lasted for the past six years, has resulted in over 200,000 victims".

In particular, they expressed their dismay at the silence of the other Churches: "we are amazed by the silence which appears to condone the fact that we are dying betrayed", and told the Indonesian religious superiors, who seemed to wholeheartedly embrace the views of their Government, that "We must all understand that the Indonesian national army, that liberated Indonesia from colonial power in such an extraordinary way, will never liberate the people of East Timor from its colonial state ... the will of the people of East Timor is to have the right to choose its own destiny, and not the large-scale massacres which have been perpetrated by its neighbours".

To anyone who might accuse the Timorese clergy of meddling in political affairs, they replied: "Only the Church which practices the faith of its people and is capable of expressing what its people feels, lives and suffers is a living Church". (1)

That same year, before 12,000 Timorese gathered for a religious ceremony, Monsignor da Costa Lopes denounced the crimes of the Indonesian army, particularly the massacre of 500 women and children a few weeks before, at the foot of Mount Santo Antonio. Reprimanded by the military commander, he replied: "I feel an irrepressible need to tell the whole world about the genocide being practiced in Timor so that, when we die, at least the world will know we died standing". (2)

In 1982, a mission from the Ecumenical Council of Churches visited Timor: "The leader of the Catholic Church in Dili did not hesitate to speak out in the presence of the security officials and dared criticise the negative aspects of Indonesian Government policy, concluding that the problem of East Timor is not a military problem but a political and humanitarian one and, consequently,

cannot be resolved by the use of guns", read their subsequent report.

Monsignor da Costa Lopes also addressed an appeal to Caritas in Australia to help his people, who were dying of starvation in the fields in which they had been regrouped by the armed forces. The Indonesian authorities called him a liar, and tried to get the Vatican to dismiss him, while not ignoring other more radical methods: "I received reports that the Indonesians intended to kill me. As they did not wish to be implicated in such a murder, they paid some Timorese to do it, but they came to tell me", recalled Monsignor da Costa Lopes, once he was in exile.

MONSIGNOR BELO, A CONTROVERSIAL APPOINTMENT

In May 1983, the Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta arrived in Dili to announce the substitution of Monsignor da Costa Lopes by Monsignor Ximenes Belo.

A group of priests in the diocese wrote "to the episcopal conferences and to the free world" to express their "disappointment and deep hurt on learning that members of the Indonesian Catholic Church had joined in the chorus of campaigns, within and outside Indonesia, against their prelate ... when his is the only voice raised in defence of a people condemned to silence". (3)

The new head of the diocese was a 32-year-old Salesian priest, who had recently returned to Timor after leaving before the invasion to study in Europe. He had not, therefore, experienced life under the first eight years of occupation, and none of his colleagues or teachers remembered ever hearing him mention the drama of his people. The circumstances surrounding his arrival to the leadership of the diocese contributed to the idea that he had been chosen to adopt different attitudes to those of his predecessor, and his appointment was contested by the clergy as a whole. Just as in the case of Monsignor da Costa Lopes, the Vatican did not appoint Monsignor Belo a "Bishop", but just "Apostolic Administrator", which meant less institutional clout and less security.

Soon after his appointment, the Indonesian Episcopal Conference sent a letter of solidarity to the new leader of the diocese. The Indonesian Bishops deplored the suffering of the Timorese people, but avoided reference to the causes of the suffering. The most expressive, or least evasive, sentence read: "we cannot refuse to face up to what is taking place in the midst of the people, especially those events which determine the well being or misery of the masses affected by cruel oppression". (4) Although the only known version of this was in English (it was distributed at an international meeting of Catholic organisations which give aid to the

Church of Indonesia), and there is no knowledge of it ever having been made public in Indonesia, the Archbishop of Jakarta criticised the expression "cruel oppression" which, he said, was the result of a mis-translation.

Monsignor Belo quickly showed signs of wanting to defend the rights of his people. From the time of the Indonesian invasion, the number of Catholics rapidly increased from 30% of the population in 1975 to 90% at present. Unintentionally, the Indonesians stimulated this growth in two ways:

1. the Indonesian State forces people to belong to one of the five big monotheistic religions,

2. the Timorese chose Catholicism, as an affirmation of their singularity.

"It is the generalised determination of a people seeking to defend its identity through us" (5), replied Monsignor Belo, when a journalist questioned him about the large scale conversions.

The Church, and particularly the priests of Timorese origin, have lived up to this show of confidence: "We do not adopt political positions, but the Church of East Timor is prepared and determined to defend fundamental human rights, especially the right of the Timorese people to exist as a people with its own identity and culture", stated the new Apostolic Administrator in the same interview.

In late 1984, Ximenes Belo wrote to the French Justice and Peace Commission: "The only solution to the East Timor conflict is a political and diplomatic one, which must include, above all else, respect for a people's right to self-determination". (6)

These attitudes brought the head of the diocese closer to his clergy. They jointly prepared a document, dated 1 January 1985: "It is with anguish that the Church is witnessing the events that are slowly leading to the ethnic, cultural and religious extinction of the identity of the people of East Timor". This text goes on to detail some of the negative aspects of Indonesian presence: "successive clean-up operations, systematically and periodically carried out by the Indonesian army ... reprisal killings by shooting adult and young men ... waves of arrests ... recruitment of the population for military operations ... ineffective health care ... concentration of the population in camps in inhuman conditions ... obligatory night guard duties and forced labour, without taking into account the needs of those affected ... the occupation by Indonesians of key positions and marginalisation of the Timorese ...". (7) When the document was made public by the Washington Post, Indonesian diplomacy denied its authenticity. The Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta also declared he had received a telegram in which Monsignor Belo denied

having "written" the document. What manner of pressure must have been applied to obtain this apparent denial?

REALISM

Monsignor Belo went to Rome where, more than likely, more pressure was brought to bear. When he returned, the Timorese noticed a change in his attitude: the head of the diocese was emphasising "realism", a concept generally accepted outside Timor, that Indonesia is too big and strong for any resistance to its intentions.

"I only hope that the Apostolic Administrator and the clergy do not disillusion the people, and know how to be unyielding" (8), wrote a Timorese cleric. A layman added: "if the priests desert the fight, we will carry on to the last drop of blood in our bodies". (9)

Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão himself expressed his own disquiet in a letter to a priest: "our fight would be made extremely difficult if we did not have the indispensable support which, until now, the Church of East Timor has given and guaranteed the resistance". (10)

It seemed that the integration of the diocese of Dili in the Indonesian Episcopal Conference would be a major step towards facilitating political integration. The Chairman of the governmental Golkar party, Mr. Sudharmono, visited East Timor and invited himself to the inaugural ceremony of an Our Lady grotto. On that occasion he promised Monsignor Belo that a new cathedral would be built in Dili if the diocese were to agree to integrate with the Indonesian Bishops' Conference. The Director of the Centre for Indonesian Studies in Jakarta, Yusuf Wanandi, promised that new Salesian missionaries would be allowed to enter, on the same condition. A journalist, covering Sudharmono's visit to Timor, wrote that religious integration could be "the last stage in the overall integration process of East Timor, which has lasted for 10 years". (11)

As these attempts to achieve their objective were not finding favour with the Church of Timor, the Indonesians turned their sights to the Vatican. In 1987, a Catholic youth organisation asked "the Holy Father to take the steps necessary for union with our brothers of East Timor...", without any attempt to disguise the political intention of its request: "for integration in the Republic of Indonesia". (12)

On 25 April 1986, Ximenes Belo met secretly with Xanana Gusmão, and relayed a proposal from the Vatican to the resistance leader: the Vatican was prepared to use its influence to secure the safe-conduct and departure from the country of the guerrillas, if they were to give up their fight. Xanana replied that the guerrillas were not fighting for themselves, and asked if the chance to

leave the country extended to all Timorese. A priest said that Monsignor Belo was satisfied with this response. There were other attempts along the same lines: in 1988 Xanana expressed his regret, in a letter to Monsignor da Costa Lopes, that the Vatican: "was insisting that its Italian and Spanish collaborators, and the Apostolic Administrator, persuade us to surrender". (13)

LETTER TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL

In June 1988, Monsignor Belo was consecrated Bishop.

Believing the reports from its correspondent in Indonesia, the Catholic information agency of Asia (UCAN) announced: "the prelate of East Timor accepts integration of the territory with Indonesia". However, it is a mystery how this interpretation of what the Bishop stated was arrived at because, in fact, he had expressed quite the opposite view: "if the Vatican and the local Catholics so wished, we would certainly participate as members of the Episcopal Conference of Indonesia but, until now, the diocese of Dili has not wanted this". (14)

Ximenes Belo's appointment to Bishop seemed to give him more confidence. In December 1988 he denounced the torture which had "become normal practice in East Timor". (15) In February 1989 he wrote to the UN Secretary General: "The decolonisation process of Portuguese Timor has still not been resolved by the UN, and it should not be forgotten ... I ask that the Secretary General initiate in Timor that which is the most usual and democratic decolonisation process, the holding of a REFERENDUM ... (because) we are dying as a people and as a nation". (16)

The Indonesians kept pushing for religious integration as a step towards political integration. The Secretary of the Episcopal Conference, Monsignor Situmorang, stated: "We have always wanted East Timor to participate in our Episcopal Conference, not only for nationalist reasons, but also because of the ecclesiastic ties between us". These ties, he said, "intensify the Timorese's feeling of belonging to Indonesia". (17) The position of the Nuncio, Monsignor Canalini, did not seem far removed from this view, although he was more conscious of diplomatic procedure: "We are aware of the Indonesian Government's wish to see the Timorese Church directly administered by the Indonesian Episcopal Conference" but "the Holy See is of the opinion that Indonesia should not intervene until the question of East Timor has been resolved in international forums. When the problem has been settled there, the Holy See will proceed without any hesitation". (18)

The Indonesian authorities were unhappy when the letter to the UN Secretary

General became public. Once again, the Apostolic Nuncio took their side and, according to the Indonesian press, stated that the Bishop's letter represented "neither the aspirations of the Catholic Church nor of the people of East Timor". (19) The Timorese clergy replied to the Nuncio in an open letter that "the clergy of Dili refute the biased views and suggestions expressed by certain ecclesiastic personalities (...) The Bishop is theologically, juridically and ecclesiastically, for all intents and purposes, the representative of the local Church when, in that capacity, he speaks about the Church and what the clergy and people feel". (20)

Monsignor Belo also wrote to the Bishop of Setubal (Portugal), asking him to support his appeal for a referendum. The Bishop of Setubal enlisted the support of over 150 Bishops, Archbishops and Cardinals, but when he wanted to go to New York to deliver a petition to the UN Secretary General, the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon forbade him to do so, and also banned him from publicly intervening on East Timor (this ban was lifted in 1992).

RECOGNISED DIFFERENCES

When the Pope's visit to Indonesia was announced, the Timorese clergy warned the Vatican of the danger of the visit being manipulated to show support for integration. The Vatican, however, did not heed the warning and, when the Pope landed in Dili, a huge advertising placard greeted him with "Welcome to Timor Timur, 27th Province of Indonesia".

During the Pope's visit, Monsignor Belo was asked by a journalist whether it was true that the Vatican had criticised his letter to the UN. The Bishop replied simply: "Yes. We do not share the same viewpoint. They think I am being political. If I were in Rome, perhaps I would also be of that opinion. But I live here. I see the people's suffering and share in it. It was my duty to write that letter". (21) Also, to a Portuguese missionary magazine, he stated: "I was not ready to take up this post. I was only in the priesthood for two years when I was cast here into a diocese with all kinds of tensions. After a few years of being in touch with the people, I feel that the task is a difficult one, and the thought of resigning has crossed my mind. But if the Holy See is confident in me, and if the people want me to stay, then I will stay, and sacrifice myself for the people". (22) Some journalists thought then that Monsignor Belo would not be head of the diocese for much longer.

An allusion to the case of East Timor may be read in John Paul II's Jakarta speech, when he warns the Indonesian authorities that "a political unity, based solely on military or economic might, can easily disintegrate". However, when greeting the Church

of Indonesia he added: "totally Catholic and totally Indonesian. These words are deeply etched into the modern history of the nation. They express the attitude of many Catholics during the fight for independence, and continue to inspire the life of today's Church of Indonesia". (23)

In East Timor, the tone of the homily was totally different. Why? "They have tried destruction and death ... but we know, through faith, that love transcends the borders between nations, peoples and cultures. The differences, offences and injuries are of little consequence ... Forgive ... Love your enemies ...". (24)

In an important political document containing his "Peace Plan", made public at the time of the Pope's visit, Xanana Gusmão wrote: "Fortunately for the Maubere homeland ... the people of East Timor are not fighting alone. They are not alone because its Church is on their side ... Monsignor Belo has announced he is in favour of a referendum ... we unreservedly support our Bishop's proposal". (25)

When the mass said by the Pope ended, a pro-independence demonstration was violently repressed. In reply to questions from a journalist, Monsignor Belo refused to criticise the demonstrators: they "were merely expressing their discontent with the situation in Timor". (26)

Irritated by the demonstration, which lost them propaganda points gained by the Pope's visit, the Indonesian authorities accused some foreign Salesian missionaries of having incited the young demonstrators. Father Carbonell, the Salesian Superior who lives in Jakarta, wrote a letter to the authorities expressing his wish to "continue our mission preparing good Christians and good Indonesian citizens", (27) and he got the missionaries, accused of the incitement, to sign along with him. The Timorese clergy objected: "We wanted the foreign missionaries to be purely defenders of the Gospel ... and not colonising agents". (28)

The report of the Pope's visit, customarily sent to Rome by the diocese, was published in the *Osservatore Romano*, bearing the Bishop of Dili's signature: "all our differences must be eliminated, we must forget our past, and abandon unrealistic ambitions ... avoid demonstrations". This contradicts Monsignor Belo's previous statements. The *Osservatore Romano* also reported that the original had been written in Indonesian. Investigations have shown that the author was, in fact, Father Marcus Wanandi, an Indonesian, and brother of the Director of the Centre of Strategic Studies in Jakarta. Some time before, Father Wanandi had been appointed Director of Catholic teaching in East Timor.

Father Wanandi wrote it, but it bore the signature of Monsignor Belo. The Timorese priests criticised some of their Bishop's concessions, which were to have negative repercussions: the entry of Indonesian priests and religious workers, the occasional use of the Indonesian language in the liturgy, the transfer of management of the Seminary and S. Jose School to Indonesians ... without the priests being consulted on such decisions. Those speaking out against injustice were accused of being political, but not those who were friendly towards the Government. Reaffirming their position, the native priests wrote: "we want to be a Church rooted in the people, committed to their problems". (28)

Monsignor Belo acknowledged there were problems: "the presence of other nationalities creates difficulties: the Timorese think more about their rights, their country, their culture". (29)

The process which had led to the removal of Monsignor da Costa Lopes seemed to be repeating itself in early 1994. Monsignor Belo revealed to a Polish journalist that he was aware of two plots to have him assassinated, but that these had failed thanks to Timorese who had forewarned him about them. (30) At the same time, rumours persisted that the Vatican wanted to divide the diocese of Dili into two. The same rumours indicated that a new non-Timorese Bishop was to be appointed, and would probably be Father Carbonell, the Spanish Salesian who had told the authorities of his determination to transform the Timorese into "good Indonesian citizens". If transferred to Baucau, the second largest city of East Timor, Monsignor Belo and his appeals in defence of his people's rights would be relegated to a back seat position.

WHERE IS THE "REALISM"?

After 18 years of occupation and genocide, but also resistance and affirmation of its ideals, the people of East Timor have shown to the world's leaders that they "are different to the Indonesians", and that their "history and cultures are not the same. Realism demands that the people of this island be allowed to speak", said Monsignor Belo in an interview with the French daily "La Croix". The Bishop insists on the need for a referendum, but to achieve it international solidarity, including solidarity from the "high-ranking Church authorities" which has been lacking all these past years, is vital: "I am not referring to moral, spiritual and pastoral support, which is real. I am speaking about active support, that is, political". (31)

NOTES:

(1) collective document from clergy in East Timor, 31.7.81

(2) written testimony of Monsignor da Costa Lopes

- (3) collective letter from the clergy, 13.5.83
- (4) letter to Apostolic Administrator, priests and clergy of East Timor, 17.11.83
- (5) Interview in Macau daily, "O Clarim", 19.8.81
- (6) letter to the French Justice and Peace Commission, 12.84
- (7) message from the Apostolic Administrator and Presbyterial Council of the diocese of Dili, 1.1.85
- (8) undated written views of a Timorese cleric
- (9) views of a Timorese Christian, 2.5.85
- (10) letter from a priest, 17.6.86
- (11) Sinar Harapan, 16.10.85
- (12) Hidup, n. 4 - 1987
- (13) letter to Mnsgr. da Costa Lopes, 10.3.88
- (14) UCAN, Asia Focus, 20.8.88
- (15) pastoral note, 5.12.88
- (16) letter to the UN Secretary General, 6.2.89
- (17) Asia News, 15.2.89
- (18) Jakarta Post, 12.4.89
- (19) Jakarta Post, 14.6.89
- (20) collective letter from priests of diocese of Dili, 7.89
- (21) Ouest France, 12.89
- (22) Ale m Mar, 12.89
- (23) homily given in Jakarta
- (24) homily given in Dili
- (25) document from X. Gusmão, 5.10.89
- (26) LUSA agency
- (27) letter to the Head of Armed Forces in East Timor
- (28) reflections of the native priests, 8.90
- (29) Publico, 26.9.90
- (30) Rzeczpospolita, 25.3.94
- (31) La Croix, 5.94

THE DOCUMENT OF THE EAST TIMOR CATHOLIC CHURCH ON EAST TIMOR NOWADAYS

English version of open Letter from Bishop Belo, July 31, 1994

1. The Church is not a political institution

Based on its authority and duty, neither the Church should be allowed to mix up with political affairs, nor has the bond with any political system, it represents a sign and protection of human transcendence (Gaudium et Spes, n. 76). Apart from that, the Church has no party, it only has the Bible to share with all people in all places and it is open to pluralism, an official option chosen on the basis of human and Christian fellowship.

As mentioned in the Council Doctrine, the priests are counseled not to get involved into political affairs. Even the Code of

Canon Law reminds the priests: "Don't actively get involved in political parties or any associations, unless required by the official policy of the Church leadership. This is highly important in order to maintain the rights of the Church or to promote public interest (Kodes Hukum Kanonik, 1993, kan. 287, paragraph 2). Whatever position is, the Catholic Church in East Timor is to accept the situation chosen by the people of East Timor (Surat Gembala, 1975).

2. Moral Responsibility of the Church

Nevertheless, due to an understanding of human being, with less interest to involve in state politics (Populorum Progressio, Paul VI, n.13), the Church should encompass with the evolution of time, then attempts to interpret it in the light of the Bible (Gaudium et Spes, n.4). As the Church is willing to help people achieving their perfect progress, manifesting public interest to be more humane, the Church has more responsibility to promote justice, peace, love and freedom through its teaching authority in the form of cooperation with all people with good intentions obeying the Teacher's instructions to teach all nations. Therefore the Church has the noble task to disseminate its doctrine on the community and also submitting moral assessment such as political structure whenever the rights of the people or the salvation are required and based on public interest in line with the evolution of time and situation. Implementing its moral and spiritual duty is the main objective of the Church for the East Timorese people. This is the task concerning the people as a fundamental way for the Church (Christifideleslaici n.36). Finding and helping people to discover their dignity is the main role, a central role which would unify the duty of the Church and human beings (Gaudium et Spes n.76).

3. The Right to choose for Lay People

As the Christians are living in the world as members of the community, they have the right and duty to determine their choices, also in the field of politics. Having their own political perceptions and determining various governments models are part of the basic human rights. The teaching authority of the Church eventually emphasises on active participation, be responsible for the Christian spirit in social and political life. "Being disciples in the community environment is an attempt of absorbing the structure of thinking and the tradition during which one lives with the spirit of Christianity representing the task and burden for lay people such a manner that had never been appropriately implemented by other people (Vatican Council II, Apostolican Actuositatem, n.13).

Pope John Paul II has explicitly said in his suggestions to the lay people concerning

the participation in politics: "to encourage the world structure with the spirit of Christianity in the sense of serving the people and the community, lay people can not refuse to participate in politics, as often stated by the General Synod of Priests" everyone has the right and duty to participate into politics, although they are characterised by a variety of form which fulfils one another in every level, function and responsibility" (Christifideleslaici, n.42).

The right to take part into public life is the right which brings benefit to the dignity of human being, because human beings are not only regarded as object on civilian society, but also should be considered as basic subject coupled with the objectives of its society.

4. Concerns expressed by the Church

Regarding the current situation in East Timor, the Church expresses its deep concern and worryness. So far, the Church's view is the happiness and hope, sadness and worryness of the people of East Timor represents the happiness and hope, sadness and worryness of the Christ followers. Parallel with this, these elements are also the main concern of East Timorese people and the Catholic Church in East Timor.

The above mentioned elements reflect the concern of the Church nowadays. This highlights the way of life of East Timorese people in which the Timorese people are living under pressure due to the imposition of institutional force, continued excessive control to be particularly affected by violations of the right to life perpetrated by the institution of force against the activities of East Timorese, the establishment of extra judicial institutions leading to extra judicial killing, extra judicial punishment, torture, arbitrary arrest and illegal detention especially by extra judicial institution, torture and missing people.

The Church also expresses its deep concern over the conditions of ethnic identity, religion and culture which are getting worst on daily basis.

5. Some Suggestions of the Church to solve the question of East Timor

Whatever the choice is, the Catholic Church in East Timor takes the position of accepting the situation chosen by the people of East Timor (Surat Gembala, 1975). In this situation the Church's suggestion is to hold REFERENDUM. This option is suggested by the Church as it is the most democratic choice which would accommodate all people's aspirations and the hearts and minds of East Timorese people. Nevertheless, if the idea of Referendum is chosen, it is predicted that enormous problems might emerge in the form of bloodshed among East Timorese people. Therefore the Church urges the Government of Indonesia, as the

ruling power occupying this territory, to provide great autonomy or considering this territory as a special one. It is suggested that the greater autonomy and special status for this territory be granted and be stipulated into effective law. To identify the concept of greater autonomy or special territory, the Church urges the Government of Indonesia to hold a series of dialogue with political groups (old parties) which had ever existed in East Timor. To these political groups, the Church calls to reconcile. The Church will open hands, if asked, to be the mediator for these talks. If the idea of these dialogues is of importance to the Government of Indonesia, the Church will widely open its hands for this possibility.

In this document, the Church calls the Government of Indonesia to reduce its armed forces being deployed in East Timor, reduce the number of troops, reduce extra judicial authority, an institution which threatens the East Timorese people.

The Church also suggests that a conducive atmosphere, freedom of expressing their voice be granted to the people of East Timor. The Church perceives that the hearts and minds of the people should be respected and be provided with true information on current events without hiding the facts dishonesty.

In reality and historically, the East Timorese people are Catholics, it is suggested that the Church should be given a special place and that the Local Church also be given the freedom to invite Foreign Missionaries in the name of the Universality of the Church.

More importantly, the Church urges the Government of Indonesia to genuinely co-operate with the UN Secretary General and the Government of Portugal and resistance groups to allow effective progress towards a settlement of the question of East Timor by holding a series of dialogues in order to achieve a peace, justice and internationally acceptable solution.

6. Concluding Remarks

The document of the East Timor Catholic Church on East Timor nowadays, specially the document to assist in the solution of the East Timor question will be continuously made. This is not the last document. The Church takes this position encouraged by the awareness and loyalty for this mission, for the community, for whom the Church was assigned to inform the Truth, Freedom, Peace, respect for human being in the Spirit of the Bible and the Church's Social Doctrine.

Dili, 31 July 1994

Bishop Administrator Apostolic Diocese of Dili

Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, SDB

cc. 1. The Vatican Ambassador to Indonesia
2. File

(At the end of the document there is a Diocese stamp)

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY?

A Brief Analysis of the Canada-Indonesia Relationship (With Specific Emphasis on East Timor)

These recommendations stem from a more substantial brief prepared for the Foreign Policy Review Committee by ETAN. If you would like a copy of this brief, please contact ETAN/Canada via e-mail at etanott@web.apc.org. -- Sharon Scharfe

FOREIGN POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Presented To Canada's Foreign Policy Review Committee

Presented By Sharon Scharfe, National Coordinator East Timor Alert Network/Canada

August 29, 1994

I would like to begin by thanking the Foreign Policy Review Committee for the opportunity to address you in person with the concerns of the East Timor Alert Network (ETAN). ETAN is a grassroots, registered non-profit Canadian organization that has branches in 12 Canadian cities. ETAN is a national association working for East Timor's right to self-determination.

It is due to the current foreign policy of the Canadian government that the East Timor Alert Network exists. I will not go into detail of what was contained in our brief; rather, I wish to take this opportunity to highlight the recommendations ETAN made in its brief to this committee.

To begin with, it is important to recognize that our recommendations result from the fact that the Indonesian government has been engaging in genocidal actions since it invaded East Timor on December 7, 1975. Since then, over one-third of the population has been killed, making it the worst case of carnage, on a percentage basis, since World War II. Yet the Canadian government continues to treat Indonesia as a favoured country, with ample aid, special trade preferences, and strong encouragement for Canadian companies to invest in Indonesia.

Recommendations on Canada's Aid Program

Insofar as Indonesia remains Canada's second largest recipient of bilateral aid, ETAN notes that:

1. Given the fact that CIDA is committed to an increased linkage of official development assistance (ODA) and human rights, and in light of the fact that Indonesia is one

of the worst violators of human rights in the world, Canada should suspend its bilateral aid projects with Indonesia until Indonesian troops are removed from East Timor and East Timorese are given the right to a free and fair vote on the issue of self-determination, a vote that would be moderated by the United Nations. ETAN's call echoes the position of the CNRM (National Council for Maubere Resistance), the international organization that represents East Timorese who resist integration; and INFIGHT, an Indonesian human rights NGO. Canada would not be initiating such a suspension, but rather reflect the new trend of aid suspension to Indonesia that was initiated in July, 1994 at the CGI where Austria, Norway and Denmark ended their aid program with Indonesia.

2. Canadian aid projects in East Timor must be channelled through either the Catholic Church in East Timor, through UN agencies, such as UNICEF, or through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

3. Canada must also encourage the resumption of the East Timorese exchange student programs, such as those with Canada World Youth and with Canadian Crossroads International, which were revoked by the Indonesian Government in 1993.

Recommendations With Regards to Trade
According to the Department of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia is Canada's largest trading partner in Southeast Asia; also, trade with Indonesia has grown by over 40% in the last two years and is expected to surpass \$1 billion this year. Bearing in mind that the repression in Indonesia and East Timor is also growing, ETAN notes that:

1. There must be a strong link between trade and human rights. This is one of the policies that were promised in the Liberal Red Book

2. The Canadian government must implement an arms embargo on all military goods from Canada to Indonesia in light of the gross and systematic human rights violations occurring in East Timor. To refuse a ban based on economic loss is ludicrous as the value of Canadian military exports in 1994 is negligible. Canada would have much to gain in the international community for its strong stance on human rights, as well as send a message to Indonesia that the flagrant abuses that it has been engaging in are not acceptable to the Canadian public. It is unlikely that Canada will stand alone for very long given that other countries are currently in the process of proposing similar legislation. With the domino effect of several countries, Indonesia will soon realize that it is no longer profitable to maintain its presence in East Timor.

3. Canada must boycott the upcoming Asia-Pacific Economic Co-Operation meeting in Jakarta in November (1994) if Canada's foreign policy is to be guided by considerations of human rights rather than just blown by the trade winds. We do not condemn the existence of APEC, only the fact that it is being held in Indonesia. Canada is attending as part of an immoral, profit-driven foreign policy. If Canada's words and values are to mean anything in the international arena, we must boycott the APEC meeting. However, if Canadian officials do go to Bogor, they must make the meeting a forum to press for human rights in Indonesia and in Indonesian-occupied East Timor.

Other Diplomatic Initiatives

1. The trial and sentencing of East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, has been condemned as unfair by the International Commission of Jurists which has called for the trial to be annulled. Given the patent illegality of his trial, the Canadian government should request his unconditional release.

2. With regards to the ongoing UN sponsored Talks between the governments of Portugal and Indonesia, the Canadian government must press for direct Timorese representation at these Talks in order to reach a solution to the question of East Timor.

3. Given the Resolution adopted at the UNCHR in 1993 and the Consensus Statement that was agreed to by Portugal and Indonesia at the UNCHR in 1994, the Canadian government, as a member of the Commission, should ensure Indonesia's accountability through the United Nations and UN monitored agencies.

4. Finally, in September (1994) President Suharto will be awarded the UN Population Award in Cairo. The Canadian government's representatives present must object this decision. To not speak out is to give their tacit approval that genocide is the most effective means of population control.

Conclusion

As the illegal occupation of East Timor approaches its 19th year, and as the murder and repression continue, the Canadian government must take a more hard-lined stance with the Indonesian government. The diplomatic, soft-shoed approach has not worked. The Canadian government cannot continue to fund and diplomatically support the Suharto dictatorship. While in opposition, Mr. Chretien stated in a letter to a member of ETAN that:

The Liberal Party of Canada firmly believes that we should not turn away from any area of the world where violations of human rights are taking place. Just as Canada and the world undertook measures to

protect the Kurds following the Gulf war, the international community should take steps to safeguard the rights of the people of East Timor. ... we have requested that the government persuade the U.N. Security Council to fully implement Resolutions 389 and 384, calling for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and the provision of international assistance.

Now is the time to put these words into action. On behalf of the East Timor

NEW EAST TIMOR E-CONFERENCE

A new conference, tapol.etimor, has just been established. This conference will contain a brief selection of the most important postings from this very large conference -- usually about two items a day. This conference should be available immediately from GreenNet, and soon from Web, IGC and Pegasus. If you're on another network than these four and would like to access this conference, please contact support@gn.apc.org with your request.

This conference is intended partly for activists in the developing world who simply cannot afford to download the vast amount of material (some of it sometimes repetitive) on this conference, and partly for those who are interested but not *so* involved that they want to read every item. This way there will be both a short conference, and this conference where the maximum amount of information can be posted and read.

Please note that tapol.etimor will be a *read-only* conference.

NAIPOSPOS SPEAKS AT THE UN

UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities
August 1994

Honorable Chair and Members of the Sub-Commission,

My name is COKI NAIPOSPOS. I am a victim of the repressive Indonesian regime, having been one of their hundreds of political prisoners. I am a student and I was and sentenced to eight-and-a-half years in 1989 for holding discussions on social and political affairs and reading books by Indonesia's most outstanding writer, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, all of whose books are banned in my country.

My friends, Bambang Isti Subono and Bambang Nugroho, were given eight-year and seven-year sentences for similar 'offenses'.

I was conditionally released three months ago after nearly five years in jail. If, during the coming four years, I commit anything

regarded as unlawful by the authorities, I will be returned to prison to serve the rest of my sentence. So I am not a free man and could be thrown into prison any time. My coming here is not without risk; I may be arrested and returned to prison when I get back home for criticising the Indonesian regime at the UN, which they regard as a political crime. A colleague, Beathor Suryadi, who was also conditionally released, is now serving the rest of his sentence for being at a peaceful demonstration last month.

There are many hundreds of political prisoners in Indonesia and in East Timor. Here are some examples.

NUKU SOLEIMAN, was arrested last November and found guilty of insulting the head of state for allegedly distributing a sticker about many acts of violence leading to hundreds of thousands of deaths since 1965 for which the Indonesian president must be held responsible. He is now serving a five-year sentence. Twenty-one students who took part in a rally last December, calling for the Executive to be held responsible for these acts of violence, were arrested and are now serving between eight and eighteen months. The simple act of peacefully demonstrating in the streets lands people in jail.

There is no such thing in Indonesia as freedom of expression. Three major Indonesian weeklies were banned on 21 June and many people have been beaten up and arrested by the armed forces for taking part in demonstrations calling for free speech and the revocation of these bans.

On Saturday, 13 August, just before I left Jakarta, Muchtar Pakpahan, the chair of the independent trade union, the SBSI, was arrested and flown to Medan to stand trial for 'masterminding' a huge workers' action in Medan last April. All five leaders of the SBSI Medan branch have been in custody since that action. Riswan Lubis, the branch secretary, and Hayati, the treasurer, are now on trial. Organising workers in defence of their rights is now a 'criminal offence'.

I have talked about many trials. What I must stress, in relation to point (d) of Agenda Item (10), is that they are not fair trials. The judiciary in Indonesia is not independent. There is no recognition of the separation of powers [Trias Politika]. All judges are government officials and are required to be members of the government party and its civil servants' union, Korpri.

Many East Timorese are in prison. Six who were given sentences of up to life are in Kedungpane Prison, Semarang for taking part in a peaceful demonstration at the Santa Cruz cemetery in November 1991, when troops opened fire, killing nearly three hundred people. Xanana Gusmão, the leader of

the East Timor resistance, who is serving twenty years in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta was found guilty of rebellion, even though rebellion against a foreign invader is justified under international law.

Six East Timorese youths have been tried for demonstrating in Dili when foreign journalists were present. Five got up to two years. The sixth is now on trial. In July, three Timorese were arrested for demonstrating while the UN Special Rapporteur on Extra-Judicial Killings was in Dili. Fourteen were arrested after a peaceful demonstration at the University of East Timor on 14 July that was brutality crushed by the Indonesian army. This is only a fraction of the people in custody in East Timor.

Time does not permit me to give you details about the many Muslims, Acehnese and West Papuans serving sentences on political charges.

But I must draw your attention to six men in Cipinang Prison who were arrested as communists in the late 1960s. They were all sentenced to death in the early 1970s and have served far longer than a life sentence in any civilised country. They are elderly, some are seriously ill, yet they remain in prison under sentence of death. The very idea of releasing them on humanitarian grounds to live out their final years in the care of their families has not occurred to the Jakarta regime.

Hundreds of thousands of people who were arrested after 1965 were held without trial for many years and released in the 1970s. No-one has been granted compensation for unlawful arrest. Although they are no longer prisoners, they suffer gross discrimination, they cannot get jobs in most sectors, they must still attend 'indoctrination courses' and their children are the victims of discrimination.

All these abuses fall under Agenda Item (10), paragraph (a) on the administration of justice and "the rights of persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment".

I have taken the tremendous risk of coming here to appeal to you to hold the Indonesian regime responsible for grave human rights violations during the past 29 years and still continue today. Indonesia is a major international power. It occupies the presidency of the Non-Aligned Movement and exerts great influence over the countries of South East Asia. Third World countries no longer look to the West for examples, they look to other Third World countries. Can we allow a country with such a high international profile to set an example of authoritarianism and grave human rights abuses? In the present era of globalisation and interdependence, can a country that flouts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everything that you, distinguished Mem-

bers, and the UN Human Rights Commission stand for, be allowed to get away with it?

I appeal to this distinguished Sub-Commission to adopt a resolution drawing attention to Indonesia's persistent violation of Articles 2, 3, 5, 9, 18, 19 and 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of Articles 7, 9, 10, 14, 18, 19, 21 and 22 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The misdeeds of the Indonesian regime are so diverse and unrelenting that it is high for the UN to appoint a Special Rapporteur on Indonesia.

Thank you very much

STUDENT MOVEMENT AWAKENS IN INDONESIA

Jornal de Noticias, 2 September 1994. By Gilberto Ferraz. Translated from Portuguese.

London -- The recent presence in London of the young Indonesian, Bonar Tigor Naiposoos, known as Coki, has drawn international attention to the Indonesian student movement's resistance to the Suharto regime, and to the "enormous potential for change now in the country".

In June 1989, Coki, a known student militant who was much admired by colleagues in the student movement, was sentenced to eight and a half years imprisonment for allegedly organising debates on political and social subjects, and distributing banned literature on "wrong ideologies". The example of Coki and three of his colleagues, Subono, Isti and Suryadi, who were also imprisoned and given similar sentences, and who were subjected to physical torture and humiliation, and subsequently suffered from depression, has inspired a new generation of activists. For this reason, the Indonesian military regime, doubtlessly under considerable pressure, devised a scheme to release these young undesirables, on condition that they refrain from further political activity.

Coki, risking his new-found freedom, challenged his country's authorities by traveling to Europe to denounce human rights violations in Indonesia, and testify before the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva. Meanwhile, his colleague, Suyadi, was re-arrested for taking part in a demonstration.

Testifying in Geneva, where he appealed for a special UN rapporteur to investigate human rights violations in his country, Coki presented a long list of cases, including the recent case of Nulou Soleiman, who was arrested in November and sentenced to five years imprisonment for allegedly distribut-

ing stickers which blamed Suharto for hundreds of thousands of deaths since 1965. He was also charged with criticising the imprisonment and sentencing of 21 students, who had taken part in a demonstration in Jakarta last December, to between 8 and 10 years imprisonment.

Coki further informed the Sub-Commission about the imprisonment of trade unionist Machtar Paloaha, whose crime was to be President of the SESI, and the trial of other members of this union, solely on account of their union activities. Coki also referred to the resistance in Aceh and West Papua, but mainly spoke at length about the struggle of the Timorese people.

Commenting that he was running "a huge risk by speaking out against human rights violations perpetrated by the Indonesian regime", Coki said he did not know what reception would be awaiting him back in his country when he returned this week. For the time being, he said he was "happy and optimistic about Indonesia's future."

Referring to the fact that resistance is fermenting throughout Indonesia, and was set off by the slaughter carried out by the regime and by the heroism of the Timorese, Coki was confident that this movement, reflected in nearly all sectors, namely among young officers, promises change - "not in the immediate future, but the way is being paved for it."

Questioned about whether a democratic regime might lead to the break up of Indonesia, Coki replied that such an outcome did not worry him, and that a solution could be a federal system. However, in the cases of East Timor and Aceh, which had not been part of colonial Indonesia, he believed the right to self-determination ought to be given.

NAIPOSPOS HAS MEETING WITH FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIAL

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release on 3 September 1994:

The recently-released Indonesian political prisoner, Bonar Tigor Naipospos, paid a visit to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office during a visit to London last week and spoke about his experiences as a prisoner held for five years on charges of subversion. He was received at the Foreign Office by Barry Seddon of the South East Asia Department.

Naipospos came to London after attending the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva where he made a statement about political imprisonment and the injustices of the judicial system in Indonesia.

Naipospos explained that he had been found guilty of subversion in 1989 for attending a study group to discuss social and political affairs and for possessing a book written by the banned Indonesian author, Pramoedya Ananta Toer. For these 'crimes', he was sentenced to eight-and-a-half years. He said there was no such as the separation of powers in Indonesia; judges are civil servants who must pledge loyalty to the government and the judiciary conforms with the wishes of the Executive.

Asked by Barry Seddon whether his trip abroad might create difficulties for him on his return home, Naipospos said it was hard to say though he realised that he was taking a risk in going abroad.

Naipospos also spoke about some very elderly political prisoners he met in Cipinang Prison in Jakarta who are in very poor health and who should be released on humanitarian grounds. These were men convicted on charges of connections with the Communist Party and various Islamic movements.

Asked whether he had noticed any improvements in the human rights situation after his release in May this year, Naipospos said suppression of strikes and the denial of the right of workers to create their own independent unions signalled a deterioration. He also said that the banning of three major political weeklies, *Tempo*, *Editor* and *DeTik* was a serious setback for press freedom.

Asked about the UK's arms exports to Indonesia, Barry Seddon said the British government had guidelines, under which it would not permit the sale of equipment that was likely to be used against the civilian population for purposes of repression. Pressed to explain a new deal by Alvis to refurbish military vehicles supplied by the UK more than twenty years ago, the Foreign Office official said he was satisfied that evidence of the use of these vehicles against demonstrators was from the late 1970s; no recent evidence of the use of these vehicles had yet been supplied. Regarding testimony of the use of Hawk aircraft in East Timor, he said that the British Government was prepared to accept Indonesian government assurances that they had not been used and would not be used.

The British government considers it important to maintain good relations with Indonesia through the conduct of trade which enables it to speak more effectively with the Indonesian authorities about improving the country's human rights performance. He did not agree that Britain should follow the US in curbing arms sales to Indonesia as this could lead to a loss of influence in Jakarta.

During his stay in London, Naipospos met with staff of non-governmental organisations which campaign for human rights in Indonesia, including Campaign Against Arms Trade, the World Development Movement, International PEN and Article 19, the world-wide censorship organisations

AUSTRALIA REFUSES TO CRACK DOWN ON TIMORESE DEMONSTRATORS

BBC Newsfile, August 25 1994.

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has rejected a call from Indonesia to ban political protests by East Timorese living in Australia, Radio Australia said today.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas yesterday asked Australia to stop East Timor campaigners from harassing Indonesian diplomats in Australia. He said Australia should follow the example of France and ban political activity by refugees or exiles.

But Evans said it would be difficult to get agreement in Australia for a law banning political protests by East Timorese. He said such a ban could generate even louder protests because of the principle of free speech.

Comment from Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor, France:

One precision about the law in France: while people having refugee status are indeed supposed to refrain from political activities concerning their country of origin, this certainly does not apply to people with different status, e.g. nationals of a different country. So such a ban would not apply to East Timorese with Portuguese citizenship, and even less with the French one (if such a case came to exist). I suppose the same applies for Australia...

EAST TIMOR BISHOP TO LAUNCH JUSTICE COMMISSION

Reuters, August 25 1994. By K.T. Arasu. slightly abridged

Jakarta -- East Timor's Catholic leader Bishop Carlos Belo, a vocal critic of Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony, has set up a commission to promote human rights, religious freedom and peace.

Belo said in an open letter, a copy of which was obtained by Reuters on Thursday, that the commission would be effective from September 1 and would have branches in all East Timor churches.

"The commission aims to learn and analyse problems related to justice and peace ... to help God's people fully understand their

role and function in the field of justice, peace and human rights," he said in the letter.

He told Reuters by telephone from East Timor's capital Dili that the commission held an informal meeting on Wednesday night to work out its role and structure.

"We plan to include Indonesians from throughout the country to be part of the commission's committee which will comprise lay people," he said.

"People who encounter problems can come to the commission to seek justice. But they must understand we might not be able to make decisions that could resolve their problems," he said.

"...But we might be able to see the fruits in the future," he said without elaborating.

Belo, who recently attacked Indonesia for alleged killings, torture and arbitrary arrests in the territory, said in the letter that the commission would also research human rights violations in East Timor.

It would also study the illegal occupation of land, religious freedom and the state of the workers and their wage levels.

"When people left after 1975-76 for Australia and Portugal, they left behind coffee plantations and rice fields which are now occupied by others," Belo said.

A dwindling band of guerrillas are fighting for independence from Indonesia, but their offer of a ceasefire in exchange for talks was last week rejected by the military.

Belo criticised the military for rejecting the offer.

UN EAST TIMOR RESOLUTION NARROWLY DEFEATED

Publico, 26 August 1994. Summarised (rough) translation

[Comment: It is evident that Indonesia used its status as chair of the Non-Aligned Movement to exert pressure on the Third World members of the Sub-Commission. No doubt those who were present at the session will provide an analysis of what happened, making it possible for Indonesian diplomats in Geneva to turned the tables at the last minute. -- TAPOL]

A draft resolution condemning Indonesia for the violation of human rights in East Timor was yesterday rejected by the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva. Of the 26 experts who are members of the Sub-Commission, 11 voted in favour, 11 against with two abstentions and two persons were absent when the vote was taken.

This is the first time in four years that the Sub-Commission has not produced a

resolution on East Timor, leading to frustration on the part of Portuguese diplomats. The rejection came as the result of an initiative on the part of Indonesia to invite the chair of the Sub-Commission, Ms Attah of Nigeria, to visit East Timor and report her findings to the next session of the Sub-Commission in a year's time.

The announcement of the Indonesian initiative came minutes before the secret ballot on the draft resolution took place, when it was widely expected that the voting would be positive.

The sign that things were not going in the way that Portugal would have liked came when, just before the Indonesian invitation to the Sub-Commission chair was announced, the Cameroon expert, Ms Gwanmesia, announced that she had decided to withdraw her co-sponsorship of the draft resolution. She justified her decision by saying that the resolution could have a 'negative effect' on negotiations taking place between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General.

The Cameroon expert was one of six experts who co-sponsored the draft. The other five were the experts from the US, Greece, Norway, France and Britain.

The larger number of co-sponsors for the draft was one reason why the draft resolution was expected to get adopted. Last year, there were five co-sponsors and the resolution was adopted by 13 votes to 12 with two abstentions.

By contrast with the UN Human Rights Commission which also meets annually in Geneva, the Sub-Commission does not consist of government representatives but is composed of experts who are, in theory at least, independent of their governments. In actual fact, some of the experts are government functionaries; this is particularly true of the 'experts' from the Third World.

At present, the Sub-Commission does not include anyone from either Portugal or Indonesia.

'ILLICIT' ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

*The Guardian (London), August 27 1994.
By David Pallister*

British defence contractors are being accused of selling arms to Indonesia against government guidelines which prohibit the sale of equipment likely to be used for repression.

Alvis of Coventry have recently won a GBP 6 million order to upgrade 150 British-made armoured vehicles -- the workhorses of the Indonesian army -- according to industry sources. Earlier this year a team from

Vickers Defence Systems visited Jakarta in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to win orders for its new Mark Eleven, described as having the firepower of a tank and the speed and versatility of an armoured car.

The Indonesian army has been involved in the brutal suppression of dissent for nearly 20 years and been branded one of the world's worst human rights violators.

Carmel Budiardjo, a spokeswoman for Tapol, the Indonesian human rights campaign, said yesterday, "We have evidence that British military equipment, including Land Rovers, have been used by the army in East Timor and elsewhere."

Britain's guidelines were set out in February by the Foreign Office minister, Alastair Goodlad, in a statement about the sale of 40 Hawk aircraft. He replied, "We do not believe that Hawks, or any other item of British equipment have been, or are likely to be, used against the civilian population in Indonesia and East Timor."

The Foreign Office said yesterday Indonesia had given assurances that no defence equipment would be used in this way.

A week after Mr Goodlad's statement, the film *Death of a Nation* by the journalist John Pilger was screened. It included testimony from East Timorese about the Hawk being used in ground attacks.

In March the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, defended the Hawk sales in evidence to the Foreign Affairs Select Committee by claiming that Indonesia was "moving in the right direction" on human rights and good governance.

Nearly all of Britain's defence sales to Indonesia are covered by the Government's export credit guarantee department which uses taxpayers' money for concessionary interest rates or to cover defaulting payments. Last year the total ECGD exposure to Indonesia was GBP 1.2 billion.

Other countries, including the US and Holland, have imposed limited military sanctions against the Suharto regime in the past year.

Alvis refused to discuss the upgrade contract because of "client confidentiality."

SF INDONESIAN CONSULATE "UNCOMFORTABLE" ON INDEPENDENCE DAY

by Sunil Sharma, ETAN/SF, August 26, 1994

On August 20, the Indonesian Consulate in San Francisco hosted an event to celebrate the 49th anniversary of Indonesia's independence (August 17) from centuries of Dutch rule. The festivities were held in downtown San Francisco's busy Union Square. Four activists used the occasion to

distribute a leaflet with information about East Timor.

The action was coordinated by Sunil Sharma of ETAN/Sonoma County, an Indonesian-American, who authored the leaflet, "As Indonesia Celebrates Independence, East Timor's Struggle Against Indonesian Colonialism Continues." It was written from a first-person perspective in the hope of informing Indonesians (approximately 1,500 in San Francisco) that other Indonesians are speaking out against the Suharto government's genocidal policies in East Timor.

The pamphlet was also intended to make Indonesians aware that the activists were protesting the "criminal actions" of Suharto and the Indonesian military, a "stain which disgraces the honor of the Indonesian people, who have purposely been kept ignorant of the facts," _not_ the people of Indonesia, nor Indonesia's attainment of independence - a cause for much "jubilation and pride" for Indonesians worldwide. The other activists who took part in the leafleting included Victor Correia of ETAN/SF and Tiffany Lagant, a philosophy student at Sonoma State University.

The event was a surprising success, with the consulate personnel turning out to be their own worst enemy. Minutes after distribution of the literature began, one event staffer confiscated the leaflets of one activist. The leaflets were quickly retrieved when the activists informed the Indonesian staffers that no law prohibits the distribution of free information in a public place. The staffer insisted that the activists take their leafleting outside the events square, but to no avail. The scene caused by this confrontation aroused the curiosity of onlookers, both Indonesian and Americans, many of whom approached the activists with requests for the pamphlet. The same staffer later plucked the leaflet out of the hands of a few Indonesians as they were being passed out, which again raised more interest about the literature.

A woman representing herself as the liaison officer for special events to the mayor informed us - after receiving complaints from the events personnel, and after reading a leaflet - that the Indonesian Consulate was very "uncomfortable" about the activists' presence, though nothing illegal was taking place.

Only a few leaflets of the more than 500 passed out could be found discarded on the ground or in garbage cans. This, coupled with the fact that many people _approached_ the activists for a leaflet as noted above, is a rarity in a big city where people are often over-saturated with literature at public events. A couple of Americans expressed gratitude over the ETAN action, while many Indonesian festival-goers

quietly stated their support and concern for the East Timorese people. Perhaps a hopeful sign for East Timor?

For further information, contact Sunil Sharma at: ETAN/Sonoma County 24 Varda Rohnert Park, CA 94928 USA (707)794-9338 sharma@sonoma.edu

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The following is the text of the leaflet:
AS INDONESIA CELEBRATES
INDEPENDENCE, EAST TIMOR'S
STRUGGLE AGAINST INDONESIAN
COLONIALISM CONTINUES.

"After losing their lives, as well as their political and economic independence, the [Timorese] native people are also losing their cultural identity because of Indonesian Government programs ... I don't want the rest of the world to think that everybody in Indonesia accepts what has happened in [East Timor]."

-Dr. George Aditjondro, environmentalist and anthropologist Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, Central Java. The West Australian, March 12, 1994

"The Indonesian people are not at war with the Timorese: the Indonesian regime and the Indonesian army are to blame."

-Liem Soei Liong, Indonesian exile, Statement to the Parliament, April 23, 1994

"A population of some 650,000 Timorese has, for almost twenty years, lived under the control, and the abusive, harsh and often violent treatment of their Indonesian military overseers. "We admire the people of East Timor for their bravery, their suffering and their determination to preserve their culture against overwhelming odds..."

-Statement on East Timor, July 27, 1994, United States Catholic Conference Washington, D.C.

For Indonesians around the world, including myself, August 17 is a day for much jubilation and pride as we celebrate the independence our people struggled so courageously to attain. The victory Indonesians achieved on this date exemplifies, as history constantly reminds us, that the human struggle for self-determination inevitably triumphs over the tyranny and oppression of colonialism in whatever form it may appear.

If is indeed a tragedy for the people of East Timor, Indonesia's tiny neighbor, and for the people of Indonesia, that the government of President Suharto has failed to learn this most salient of history's lessons.

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia launched a full-scale invasion against East Timor, whose people had just declared independence from 400 years of Portuguese colonialism less than two weeks before. 19

years later, Indonesia continues its brutal occupation.

Indonesia's invasion and ongoing occupation can only be characterized as genocide. Over 200,000 East Timorese, approximately one-third of the pre-invasion population, have perished as a direct result of Indonesian military occupation since the invasion, according to numerous credible sources including Amnesty International, the Catholic Church in East Timor, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Australian Parliament, Dr. George Aditjondro of Satya Wacana Christian University in Central Java, and the Governor of East Timor, Abilio Osorio Soares, who was installed by Indonesia.

Indonesian forces have employed the use of air and naval bombardment, chemical weapons, napalm, crop destruction and scorched earth campaigns against the Timorese. Many Timorese were herded into concentration camps where tens of thousands of men, women, and children died as a result of the Indonesian military's use of forced-starvation techniques.

Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor has been and continues to be condemned by the United Nations as illegal. Immediately after the invasion, the UN Security Council passed two resolutions (384 and 389) which condemned Indonesia's act of aggression, affirmed the East Timorese people's right to self-determination, and ordered "the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory." Eight similar General Assembly resolutions have been passed, however, the Government of Indonesia continues to defy international law.

The West, particularly the United States, is complicit in the genocide taking place in East Timor. 90 percent of the weapons used by the Indonesians during the invasion was supplied by the United States. Since the invasion, the US has provided and sold Indonesia over \$1.7 billion worth of arms. ... The reason for US support of Indonesia's assault on East Timor was best summed up by a State Department spokesperson: "The United States wants to keep its relationship with Indonesia close and friendly. We regard Indonesia as a friendly, nonaligned nation - a nation we do a lot of business with" (The Australian, January 22, 1976).

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops fired indiscriminately into a crowd of unarmed demonstrators at a funeral procession in Dili, East Timor, killing 271 people and injuring over 150, according to Asia Watch, Amnesty International, and others. The massacre was captured on film and aired around the world, prompting international outcry. A recent film by an Australian investigative journalist documents a second massacre after November 12, as Indonesian

troops sought to forever silence witnesses of the massacre and their relatives. Today, the people of East Timor still live in a climate of terror and fear. International human rights organizations and the East Timorese Catholic church continue to document the Indonesian military's use of torture, arbitrary detention, rape, and murder. US and other Western nations' support of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor continues today.

The Suharto Government's act of genocide against East Timor is the cause for much pain and sorrow for me and many of my Indonesian sisters and brothers. Suharto's criminal actions are a stain which disgraces the honor of the Indonesian people, who have purposely been kept ignorant of the facts. Solidarity with the people of East Timor is their only hope for survival. I hope you will join us in the struggle to end the slaughter. Damai Untuk Semua, Dirgahayu Indonesia

Sunil Sharma, Coordinator,
ETAN/Sonoma County (707)794-9338

"In many ways - through [the East Timorese people's] policies for independence, their organization of resistance and their creation of a nationalist movement, culturally, socially, and politically - the experiences of the people of East Timor are an inspiration and a guide for the peoples of other nations, in Southeast Asia, the Pacific region and elsewhere, who are striving to achieve self-determination and independence."

-John G. Taylor, Principal Lecturer in Social Sciences at the South Bank Polytechnic, London. Quoted from his book "Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor" (Zed, 1991).

"Echoes of the aspirations of the Indonesian people and youth reach me through the prison bars in Cipinang, your yearning for a new spirit... We the people of East Timor call on you to help put an end to the oppression of the people of East Timor..."

-Xanana Gusmão, imprisoned East Timorese resistance leader, Cipinang Prison, November 28, 1993

"I cannot help but think that the destiny of the East Timorese is also a measure of our own humanity."

-Shepard Forman, American anthropologist who lived and conducted research in East Timor from August 1973 to October 1974.

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TIMORESE GUERRILLAS WANT TRUCE BEFORE TALKS

Irish Times, 26th August 1994

By Jill Jolliffe

East Timorese guerrillas have appealed for a ceasefire to allow them to be consulted in agreed negotiations writes Jill Jolliffe.

The hunted East Timorese guerrilla leader, Mr. Nino Konis Santana, (39) has said that Indonesian troops are conducting a new offensive in the former Portuguese colony, and that a ceasefire is essential to allow resistance leaders to be consulted in negotiations agreed between the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers in Geneva in May.

"An offensive involving four battalions of Indonesian troops has been under way in the eastern tip of the territory since July mobilised in response to a resistance ambush", he claimed. "The Lore forest is infested with soldiers".

He said that contrary to the image projected by Indonesia abroad, between 13 and 15 Indonesian battalions continued to be active in East Timor.

A spokesman for the Indonesian military command in east Timor said last week that a ceasefire was out of the question because the resistance no longer represented a military threat. "They have been paralysed and no longer exist", the spokesman told AFP.

Speaking at a mountain hideout surrounded by his personal bodyguards and accompanied by one of his regional commanders, Mr. Santana said those who were fighting on the ground were "the most interested party", in the UN sponsored negotiations and were entitled to be heard after 19 years in isolation. He spoke bitterly of the "crocodile tears" from the international community, which he said had failed to convert words in to action, and of the immense difficulties his forgotten men fight under.

He said that the resistance was prepared to declare a unilateral ceasefire and that if Indonesia was sincere in its commitment to listen to the pro-independence Timorese, as agreed in Geneva, it should reciprocate to create a bilateral ceasefire which would allow the UN to contact the guerrillas.

The offensive in the Lore-Iliomar region was not the only military activity under way, he pointed out, and Indonesian forces had conducted operations recently in the Atsabe area after a resistance attack on a command post in June, in which two platoons from battalion 726 fled under fire and four Indonesian soldiers were injured. Latest reports from his regional commander, Loro

Sae, said the Indonesian forces were now withdrawing.

The guerrilla leader condemned the Australian government's recent arms agreement with Indonesia to compensate for American cuts because of the East Timor issue. "For us Australia's closeness to Indonesia is an affront to the pluralist democracy Australia claims to represent. Our nearest neighbour contributes nothing to a solution of the Timor problem-effectively, it is supporting the extermination of our people".

Mr. Santana admitted that his fighters were under extreme pressure, principally because of their limited funds and dwindling arms supply. They had difficulty sustaining supplies of food and essential equipment, although the civilian population was contributing greatly to their upkeep and protection.

He said that he had no knowledge of a fund of \$100,000 collected for the resistance in Portugal two years ago apart from one payment of \$4,500 received in July 1993.

He said that he had reorganised his forces since the capture of a former commander Mr. Jose Alexandre Gusmão (Xanana) in 1992, breaking with the practice of conventional companies under central command (a policy agreed beforehand with Xanana) to create small, highly mobile, autonomous units organised in five regions.

The guerrillas have no radio communications, and depend on a team of carefully selected, trusted runners to carry messages by hand in East Timor and from abroad. During the two days with Mr. Santana, he received a constant stream of couriers bringing messages from commanders in distant regions, from the underground in Jakarta, and from abroad. They dealt with political and overall military questions. Mr. Santana's military chief of staff, Mr. Taur Matan Ruak, based elsewhere in the country, deals with daily military organisation, including planning of operations.

A message from one of the commanders told of a manhunt in his district, where Indonesian officers believed they were closing in on the elusive Mr. Santana. Another message underlined the difficult supply situation: it listed the number of bullets civilian supporters had managed to collect or steal for guerrilla guns in a certain area in the preceding period.

Mr. Santana said that his men had used bows and arrows to kill two Indonesian soldiers while bathing in a river in Vemassee in June (one of his bodyguards is a master archer).

But the commander who was a trainee school-teacher at the time of the Indonesian invasion, said he believed that the resistance was ultimately indestructible: "It is impossible to defeat us because we have the civil-

ian population on our side, and we will fight to the last, whether it is with guns, bows and arrows, sticks or our bare hands. We were already "defeated" once in 1978, when our first commander Nicolau Lobato, was killed, but we rose again from the ashes. We know we can't defeat the Indonesians but they will never defeat us either".

Current strategy was to fight selectively in well-planned operations, which were essential to boost the morale of the civilian population, and to work systematically at enhancing the resistance's strike capacity. He said that prominent collaborators were also assassinated from time to time to instill respect for the resistance.

Despite its limited strike capacity, he said, the resistance under his command had opened two new fronts in 1993, on the border with west Timor, where there had been no military activity for years. The fronts were opened by former guerrillas who had been living in Indonesian-occupied towns since they surrendered in the late 1970's. The commanders of the two new zones, Comandantes Loro Sae, and Dudo, organised a small supply of guns and groups of men to leave the towns and take to the mountains again.

On the ceasefire proposal and the UN agreement in Geneva, Mr. Santana said it was essential that the imprisoned Timorese leader Xanana participate personally in the talks:

"He is the only person qualified to represent the East Timorese people", he said, repeating a statement made at the solidarity conference in Manila earlier this year that Xanana must participate, but that until he could MR Jose Ramos Horta, overseas representative of East Timor's national resistance council, might substitute for him.

THE ABOVE ARTICLE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A MAP OF EAST TIMOR FROM THE IRISH TIMES STUDIO.

LETTER FROM FRIENDS OF EAST TIMOR

The following letter on behalf of 'Friends of East Timor' of Perth, Western, Australia, was addressed to the Indonesian Consul in that city on the occasion of Indonesia's Independence Day.

Chief Consul, Indonesian Consulate, 134 Adelaide Terrace Perth WA 6000

17 August 1994

Dear Sir,

Today, you and your nation are celebrating your independence from Dutch rule -- a struggle which you deserved to win and which the people of Australia, to the best of their ability, helped you achieve. In 1975,

the Suharto regime brutally invaded East Timor and proceeded to colonise a nation which since then has struggled for its self-determination, just as Indonesia did between 1945 and 1949.

You would no doubt be aware that along with the majority of Australians, Indonesian people too are increasingly opposing the occupation of East Timor; the emerging democratic forces within Indonesia continually demonstrate their strongest support for self-determination of the East Timorese people. The people of Indonesia, it seems, are increasingly aware of and sick and tired of a war which profits them none, and has cost thousands upon thousands of young Indonesian men's lives. Indonesians, and notably the Javanese, are a most courteous, dignified and fair-minded people, and we believe it would be just and supremely honourable for Indonesia to recognise that the invasion of East Timor was a tragic mistake, and to withdraw peacefully from the territory would show to the world the compassion, honour and spirit of the Indonesian people.

That East Timor will be independent in the future is certain - as most international observers are now recognising. History is not on the side of the invader: remember the Americans in Vietnam, the Soviets in Afghanistan, the South Africans in Namibia. How that inevitable withdrawal takes place, however, and how history will judge your government's role, is entirely in the hands of prominent Indonesians such as yourself. We urge you to take the route of fairness, justice and wisdom, and press your leaders for a peaceful settlement. Like the heroic 'pe-muda' of your revolution, the East Timorese nationalists have proved their resilience - the armed resistance fighters cannot be exterminated - there are too many willing to replace them. Amnesty International's recent report (dated July 1994) to the United Nations Decolonisation Committee thoroughly documents the continued human rights abuses committed by your country's military forces. After 19 years of occupation, Indonesia has failed to win the hearts and minds of the East Timorese people. Bishop Belo, a man whose international standing is beyond question, continues to talk peace, quietly and with dignity, from the country he accurately describes as "a living hell".

We, the people of Western Australia, find it a humourless irony that today you celebrate an independence which your government denies the people of East Timor, who, under international law, have the inalienable right to decide their own future.

Yours sincerely,

C. Faithful

for: Friends of East Timor

MESSAGE TO PHILIPPINE SOLIDARITY FOR EAST TIMOR AND INDONESIA

From CNRM, 27 August:

The 'Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia' - a product of the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) - is holding its first general assembly and formal launching in Manila on 27 August. A message from CNRM for this important occasion for the pro-democracy struggle in this region follows.

EAST TIMOR - CNRM - National Council of Maubere Resistance

> Message from CNRM Special Representative > José, Ramos Horta to the PSETI first general assembly

Greetings and best wishes to our Filipino brothers and sisters on the occasion of the first general assembly of the Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia. I regret not to be present to personally share this important occasion with you in Manila today, but am extremely pleased to send this message.

The Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET), was held in Manila only a few weeks ago. Many of you played an important role. This sent a strong message to the entire world about the need to ensure the ongoing defence of hard won basic human rights and democratic freedoms.

The Suharto military dictatorship's coarse attempt to interfere in Filipino domestic affairs during APCET clearly showed the dangers posed by authoritarian and arrogant neighbouring regimes to democratic countries like your own. This made many Filipinos aware of the true nature of that regime. Shortly afterwards, in Bangkok, the experience was repeated.

Our people in East Timor, as victims of the brutal Indonesian dictatorship for the past 19 years, know the risks of being neighbours of oppressive and expansionist regimes. You have experienced the dangers yourselves.

We all have come to understand the great need for strong regional solidarity among peoples who wish to protect their freedoms and respect for human rights. In protecting internationally cherished values, we protect ourselves.

Speaking at APCET in June, on why the Filipino people should care about the plight of the East Timorese, Senator Wigberto E. Tañada said

----- We should care because our sense of worth as human beings obliges us not to deny others their own humanity and human existence. When a country goes against the grain of human decency, it is right to protest and immoral to compute the

cost-benefit of protesting. To ignore injustice and oppression is to betray our humanity, to fail in our adherence to human rights, and to subvert our conscience which stands for what is good and just -----

It is our oppressed brothers and sisters in Indonesia, as well as in East Timor, who need our solidarity. In particular, the growing numbers who bravely struggle as individuals, or as workers or human rights defenders, to free themselves from the brutal dictatorship which has enslaved them for so long.

It is for this reason that CNRM welcomes with such great enthusiasm the formation of a Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia. Few places in this region would be better suited to serve as the base for such a movement. Your admirable history serves as an example for the entire region. Filipino people have been able to end years of suffering by sweeping aside a corrupt dictatorship, and restoring freedom and democracy. The time has now come for you to share your experience with your less fortunate brothers and sisters in East Timor and Indonesia.

The important mission for the Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia is therefore clear. Allow me to congratulate you for having taken up the challenge. You have a major role to play in the struggle for a better future of freedom and democracy for the all members of our regional family. Through your work, the Philippines will continue shining as a regional beacon, bringing the light

of freedom to those still suffering under the darkness of oppression in East Timor and Indonesia.

We extend to you our fraternal best wishes.

A Luta Continua!

José, Ramos Horta, Special Representative, CNRM

Australia, 26 August 1994

EAST TIMOR WEEK IN DARWIN

By Sally Anne Watson, Green Left, August 28

DARWIN - August 15-21 was proclaimed "East Timor Week" by activists who worked hard and in unity to publicise and protest against Suharto's military dictatorship in East Timor and West Papua and the involvement of Australian governments, past and present.

On campus, Student Supporters of East Timor and Resistance, in conjunction with Blue Stocking Week, provided information stalls at NT University. On Tuesday evening, John Pilger's Death of A Nation was

screened to 50 people. Prior to the film, the Lafaek Youth Culture Group performed popular East Timorese dances, and Maria Alice Branco and Fatima Gusmão spoke about the struggle of women resisting the occupation, suffering rape and forced sterilisation by the Indonesian military.

Other campus based events included student activists standing for an hour in silence, in solidarity and mourning for the 200,000 Timorese killed in the last 19 years and the ongoing violations against women in East Timor. This was followed by a Blue Stocking Week Thursdays in Black presentation.

On August 17, activists demonstrated outside the Indonesian consulate, where celebrations were being held commemorating Indonesia's independence from the Dutch colonisers. Protesters demanded that Indonesia recognise the independence of East Timor and, speaking Bahasa, loudly encouraged the Indonesian people to join in the struggle and to fight for democracy in Indonesia. An effigy of Suharto and the Indonesian flag were burned.

A larger action of 50 people was held the next day outside the NT parliament, where the Council of Australian Government Ministers meeting was taking place.

On Saturday night, the Darwin to Dili Dance fundraiser was well attended, with Timorese band Ilimanu and Australian band Peckas, a truly cross-cultural event with lots of dancing and high spirits. The week of activities concluded with Catholics for a Free East Timor holding a prayer service on the next day.

FUNCTIONS HONOUR EAST TIMOR'S STRUGGLE

Green Left, August 28

August 20 marked the 19th anniversary of FALINTIL (Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor), which has maintained the armed struggle against Indonesian occupation of East Timor. FALINTIL has been transformed from the military arm of Fretilin into a non-partisan body incorporating all of the nationalist forces fighting for independence. Fretilin combatants, though, still play a major role in the leadership and operations of FALINTIL.

In Sydney, more than 500 people attended a dinner held at the White Eagle Hall in Cabramatta. Harold Moucho from the FRETILIN Committee of NSW spoke of the importance of FALINTIL as part of the overall struggle and said that Indonesia had failed to politically and militarily subdue the East Timorese people.

Festivities on the night included singing and dance performances from the East

Timor Cultural Centre, folk guitarist Peter Hicks and the Resistance choir, which sang the traditional Timorese song of struggle "Timor Leste Patria Amada".

>From Melbourne, Ben Reid reports that two functions were held to commemorate FALINTIL Day. In Collingwood, a dinner organised by the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) attracted 450 people. Numerous speakers, including Jose Ramos Horta, special representative of CNRM, and Bishop Deakin from the Catholic Church called for support for the Timorese in their struggle for independence.

Another speaker, federal ALP MP Lindsay Tanner, surprised nobody when he revealed it was almost certain that the ALP national conference next month would not call on the Australian government to recognise East Timor's right to independence and call for an end to Indonesia's occupation.

A second function, hosted by FRETILIN and UDT (Timorese Democratic Union), was held in Dandenong and attracted 200 people.

From Uki, northern NSW, Neil Everley reports on a successful photographic exhibition on East Timor. "East Timor Will Be Free!", declared Saskia Kouwenberg at the opening of "East Timor 1942-1992: a Retrospective Photographic Exhibition" at the Uki Buttery, on August 21. The exhibition, presented by Community Aid Abroad and curated by Jenny Groves and Oliver Strewé, is the most comprehensive collection of photographs on East Timor ever assembled in Australia.

The exhibition includes photographs spanning images of towns, villages and rural communities, Portuguese colonists, FALINTIL freedom fighters, the brutality of the Indonesian occupation and the bravery of youth participating in protests. The photographers include Damien Parker, Cecil Homes, Elaine Brière, Mel Sylvester, Oliver Strewé, Jenny Groves, who captures a student protest in 1990, and Max Stahl and Stephen Cox, who photographed the Dili massacre on November 12, 1991. Also included are a number of rare photographs smuggled out of East Timor.

The exhibition was on display in Uki August 20-23, on the first leg of its tour to Queensland. The official opening included speakers from CAA, Friends of East Timor (Lismore), AKSI (Indonesian Solidarity Action) Brisbane and performers from the local community.

Speaking on behalf of Friends of East Timor, Saskia Kouwenberg described the unprecedented level of international support for the struggle by the East Timorese people. Kouwenberg was present in Dili during the 1991 massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery, when Indonesian troops opened fire on

unarmed protesters. She described how vividly Stephen Cox's photos and Max Stahl's cinematography caught the brutality of the Dili massacre and presented the horrors of Indonesian atrocities that have continued since the invasion in 1975.

Kouwenberg also spoke of the increasing awareness that John Pilger's film, *Death of a Nation*, had brought about among people throughout Australia and the new climate of international pressure on Indonesia since the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor, held in Manila in early June.

Speaking on behalf of AKSI, Nick Everett described the emergence inside Indonesia of a new democracy movement that is demanding that the Suharto regime change its policy on East Timor. He said the Australian government was likely to become increasingly isolated internationally for its uncritical support for Suharto and called on people to support a campaign for Australia to abandon the Timor Gap Treaty.

TITLE: CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED FOR EAST TIMOR FREEDOM

By Wendy Robertson, Green Left, August 28

Resistance, FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor) Youth, UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) and AKSI (Indonesia Solidarity Action) have called a National Day of Action on October 15 in preparation for the November 12 Dili massacre commemorations.

"Australia out of East Timor!" will be the key demand of the October 15 actions. Sydney Resistance activist Andrew Watson says, "The day of action will be aimed at exposing the complicity of the Australian government and big business in recognising and supporting the Indonesian occupation of East Timor".

The October 15 action coincides with the beginning of drilling in the Timor Gap by a consortium of Australian companies headed by the Brisbane-based oil company Petroz NL in conjunction with BHP Petroleum (based in Melbourne) and SANTOS (South Australia and Northern Territory oil company).

The action also falls one day before the anniversary of the killing of five Australian journalists in East Timor in 1975.

All four organisations feel that it is important to use the day of action to focus attention on the Timor Gap Treaty. The 1989 treaty between the Australian and the Indonesian governments amounts to the legal recognition of the occupation of East Timor, which is not recognised by the United Nations. It represents the annexation of some 61,000 square kilometres of seabed

which is estimated to contain up to 7 billion barrels of oil.

Activities already planned for October 15 include a Melbourne rally in Bourke Street Mall, marching to the BHP offices. Sydney and Wollongong are also planning speak-outs and pickets of BHP. The Adelaide action will centre on SANTOS and Brisbane will focus on Petroz NL.

Speaking at the Sydney launch of the campaign, which was attended by 60 people, on August 26, Resistance activist Ali Whitfield said, "The importance of strengthening the solidarity movement for East Timor in Australia cannot be overemphasised. We have the responsibility to make it known throughout the world that we in Australia are in full support of East Timor's independence. With this in mind, Resistance has launched a national East Timor campaign which we urge and invite everyone to get involved with."

The main demands of the campaign are:

- * For Australia to suspend all military ties and cooperation with the Indonesian government, to cease plans for joint exercises with the Indonesian armed forces and to immediately halt the training of the elite KOPASSUS commando regiment, responsible for brutal acts of violence within East Timor;

- * To halt exploration and to suspend all licences to drill in the Timor Gap while the legality of the Timor Gap Treaty is being challenged in the International Court of Justice;

- * Inclusion of the legitimate representatives of the East Timorese people in any negotiations relating to East Timor. These include FRETILIN, UDT and CNRM (the National Council of Maubere Resistance).

In all major cities, Resistance will be holding petition stalls, high school and campus meetings, film nights and dinners as part of the national campaign.

As part of the campaign, Sydney Resistance is organising a demonstration against the official Australian visit of the Indonesian vice-president, General Try Sutrisno. Sutrisno will be the most senior Indonesian representative to visit Australia since 1975 and is considered by many to be a contender for the presidency.

As President Suharto's chief bag carrier and yes man, Sutrisno enjoyed a spectacular rise in the military hierarchy. As commander of the armed forces, he oversaw Indonesian military policy in East Timor. On November 14, 1991, two days after the Dili massacre, Sutrisno justified the killings by saying, "Delinquents like these [East Timorese] agitators must be shot, and they will be, whenever that is necessary".

Ali Whitfield says that the Australian government's invitation to Sutrisno sums up

its attitude to the East Timorese. "The oil in the Timor Gap represents millions of dollars in profits for Australia's leading multinationals. Important arms deals between Australian and Indonesian companies are about to come on line.

"Keating and Evans can only see the dollar signs and, like successive Labor and Liberal governments, will continue to ignore the tragedy in East Timor. They are prepared to bow and scrape to the 'butcher of Dili', to prove just how important their 'special relationship' really is.

Try Sutrisno will be visiting Australia in September. The Sydney protest will be held on Friday, September 23, outside the Defence Centre, 169-183 Liverpool St, City, at 12 noon. Contact the local Resistance branch for campaign details in your city.

MANDELA TO VISIT INDONESIA

From TAPOL, August 31

The Cape Times announced today that Nelson Mandela will be visiting Indonesia soon. The purpose: fund-raising for the ANC which has debts of R.35 million (7 million pounds sterling) after the elections.

According to an announcement on Portuguese Radio yesterday, the visit would take place this weekend or next weekend. We are trying to confirm the dates.

Our sources in South Africa say the visit is on the initiative of Mandela himself and had caused a rumpus within the ANC.

The South African Communist Party has written to Mandela urging him to raise the issues of East Timor, the banning of the SBSI and the outlawing of three Indonesian weeklies. Their purpose would be 'not to stop the visit but to transform it'. [Ideally however the visit should be stopped, especially considering that it would make the ANC so closely identified with the Suharto regime.]

The Assistance Secretary General of COSATU, Vavi, has been quoted as saying that he is 'horrified' by the visit.

People are asked to write letters condemning the visit to the Weekly Mail and Guardian, fax +27-11 403-1025.

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign today sent the following letter for publication to the Johannesburg Weekly Mail and Guardian:

31 August 1994

The Editor, Weekly Mail & Guardian,
Johannesburg
Dear Editor,

We are shocked to learn that President Nelson Mandela will be visiting Indonesia in the very near future. According to what we

have heard, he will be seeking financial assistance from the Indonesian dictator for the ANC which incurred a debt of some 7 million during South Africa's first democratic, non-racial election.

Six months after being released as the result of a worldwide campaign of solidarity, Nelson Mandela visited President Suharto in October 1990. On that occasion, he received a donation of \$10 million. We sought at the time to urge him to raise the issue of East Timor, but this he failed to do.

Does President Mandela not realise what kind of a regime he is associating with? Is he not aware that the Jakarta military regime is in illegal occupation of East Timor, in violation of ten UN resolutions? Is he not concerned that the leader of the East Timor liberation struggle, Xanana Gusmão, is now serving a 20-year sentence in a prison in Jakarta and is being referred to as 'East Timor's Mandela'?

But the perfidy of the Suharto regime extends far beyond its brutal and unlawful occupation of East Timor. Earlier this year, the regime declared 'illegal' the SBSI, the only independent trade union federation in Indonesia. Its leader Muchtar Pakpahan is now in jail, along with half a dozen SBSI leaders in North Sumatra, and will be tried for 'inciting' workers to go on strike. He could face up to six years in jail for legitimate working class activity.

In June, that same regime, outlawed Indonesia's three leading political weeklies and has issued threats and warnings to numerous other publications.

We would appeal through your columns to your readers to call upon President Mandela to cancel this visit. He should not allow his name to be sullied by shaking hands and receiving money from one of the world's most repressive dictators.

Yours sincerely,
Carmel Budiardjo

TIMORESE LEADER TELLS OF ATTACK

The Age, August 26, 1994, By Jill Jolliffe

The hunted East Timorese guerrilla leader, Nino Konis Santana, claimed in an exclusive interview in East Timor this week that Indonesian troops were conducting a new offensive to wipe out resistance to Jakarta among the population of the former Portuguese colony.

The interview was conducted amid intense security in an East Timorese mountain town behind Indonesian lines. Mr Santana rejected statements from Jakarta playing down Indonesia's military presence, and said there were now between 13 and 115 Indonesian battalions in East Timor.

He attacked the Australian Government's recent moves to increase defence cooperation with Jakarta, filling the void created by the United States' decision to limit military assistance until Indonesia improves its human rights record in East Timor.

Mr Santana said: "For us, Australia's closeness to Indonesia is an affront to the pluralist democracy Australia claims to represent. Our nearest neighbor contributes nothing to a solution of the Timor problem...effectively, it is supporting the extermination of our people."

The Defence Minister, Senator Ray, discussed military training for Indonesian troops in Australia on his recent visit to Jakarta, as well as the possibility of joint arms production. He told reporters: "We see an improving, not a declining human rights record and therefore do not think they should be isolated or punished."

Speaking in a safe house, and surrounded by bodyguards, Mr Santana said his field commanders had reported Indonesian troop movements in the far eastern tip of the territory after a recent resistance ambush. He said the area had been a resistance stronghold and Indonesian control had been limited to the roads.

He called for an immediate ceasefire so resistance leaders could be involved in United Nations-sponsored talks on Timor between the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers. If Indonesia was sincere in its promise to listen to pro-independence Timorese it should agree to a ceasefire which would allow UN officials to contact the guerrillas.

Earlier this week, the Indonesian military command in East Timor said a ceasefire was out of the question because the resistance no longer posed a military threat.

MR Santana said his forces were "the most interested party" in the UN-sponsored negotiations and were entitled to be heard after 19 years in isolation. He said it was essential the imprisoned Timorese leader, Jose Alexandre Gusmão (Xanana), should participate in the talks: "He is the only person qualified to represent the East Timorese people."

He spoke bitterly of crocodile tears from the international community, which he said had failed to convert words into action, and of the immense difficulties encountered by his "forgotten army".

He said his fighters were under extreme pressure because of limited funds and a dwindling arms supply. He said they had difficulty sustaining supplies of food and essential equipment, although the civilian population was contributing greatly to their upkeep and protection.

"We sometimes have to suspend planned operations because our men haven't had

enough to eat," he said. Although no arms had entered the territory since 1975, his men were sometimes able to buy guns from Indonesian soldiers.

Mr Santana said his men had used bows and arrows to kill two Indonesian soldiers who were bathing in a river.

He said besides and offensive in the Lore-Liomar region, Indonesian forces had operated recently in the Atsabe area after a resistance attack on a command post in June. Two platoons from Battalion 726 had fled under fire and four Indonesian soldiers had been injured.

He had re-organised his forces since the capture of Xanana, the former commander, in 1992. Breaking with the practice of conventional companies under central command, he has decided to create small, highly mobile, autonomous units organised in five regions.

He said the strategy was to fight in well-planned operations, essential to the morale of the civilian populations, and to work systematically at enhancing the resistance's strike capacity. He said the resistance had opened two new fronts in 1993 on the border with west Timor, where there had been no military activity for years.

The guerrillas have no radio communications and depend on a team of runners to carry messages by hand within East Timor and from abroad.

The 39-year-old commander, who was a trainee school teacher during the 1975 Indonesian invasion, said he believed the resistance was ultimately indestructible.

LUNCH ON THE GRASS: WITH GUERRILLAS

The Age, August 26, 1994. By Jill Jolliffe

NINO KONIS SANTANA, commander of East Timor's guerrilla army, is a resistance fighter defying the odds. He is pucky 39-year-old who might have been a school teacher or even a rock and roll musician.

But Indonesia's seizure of East Timor in 1975 removed any chance of that. Last week I encountered Santana, a hardened figure with a mane of cascading curls and wispy madarin beard, not in a classroom, but a remote jungle camp in the territories mountains.

For Santana the struggle for Timorese independence is literally a day to day proposition. He is hunted by the Indonesian soldiers and moves constantly from one hideout to another to avoid capture. He oversees the war of resistance with his jungle-based guerrillas and an underground network of civilian sympathisers and supporters.

"We have rejected a normal life, but the guerrilla life is full of adversity. The Indone-

sians say we live in caves, always on the run, which is false. We succeed in resisting because we are organised," Santana says. He has had his share of lucky encounters with Indonesian soldiers - one fire fight left him with three wounds, each bullet passing through his body - and each day he fights constant pain from infected teeth which go untreated.

But Santana admits that the struggle is often conducted in isolation where news of the diplomatic war can be scarce. "I admit that I am poorly informed about the situation outside Timor and everybody who commands a struggle needs to be well informed. The BBC and Radio Netherlands gives an excellent service especially at the time of the capture of our leaders and we were able to follow the situation as it developed," he said.

His wispy beard is the result of Timorese custom. By tradition, warriors do not cut their hair until the war is over. His has no end in sight. For 20 years it been a long conflict of attrition, a conflict that Indonesia has refused to fully acknowledge while it fends off international opinion and the constant claims of human rights abuses in the territory.

Officially Indonesia denies there is any war in this former Portuguese colony despite the massive military presence. But after my encounter with the FALINTIL guerrillas - some were carrying the signs of recent action - in East Timor last week, I am in no doubt that the deadly conflict is still being played out daily.

To reach Santana and his men took three months of planning with resistance undercover operatives in Lisbon, Jakarta and East Timor. The journey to the jungle hideout involved travelling Indonesian backroads often at night a sea journey of several hundred kilometres within the archipelago.

Once in East Timor the waiting game was drawn out. Eventually a war, coded reply comes back from Commander Mateo Resto. Two weeks later, I was bundled out of a car into house in the mountains. Later I was placed on the back of a motor bike, with instructions to keep my hands hidden. My driver was afraid that as we travelled along a main road my white hands might be picked up in the oncoming headlights of an Indonesian military vehicle.

The journey continued for a considerable distance on foot. Around 4.30am, I arrived at another house, where we were admitted after identification. A figure emerged from the shadows and grabbed me in an enthusiastic embrace: "Welcome! I'm Konis Santana!"

He talked frankly about the strength of the Indonesian forces, rejected suggestions that his own movement was anti-democratic

and elaborated on the ceasefire offer he recently made.

Santana believes there are up to 15 Indonesian units operating in Timor in continuous deployment against his forces. "From what we know the whole operation is commanded and coordinated by the red berets, the RPKAD. There are also four counter insurgency units commanded by ex-guerrillas...they are based in villages sympathetic to the resistance."

The commander also believes that there is relatively new Indonesian paramilitary force known as the Tigga Baru which is made up of Timorese who have been taken to Bali for military training. They are militia which are used to operate against the underground forces and form part of the Indonesian police presence.

It is 19 years since I last saw Santana, then a militant of the student organisation of Fretilin, the newly formed East Timorese liberation front, and just eight months before Indonesian paratroopers landed in Dili, unleashing the terror which continues today.

Santana's status is obvious, he is the only one is his group wearing leather boots. The rest wear foot-rotting wellingtons, reflecting the poor financial resources of resistance, despite the apparent tens of thousands of dollars collected abroad in their name. The resistance appears to survive on donations from the local supporters.

In appearance and manner, Santana is similar to Xanana Gusmão, the resistance leader now in jail, which is no coincidence. Both men are from the far east of the half-island territory.

Santana comes from the distinctive Fato-luko tribe, who are known for their pragmatic, independent ways. It was among them that the first free elections were held in East Timor's history, in the Lautem area in 1975, when a poll was held for local chieftains, under Portugal's decolonisation program. Almost two decades later, Santana shows the same pragmatism - he is currently negotiating to bring the moderate wing of APODETI into the resistance structure.

His thinking on military matters has been shaped by a near-fatal ambush he was caught in four years ago which resulted in six of his eight-man unit being killed. He was shot in the neck, thigh and sole, and his comrade-in-arms Kakehe was shot six times in the back. The two managed to crawl to safety. "We were both critically wounded. I was naked, I had nothing but a gun, and for a week we hid in the bush, reduced to eating grass and leaves, while I tried to nurse my companion, who was crying constantly from pain," Santana recalls.

The experience convinced Santana that the resistance must base its struggle on small, highly mobile units which could sur-

vive from the land and operate autonomously, a proposal he put to Xanana, and which was implemented before his capture.

After a day of talking, in between drafting and dispatching a message to a Japanese parliamentary delegation visiting Dili, Santana plans a photography session for the next day, which involves another pre-dawn march, into the forest. Fully armed and uniformed, the guerrillas file silently past houses until reach a patch of forest, not far from a main road, where we sit without speaking, to wait for sunrise.

The guerrilla leader has two video cameras, supplied by supporters, to film his communiqués for distribution abroad, and he has become an enthusiast for the medium. After filming and photographing, the sun climbs higher, lifting the mountain chill. Villagers bring baskets of fresh bread and flasks of steaming coffee, and we lie around and relax in the dappled light.

Santana says he wants international observers to come to Timor. "Jakarta has modified its position. If it really wants a dialogue in a frank open situation, we think a ceasefire would be very useful. In creating a ceasefire we are prepared to look at various possibilities.

"As a result FALINTIL has proposed to the UN Special Rapporteur of this ceasefire. It is not for us to discuss the problem openly, but for the entry of international observers to see the situation in loco, under UN supervision," he said.

My journey into Timor was a stark reminder of what the war of resistance is all about for these people. When I first visited the small south coast town of Suai with its population of 13,000 about 19 years ago it was at time of hope even rejoicing. For most of this century, under Portugal's Salazar dictatorship, East Timor had been cut off from the outside world and anti-colonial revolts had been crushed.

Portugal's 1974 "flower revolution" opened new horizons - under an act of self-determination, the Timorese would be offered three choices for the future: continuing links with Portugal, independence, or to become part of the Republic of Indonesia.

Last week I was shocked when entering Suai again to see the Indonesian flag flying, although no act of self-determination had been held, and hear schoolchildren speak Bahasa Indonesia, although this language was never spoken here. On a hill dominating the town is a military command center. Camouflage-clad Javanese officers with close-cropped hair communicating by walkie-talkie.

The Indonesian forces are planning to build a mosque even though the town has no indigenous Muslim. The locals are opposed to its construction.

But roads are incomparably better than in Portuguese times, and there is a splendid new Catholic hospital with equipment donated by the Australian Government, in line with its policy of encouraging development under Indonesian sovereignty, which it recognises despite UN resolutions to the contrary.

There are signals from President Suharto's office that Indonesia is willing to moderate its stand and talk with the Timorese resistance, and the pragmatic Santana from his conversations is certainly not opposed.

GUSMÃO PESSIMISTIC ABOUT AN EARLY END TO EAST TIMOR WAR

The Age, Tuesday, August 30, 1994. By Jill Jolliffe

In an exclusive interview smuggled from jail, the imprisoned East Timorese leader Jose Alexandre Gusmão said he did not expect an early settlement of the 19-year war with Indonesia over the former Portuguese colony.

He said the future of East Timor was now linked to the growing pro-democracy movement in Indonesia, and internal pressures for a more open society. But the recent banning of three newspapers and the threat of closure against others suggested it was premature to think of Indonesia becoming more open by the time of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation conference in November.

The Indonesian military's continued insistence on the right of the army to intervene in social life also reinforced this impression.

Mr Gusmão said direct talks with military leaders would not lead to a settlement because the East Timorese resistance did not trust them. "For Indonesian generals, conversations mean only that the other party... must cede to their point of view," he said.

He called for Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, to lead the United Nations-sponsored talks for the Indonesian side, and said his involvement would be central to a political solution.

Mr Gusmão, who goes by the popular name of Xanana, said the United Nations was the appropriate forum through which negotiations for a political settlement should be conducted.

The interview took place in Cipinang prison in east Jakarta and a recording was smuggled out by the Timorese resistance.

Mr Gusmão was captured by Indonesian troops in Dili on 22 November 1992 and, after a much-publicised trial, he was sentenced in May last year to life imprisonment.

ment for plotting against the state and illegally possessing firearms. The term was later commuted to 20 years.

Mr Gusmão said: "If Suharto is really preparing the way to be honorably remembered in history...he cannot separate democratisation in Indonesia from the Timor problem. Apparently stable, the regime will not withstand the internal contradictions - only the timing of change is unpredictable. That is our consolation."

But he was not optimistic that change would take place in the near future.

Asked what he would say to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Boutros Ghali, he replied: "That the best solution is an immediate referendum. But, because I'm aware of the limited conditions surrounding the Timor problem, I would say to the UN Secretary-General that the peace plan of our resistance council, the CNRM is the instrument which offers all guarantees to Indonesia for a solution acceptable to the international community."

"I would also appeal to him to speed up the talks under his auspices, in order to create basic political conditions in the territory, and mechanisms to stop immediately the systematic repression of the Timorese people."

AFTER ARTICLE BY AUSTRALIAN REPORTER TIMOR FEARS THE WORST

Diario de Noticias, 6 September 1994. By Carlos Albino. Summary. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon -- The clandestine network of the Timorese Resistance and the Church itself fear a new wave of repression and violence following the identification of people and places in Jill Jolliffe's recent article on her meeting with the leader of the Resistance.

Referring to the effect the Australian journalist's article has had in Timor itself, a high-ranking leader of the Maubere Resistance in the territory has stated that "the atmosphere is one of alarm and utmost panic".

He quickly explained on the telephone from Timor that "the central clandestine network had no knowledge of the setting up of the interview with Konis Santana. It must, therefore, have been arranged through people on the fringe of the Resistance." He added that "Konis Santana himself is shocked to learn only now that the Australian journalist is linked to the London Group, led by Abilio Araújo. He believed it had all been arranged through formal Resistance channels abroad, and by the clandestine front. Now we are seeing this was not the case."

The same source commented that the Timorese clergy is infuriated by the article, and considers journalist Jill Jolliffe's behaviour "unethical".

His last words on the phone were "they are identifying telephone numbers and recording calls, so I am going to hang up now".

A Fretilin spokesperson in Lisbon confirmed that the above information "is unfortunately true", and that Jill Jolliffe's article has "endangered the security of all Timorese who are legitimately fighting for their rights". Commenting that Fretilin abroad had no knowledge of the preparation of the Australian journalist's visit, he added that "unfortunately, some people knew that she had met with Ali Alatas in Geneva on 6 May, when she must have started to prepare the visit to Timor".

Both sources coincided in the view that the Resistance is now taking steps to minimise the effects of the new wave of repression, arrests and violence, which they are certain will now be unleashed by the Indonesians.

GERMAN WARSHIP SALE UNDER CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION

From 'Watch Indonesia,' Germany, August 31

THE SALE OF 39 WARSHIPS, PART OF THE FORMER EAST GERMAN NAVY, STIRRED PROTESTS IN BOTH GERMANY AND INDONESIA. THIS REPORT IS ABOUT THE LATEST PROTEST IN GERMANY, DR. WEIDLINGER'S ATTEMPT TO INITIATE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS ON THE SUBJECT; THE REPORT INCLUDES A BRIEF REVIEW OF PREVIOUS PROTESTS AGAINST THE ARMS DEAL IN GERMANY.

In Germany peace movement and human rights activists criticized this sale of weapons to a non-democratic country engaged in several (civil) wars, the occupation of East Timor certainly being the best known of these conflicts - but without forgetting about Aceh and West Papua (Irian Jaya).

Especially East German activists were furious about the arms deal, because the last East German government (before reunification with the Federal Republic of Germany) promised to scrap most of the NVA (east German army) weapons - including those ships, in order to prevent them from being used to make war anywhere on the world.

Actions included symbolic squatting of the ships, letters to ministers and members of parliament as well as a series of posters with pictures of each member of the national

security council, saying they were "Suspected to have supported genocide" - referring to the security council's approval for the arms export in spite of the genocide in East Timor.

Of course no member of the security council nor any other responsible politician has yet been tried for "aiding and abetting genocide". On the other hand an activist who distributed the posters mentioned above was fined for insulting the minister of defense (who was one of the men depicted on the posters).

But now, Dr. Gerhard Weidinger, former army doctor and member of the German organisation "Scientists Initiative - Responsibility for Peace", asked the public prosecutors to carry out investigations concerning the case of the sale of 39 warships (including 5000 t of ammunition) to Indonesia.

According to Mr. Weidinger the arms deal constitutes a case of "supplying equipment to kill people". He also claims that several federal laws have been violated.

In a letter to the prosecutors Weidinger describes the situation in Indonesia and East Timor. Citing Indonesian sources (e.g. the news magazine Tempo, recently closed by press censorship, following critical coverage of the arms deal) he states that - contrary to the repeated claims of German officials that "the ships will only be used against pirates and drug dealers" - the warships will be used for "warfare and security control".

With reference to the German export legislation, the constitution itself, the Charta of the UN and the European Human Rights Convention, Weidinger claims that the arms deal is illegal by German laws. He demands an immediate halt of the delivery of the ships until investigations are concluded.

The public prosecutors office told press that they are now checking Weidinger's notice. /Fraenkische Landeszeitung Aug.11.1994/

Peace activists and Human Rights groups hope, that Weidinger's denouncement of the deal will lead to a court trial on the arms sale and to an at least temporary delivery stop for the warships.

Unfortunately experience warns to expect too much from the courts in such a case.

SOURCES: - Fraenkische Landeszeitung Aug.11th, 1994 - taz (tageszeitung) Aug.12th, 1994 - Dr. G. Weidinger, letter to the public prosecutors' office, Ansbach, Germany, Aug.8th, 1994

Will German taxpayers have to pay the warships for the Indonesian Navy?

There is still some confusion about the financial aspects of the ship deal. After the announcement of Indonesia's Minister for Financial Affairs, Mar'ie Muhammad, that his budget only allows to pay US\$ 319 mio

for the purchase of the ships, German law-makers are wondering what consequences this could have for German finances. Obviously the US\$ 319 mio is just enough to pay the more symbolic price of US\$ 20 mio for the old vessels, so there remain about US\$ 300 mio.

We understand that the original deal worth US\$ 1,1 billion as proposed by Minister Habibie among others included the training of some 1,660 navy staff in Germany (US\$ 310 mio), the shipping from Germany to Indonesia (US\$ 94 mio), overhaul and modification of the ships - partly to be done at German wharfs and partly at PT PAL in Surabaya - (US\$ 344,6 mio) and preparation of the Teluk Ratai Navy base (US\$ 151 mio).

In consequence of Mar'ie Muhammad's cutting the price down to US\$ 319 mio, the Teluk Ratai harbour will not be built yet, the purchase of two tank ships worth US\$ 40 mio for the supply of the fleet will be skipped and some overhaul works at PT PAL wharf like the repair of engines have to be done later. But still there is a lack of money. It seems to be clear that under present circumstances Habibie is not able to pay the bills for works already done in Germany. Since several months the training programme in the small city of Neustadt is running, the German part in overhauling the ships is close to be finished and nearly a third of the fleet has already arrived to Indonesia. So, where to cut?

Therefore German members of parliament Dr. Klaus Kuebler and Dr. Elke Leonhardt, both belonging to the social democrat faction, asked the German government, what financial burden Germany has to carry in consequence of Indonesia's unwillingness to pay. State Minister Friedrich Bohl responded in a letter written 7/19/1994 that Indonesia was granted a DM 420 mio loan by the German development bank 'Kreditanstalt fuer Wiederaufbau'. This loan is guaranteed by the state owned export insurance 'Hermes'. Mr. Bohl concludes that this causes no financial burden for the German state budget.

Apparently Mr. Bohl's statement is not the whole truth. The daily 'Frankfurter Rundschau' reportet on February 16th, 1994, besides a loan worth DM 425 mio for repair and modernizing the vessels there was given another loan of DM 136 mio for the ships digital telecommunication equipment made by SIEMENS company. Including interest altogether Germany is liable for DM 698.9 mio related to the ship deal.

This amount increases the debt sum of 'Hermes'-insurance for exports to Indonesia to about DM 8 billion. In 1993 'Hermes'-insurance created a DM 5.1 billion deficit to

German's state budget, states the mentioned report.

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MANDELA TO MAKE PRIVATE VISIT TO INDONESIA

Reuter, 30 August 1994.

Jakarta -- South African President Nelson Mandela will make a private visit to Indonesia on Friday and Saturday but it was not immediately clear whether he would meet President Suharto, foreign ministry sources said on Tuesday.

Mandela, sworn in as South Africa's first black president in May, previously met Suharto, current leader of the 111-member Non-Aligned Movement, during a visit to Jakarta in October 1990.

The sources said Mandela would meet Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and possibly Suharto, who cancelled a visit to Cairo for the United Nations Population conference after spending a night in hospital with kidney stones last week.

Any talks with Suharto are likely to focus on how Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation, has tackled population and education problems.

In Cape Town on Monday, spokesman Parks Mankahlana said Mandela, 76, would visit Indonesia on behalf of the ruling African National Congress (ANC), which he heads, and not as South African president.

Indonesia and South Africa established diplomatic ties this month.

LETTER ON MANDELA

The Editor, Weekly Mail and Guardian, Johannesburg

Paris, September 1, 1994.

Dear Editor,

Agir pour Timor is saddened to learn about a visit of Nelson Mandela to Indonesia in the near future.

We had already heard about a first visit in October 1990, when President Suharto from Indonesia donated US\$ 10 million to the ANC. On the East Timor side, he has remained deaf to appeals for solidarity with the liberation struggle ever since. He has shown no solidarity, as a former political prisoner, with Xanana Gusmão, the imprisoned leader of the East Timorese resistance, now called "East Timor's Mandela". One cannot but see a connection between these two facts.

No doubt, President Mandela is aware of the record of Jakarta's New Order regime in terms of corruption, human, civil and social

rights violations, as well as its illegal occupation of East Timor, which caused the death one third of the population. It is deeply disturbing that Mr Mandela did not hesitate to be in terms with such a regime, just 6 months after his release from prison.

There are many possible comparisons of the current regime in Jakarta with the former apartheid regime in South Africa. One of them is Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and South Africa's former occupation of Namibia. What would have been the World's reaction of, say, a prime minister from India had visited apartheid South Africa in order to boost economic relations and receive funding money for its party?

Sincerely yours,

Bruno Kahn Secretary, Agir pour Timor

The following letter was sent to the Johannesburg Weekly Mail and Guardian by the British Coalition for East Timor.

August 31/94

Dear Editor;

We are deeply shocked to learn that President Mandela intends to visit Indonesia in the near future, apparently to seek financial assistance.

Many members of our organisation have for years supported Mr Mandela and all the others who finally brought about the new, democratic South Africa. It is bitter news to us that Mr Mandela could seek to tie South Africa to one of the world's most repressive military dictatorships.

It is surely a matter of general knowledge that Indonesia is in illegal occupation of East Timor, and that in the course of this 19-year occupation they have killed some 200,000 people, a third of the population. Arbitrary arrest, torture, rape and extrajudicial execution are commonplace. Many Timorese are serving long prison sentences simply for demanding their recognised right to self-determination.

Within Indonesia itself, the largest free trade union has been banned, leading labour activists are under arrest, and three weekly magazines have been forced to cease publication Q all in the last few months.

Mr Mandela should know from his own experience what it is like to live in such conditions. It seems incredible he could condone such a government by paying cordial visits and accepting donations.

We appeal to readers of this newspaper to ask President Mandela to cancel his visit.

Maggie Helwig

British Coalition for East Timor

NELSON MANDELA ASKED TO RAISE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WITH SUHARTO

TAPOL, press release, 1 September 1994

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, today called on President Nelson Mandela to raise publicly a number of human rights issues during his visit to Jakarta which starts tomorrow, 2 September 1994. Calling visit "inappropriate", TAPOL said:

"As a world-renowned personality who has enjoyed the benefits of international solidarity in ending South Africa's acute human rights violations and in securing your own release from political imprisonment, you will surely heed our plea that you should take the opportunity to make your views known to your Indonesian host."

The letter referred to numerous acts of violence perpetrated by the Indonesian armed forces since 1965, against communists and, since the 1980s, against Muslim congregations in Tanjung Priok and Lampung, as well as the crushing of the liberation struggle in Aceh, North Sumatra since 1989.

TAPOL drew Mr Mandela's attention to Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and to the fact that the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, is now serving a 20-year sentence in a Jakarta Prison.

The letter also highlighted the Indonesian government's refusal to allow the independent trade union, SBSI, to exist and the forthcoming trials of a number of SBSI leaders, including its General Chairman, Muchtar Pakpahan. The banning of three leading weeklies was also raised.

This is Mr Mandela's second visit to Indonesia since his release from prison in early 1990. On his first visit in October 1990, he received a donation from President Suharto of \$10 million. TAPOL has learned that Mr Mandela, who is going to Jakarta as president of the ANC, not as state president, may obtain another donation from President Suharto to help the ANC reduce its debt of around 7 million, incurred during the recent general elections in South Africa.

TAPOL said in its letter:

"...it is inappropriate for a person like yourself, for years the victim of a repressive regime, to be meeting and shaking hands with a dictator who presides over one of the world's most repressive regimes. However, at this late hour, we appeal to you to raise these issues while in Jakarta. This would help to remedy the unfortunate impression created by your visit to Jakarta."

XANANA GUSMÃO WRITES TO MANDELA

The following is the text of a letter from the leader of the East Timorese National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), Xanana Gusmão, to President Nelson Mandela, sent from Cipinang Prison, Jakarta on 15 May 1994.

The letter, written in Portuguese, was released by the CNRM representative, Luis Cardoso in Lisbon today, 1 September 1994:

His Excellency,
The President of South Africa,
Mr Nelson Mandela
Mr President,

On behalf of the People of East Timor, the CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance) and the East Timorese Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALINTIL), I send you greetings and congratulations on such a tremendous victory over the past which the present intends to erase for the sake of harmony and progress of South Africa's future generations.

I personally congratulate you, Mr President, on your unyielding fight for justice, your perseverance in standing up for human rights and your spiritual tenacity and lucidity which you maintained throughout your struggle, in spite of severe adversities.

Your election as the first President of a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa in an inspiration to the fight of oppressed people everywhere, the fight of the victims of repression, injustice and crimes committed by totalitarian regimes. Humanity has taken another step forward towards Human Freedom and the Freedom of Peoples.

Today, the suffering Maubere People have yet another reason to carry on, and to keep the flag of freedom flying. The oppressed people of East Timor have been encouraged even more to make the sacrifices needed to defend their rights, to uphold freedom and justice, and to attain peace.

The People of East Timor congratulate the South African People for whom a new chapter in history, full of hope and prospects is opening up. From the bottom of their hearts - the hearts of those who are also victims of repression, victims of physical and cultural genocide - the Maubere People hope that, under your guidance, Mr President, the People of South Africa wisely put into effect the ideas always held by the African National Congress (ANC), of a South Africa that offers freedom and justice to all its citizens, and harmony and understanding for all its people.

On 10 of May 1994, a curtain was drawn across a time in the history of mankind

which is best forgotten. The Maubere People dearly hope that all South Africans will unite in a concerted effort, under your Presidency, to heal the wounds of yesterday and construct a radiant future for the South African nation.

Having said this, Mr President, we are also certain that the successful restoration of law, justice, freedom and peace in South Africa cannot be complete while, in other parts of the world, repression continues to create victims, and while governments of many countries contemplate with indifference the crimes being committed by the powerful.

For this very reason, we are sure that your struggle, Mr President, as well as the ANC's difficult fight, and the repression experienced by the black majority of South Africa, will continue to inspire your personal support, and that of the ANC, the government and the South African people for the fight of the small, weak and defenceless People of East Timor for its right to self-determination and national independence.

LONG LIVE UNITED, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA!

LONG LIVE THE JUST STRUGGLE OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!

With my highest esteem and admiration,
Yours,
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão,
Member of the CNRM,
Commander of the FALINTIL,
Cipinang Prison, Jakarta
15 May 1994

ETAN/CANADA UPDATE #36

From the East Timor Alert Network/Canada, September 1, 1994

UN gives Indonesian president "population control" award

The United Nations has decided to give Indonesian President Suharto an award for population control at its upcoming conference on Population and Development in Cairo, a move immediately denounced by human rights activists from around the world. General Suharto, who was previously given an award for population control in 1989 to international protest, is far from a positive example to others, activists say.

The Indonesian population control is an example of top-down target-oriented planning that disempowers women, according to the British Coalition for East Timor, the first group to issue a protest.

"Women have sacrificed enough," said Yanti Muchtar of Solidaritas Perempuan, an independent women's group in Indonesia. "It is high time that Population control"

involving inhumane methods of subjecting women to contraceptives without informing them of negative effects on health, and other options such as natural birth control, be stopped."

At its worst, the Indonesian population control program is being used as part of a campaign of genocide against the people of East Timor. Timorese women are afraid to go into hospitals for fear that they will be sterilized against their will. Coercive birth control methods (such as involuntary injections with Depo Provera) have been common in East Timor. Indonesian soldiers are often guilty of rape, as described in the following example from Amnesty International: "On the night of 13 November, one day after being admitted to hospital with five bullet wounds, two soldiers came to her bed, cut off all her clothes with scissors and began to touch her body. She was unable to move because of her wounds, and so simply closed her eyes so that she would not see their faces." One of her military interrogators later molested her. Asked how this affected her she said: "If men are hurt they can recover and forget what happened, but for women, if they are raped or tortured, they cannot forget. Their life is destroyed forever."

The East Timor Alert Network has joined the international protest against the decision to award Suharto for his government's population control activities. ETAN will be demanding that Canadian representatives boycott the award ceremony and use the International Conference on Population and Development to deliver the message that Suharto's form of "population control" is not acceptable to Canadians. Letters can be sent to Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Ouellet, House of Commons, K1A 0A6, or fax to (613) 995-9926.

[Note: This turned out to be incorrect. Suharto was not given the population award.]

Labour crackdown continues

The Indonesian government is intensifying its crackdown on the country's only free trade union, the SBSI (Indonesia Prosperity Trade Union). SBSI organizer Muchtar Pakpahan was arrested on Aug. 16, and supporters fear he is being tortured. Union chair Sunanti called the arrest part of a pattern of attacks that started when the SBSI organized a wave of strikes in the industrial city of Medan. "It is the intention of the government to destroy the SBSI," she said.

Asian solidarity for Timor

Support for East Timor is growing throughout Asia. Following the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor in Manila, Philippine organizers launched a new organization, Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia (PSETI). Support is now

growing throughout the region, shattering attempts by Indonesian President Suharto to bully neighbouring countries. Indonesian threats have been effective in keeping regional governments on line, but grassroots organizations in Southeast Asia have refused to be intimidated.

Malaysia, Indonesia's closest neighbour, has been the most striking case. A recent seminar on East Timor went ahead, with the Malaysian government denouncing the meeting but doing nothing to stop it.

On July 20-25, Thailand's Southeast Asian Human Rights Network organized a meeting to coincide with the annual summit of heads of government of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The meeting linked the issues of Burma and East Timor, which organizers saw as the two most blatant human rights abuses going on within the region.

The Thai government issued a blacklist of 11 Timorese who it said would not be allowed to enter the country. Two Australians and a Filipino were deported from Thailand after visiting Burmese opposition groups along the border but before they could attend the conference.

Just as happened in Manila, however, the ban ended up giving more publicity to the conference, both in the Thai press and internationally. In the end, Timorese external leader Jose Ramos Horta was able to get into the meeting and deliver a speech to participants.

This summer the international Parliamentarians for East Timor signed up members from three Asian countries: the Philippines, Malaysia and Nepal. They join the active Japanese section.

Consideration is now being given to a meeting in Hong Kong, where the economic blackmail used against the Philippines and Thailand is less likely to have an effect. In yet another regional linkage, the featured speaker may be the Dalai Lama of Tibet, whose story of genocide under Chinese occupation sounds a lot like the East Timor story.

Music and solidarity in Western Canada
ETAN supporters in Winnipeg have held that city's first East Timor solidarity rally, protesting a July 11 meeting between Indonesian Ambassador to Canada Benjamin Parwoto and Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia Lawrence Dickinson. The two were speaking at a breakfast meeting at the Winnipeg Convention Centre sponsored by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association as part of its push for increased trade with Indonesia. Fifteen people attended the meeting, and plan to form an ETAN/Winnipeg group this month.

East Timor groups are proliferating across Western Canada, helped by the re-

cent Western tour by Abe ho Aloz, who spent August crossing the country with their blend of traditional Timorese and contemporary sounds. The tour started at the Festival of the Sound in Parry Sound, Ont., where the duo performed as part of Worldbeat Weekend.

ETAN groups have been formed, or may be formed, in Victoria, B.C.; Vernon, B.C.; Edmonton, Alta.; and Winnipeg, Man. They join existing chapters in Vancouver and Calgary. Abe ho Aloz also received good responses in Regina, Sask.; Thunder Bay, Ont. and Sudbury, Ont.

ETAN/L.A. FEINSTEIN DEMONSTRATION

Report from ETAN/ Los Angeles, September 2

On Tuesday, August 30 1994, ten members of the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles held a demonstration outside of Jimmy's Restaurant in Beverly Hills where U.S. Senator and Suharto-supporter Dianne Feinstein (Democrat-California) was holding a \$1,000/person luncheon fundraiser. As the Rolls Royces, Jaguars, limousines, and other expensive automobiles pulled up to the restaurant, members of ETAN/LA tried to give attendees flyers explaining why we were there. Many--about half--even refused to read our flyers. Despite our being polite, many of Feinstein's wealthy supporters did not feel comfortable about our presence. It was difficult to miss us. We had a number of placards and two big banners, one of which stated "Feinstein Supports Genocide in East Timor"; the other called for an end for U.S. military and economic support for Jakarta's occupation of East Timor. The high points of the afternoon were the arrival and departure of Senator Feinstein. Upon her arrival, she first pretended to ignore us and then waved and smiled after putting her forefinger over her lips to let us know that she wanted us to stop making noise. After the luncheon, all the guests were lined up in front of the restaurant waiting for the low-paid valets to get their cars. This was a good opportunity for us to speak directly to the attendees (via a megaphone) and explain to them why we were there. As she rushed to her car (10 feet away from us) upon her departure, Senator Feinstein was clearly distraught and embarrassed by our presence and our publicizing her complicity in the occupation of East Timor. Our assessment of the event is that it was generally a success. While many refused to take our flyers, many did take them and a number of the guests asked us questions. A few even expressed their approval of our demonstrating. As for Senator Feinstein, our effect on her

remains a mystery. It is clear, however, that East Timor is on her mind and that she will probably think twice before voting on the next piece of legislation regarding East Timor. A few people in our group suggested that, in order to keep up the pressure, it would be great if similar demonstrations could take place in the Bay Area or at her Washington, D.C. office. As someone who likes to see herself as a liberal and a defender of human rights, Feinstein is susceptible to pressure. ETAN/LA invites ideas from others. . . .

New address and phone for ETAN/L.A.:
1102 Marco Place Venice, CA 90291-3938.
U.S.A. (310)450-5375
email: etanla@igc.apc.org

SWISS ARMS IN INDONESIA?

From Martin Broek on behalf of the European Network Against Arms Trade-campaign: STOP ARMING INDONESIA. 2 September

According to several sources (Jane's Sentinel South China Sea and Military Powers encyclopedia South East Asia 1991) Indonesia is in possession of the Swiss SIG assault rifles and Anti Air warfare guns (20mm and 35mm from Oerlikon B• hrle Contraves). There are no governmental sources for this.

The anti arms trade group Arbeitsgemeinschaft f• r R• stungskontrolle und ein Waffenausfuhrverbot (ARW) from Switzerland is looking for information about this rifles and guns in Indonesia. Seven or more 20mm guns are fitted on Tribal-class corvettes and Carpenteria class Coastal Patrol Craft. They could perhaps also be fitted on helicopters. Have these guns and rifles been used, have anybody seen them in Indonesia. All information about these weaponry is useful. This information could be used in the Swiss campaign to stop the flow of arms to Indonesia.

ARW does not have an E-mail address. So if you will send the information by mail to: ARW, P.O box 120, 3000 Bern 6, tel +41 31-3117122, fax 3117794. You could also send it to martin%aps@amokmar.hacktic.nl

Thank you in advance,

EU/ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING IN KARLSRUHE

On September the 23rd till 24st there will be a Ministerial meeting between the Ministers of Foreign affairs of the European Union (EU) and the Association of South East Asian Nation (ASEAN) in Karlsruhe.

The European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAT) decided to make a major

issue of influencing this meeting. Probably this meeting will mainly focus on economic relations between the two organisations. This fear is strengthened several examples of the policy of the EU. First of all the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany (the present chairman of the EU) has in July 1994 said he hopes the meeting in Karlsruhe will not be disturbed by discussions about East Timor. Also in July the European Commission published a official memorial about the relations with Asia. Criticisms on the memorial are that the violations of human right in Asia are not mentioned as an reason for considering relations.

The impression that EU policy only based on the economical grounds and not on the human rights situation is clear by this two examples.

Portugal and Ireland are stressing the bad conditions of human rights in East Timor again and again. The situation in Burma has also been on the front pages of the international press, since opposition leader and Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi is under house arrest.

At the same time European nations are exporting arms to several countries in Asia. We as ENAAT have to stress the point that this arms trade must be stopped, in Karlsruhe as well as on a national level (at the national governments, in (activist) press and so on.) Not only because the human rights situation, but also because Southeast Asia is arming itself to the teeth. Which is not the best way to create a more peaceful region.

In Germany there will be several seminars, actions and (press) conferences. Organised by the German Greens and NGO's. ENAAT will attend a conference organised by the German Greens on the issue of arms trade to Southeast Asia. We hope people in other countries will strengthen these German initiatives to give Klaus Kinkel a clear and more human sign on his hope that the policy of the EU will not be disturbed.

Christel Sch• tte, BUKO - Campaign "Stoppt den R• stingsexport" (Stop arms trade)

Martin Broek, Coordinator STOP arming Indonesia

GERMAN MP ON VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

Suara Pembaruan, 16 August 1994.

The verbatim interview is taken unabridged. The rest is summarised.

[Comment: German MP, Gerhardt Rudolf Baum, is a former German Minister of the Interior. He is from the Free Democrats. He has also headed the German mission at

the UN Human Rights Commission for the past three years. His trip to East Timor is almost certainly related to the ASEAN-EU ministerial meeting in Germany later this month at which Portugal is again expected to try to block the signing of a new agreement between the two blocs. The visit is of particular significance because Germany currently holds the presidency of the European Union.]

----- German MP, Rudolf Baum:
URGENT NEED FOR
RECONCILIATION IN EAST TIMOR

Jakarta -- After visiting East Timor from 9-14 August and meeting with the leaders of various organisations, the church and journalists, Rudolf Baum, member of the Human Rights Sub-Commission of the German Parliament, hopes that there will be moves towards reconciliation in East Timor in the near future. Baum who for the past three years has headed the German Parliament's [sic] mission to the UN Human Rights Commission, has called on all those involved to invest efforts in reconciliation so as to win the trust of the people of East Timor.

The following is an interview of the German MP with Suara Pembaruan which took place at the Sukarno-Hatta airport:

SP: Is East Timor the main focus of your concerns about human rights in Indonesia?

RB: East Timor is one of the most interesting problems that we need to study and about which we need more information. We have also had a number of discussions about the process of democratisation in Indonesia. Seen from outside, East Timor is the issue that receives the most attention, in newspaper reporting and public opinion in Europe.

SP: What are you intending to do?

RB: I will try to secure consensus among the countries of Europe, particularly with Portugal, to bring about greater cooperation with Indonesia. This means that Indonesia will have to be open to the idea of receiving our [i.e. the UN Human Rights Commission] rapporteurs and human rights mechanisms.

SP: Will your findings about East Timor be taken to the European Parliament?

RB: The essence of my findings is that East Timor is a political question, not a security question. Without a political solution, the human rights problems will never be solved. We cannot resolve the political problem from the outside: this must be done by those directly involved. This means the Indonesian and Portuguese governments under UN auspices.

SP: Does what you have seen tally with the explanations you have received in Jakarta?

RB: I am very impressed by the open and frank exchanges I have had in Jakarta with government officials and members of

Parliament (DPR). Some of them have been very frank indeed in recognising the human rights problems here. The Foreign Minister was also very frank in expressing his views and not controversial.

While in East Timor I met leaders of organisations, representatives of the church and journalists. I am very hopeful that there will be initiatives for reconciliation in the near future in East Timor, in the same way as there have been in other parts of the world such as in South Africa, Namibia and in Europe and eastern Europe. I call on everyone with responsibility in the question to be more active in the process of reconciliation.

SP: What kind of reconciliation do you have in mind? Releasing prisoners and offering a total amnesty?

RB: A combination of reconciliation moves. The people of East Timor cannot forget what has happened. Everything must be done to win their trust. I wouldn't go as far as to say their hearts and minds must be won over. There are many examples of reconciliation. Such moves must come from all sides. It is a political matter and if nothing is done, there will be endless frustration, feelings of despair and intimidation without any positive prospects for East Timor. The Indonesian government could find itself with an open wound on the international arena.

SP: So from what you have seen, there don't seem to be any positive prospects?

RB: There is one positive thing. The International Red Cross (ICRC) is allowed to visit prisoners and I expressed my appreciation for this during my meetings in East Timor.

SP: Are there any remedies in the near future?

RB: No.

The former German Interior Minister also said that human rights cannot be created just by feelings. This must change, he said.

Baum has recently visited a number of countries to investigate the human rights situation, including Guatemala and Kashmir

STATEMENT ON THE CAIRO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

From CNRM, 3 September 1994

CNRM, the National Council of Maubere Resistance, the supreme organisation of all East Timorese nationalists struggling for self-determination and independence, expresses its deep concern about the contents of the 24 January 1994 draft

document for the Cairo Conference on Population and Development.

For the last 19 years, the East Timorese have been the victims of genocidal policies on the part of the Indonesian occupiers of their country. Not only has over one third of the population of East Timor died (over 200,000 people), but those alive face military persecution, systematic violation of human rights, and policies of development and population control consonant with some of the central principles proposed by the Cairo document. The people of East Timor are therefore well placed to express their concern about the approaches suggested by the document. The East Timorese also feel profoundly outraged at the planned conferral to President Suharto of Indonesia during the Cairo conference of an award for his country's population control programs. Far from deserving such an award, the Indonesian leadership should stand trial for the crimes against humanity being perpetrated in illegally occupied East Timor, as well as in parts of Indonesia.

Indonesia's population control programs are highly coercive and selective, as has been repeatedly denounced internationally and within the country by a variety of NGOs. In East Timor, in addition, indiscriminate massacres of the population by the Indonesian Armed Forces are recurrent events, as has been amply reported by international news media and human rights organisations. A nation that has lost over one third of its population is being subjected to campaigns of forced mass-sterilisation (by use of the drug Depro-Provera, banned in most countries) and abortions. At the same time, transmigration from overpopulated Indonesian islands is fostered. These policies are clearly aimed to limit the East Timorese indigenous population. East Timorese opposition to the attempted destruction of their nation by the Indonesian occupiers of their country, is repressed by the Suharto authorities who attempt to legitimise their oppression, which they claim to be necessary to protect 'development'.

The head of the East Timor Catholic Church, Bishop Belo recently said about the much-heralded Indonesian development of East Timor

Development is not everything...even if there may be a little material development taking place... who enjoys it? It is not necessary to have huge buildings while we are treated like dogs in our own homeland. It is necessary to have all aspects, not only physical development but also political, social, psychological, cultural and religious development. Development should be for the human being. The human being should not be sacrificed to make a show of development for the outside world to see, while

they kill and abuse us. We don't care about this kind of development.

Bishop Belo thus shows East Timor to be an example of the type of development Pope John Paul II is concerned the Cairo document will encourage. The Pope has strongly criticised the document, calling it a "disturbing surprise" in his April letter to world leaders. Pope John Paul II noted that the very complex issue of population and development, which ought to be at the centre of the discussion, is almost completely overlooked by the Cairo document, which says little about the urgent need for the development of the person and of societies.

The Catholic Bishops of Oceania, commenting on the Cairo draft document, consider the 1993 Port Vila Declaration of Population and Sustainable Development, made by 19 leaders of Pacific Nations, as a far better presentation of population and development issues. The Vila Declaration, the Bishops say, rightly emphasises the respect needed for the social, cultural and religious beliefs of diverse regions, while the Cairo document is willing to use the power of the State and media to impose solutions. The Bishops point out that the Vila Declaration shows that

----- These serious matters can be addressed in ways that respect the dignity of individuals and of peoples, and without recourse to the repression of fundamental human rights and the taking of human life itself. -----

It is clear that the tragic history of the East Timorese people under Indonesian occupation, presents a clear example of the dangers of the approaches proposed by the Cairo conference draft document.

The people of East Timor are profoundly religious. The basis of their society is the family. CNRM, conscious of the deeply rooted religious and family values of our people

The National Council of Maubere Resistance expresses its deep support for the insights and views expressed by the Catholic Church on this most important subject for human welfare, and calls upon delegates to the conference to study the tragic example of East Timor very closely, avoiding adoption of resolutions that may encourage states to follow the models provided by repressive dictatorships like that of Suharto's Indonesia.

Jose Ramos Horta Special Representative
CNRM Sydney, 30 August 1994

MESSAGE FROM SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE JOSÉ, RAMOS HORTA TO THE FREE EAST TIMOR JAPAN COALITION

3 Sept. 1994

Greetings and best wishes to our Japanese friends and loyal supporters on the occasion of the National Meeting being celebrated at Nagoya on 3 and 4 September 1994. I am very honoured and pleased to be able to send you this message on the occasion of this very important event. I do so in the name of the National Council of Maubere Resistance.

CNRM is very conscious of the most valuable contribution our hard-working and dedicated Japanese supporters have been providing to the liberation struggle of the East Timorese people for so many years. We are deeply grateful for your loyal and persevering efforts on behalf of the struggle of our people for justice and the respect of their basic human rights, including the right of self-determination.

We have noticed in recent times how the efforts all of us have undertaken are beginning to show results. There are increasingly encouraging signs that a victory may be ahead in the not too distant future.

One of the most important factors that will ensure the victory of our struggle, is the international pressure brought to bear on the fascist Suharto dictatorship to abandon its illegal occupation of East Timor. This is where support groups in democratic countries, such as the Japan Free East Timor Coalition, have a crucial contribution to make. Your continued work towards ensuring ongoing pressure on the Indonesian regime, both in its bilateral relations with the public and private sectors in Japan, as well as in multilateral relations through international forums, is therefore essential.

CNRM is aware of the great efforts being made in Japan in this respect. We are deeply grateful to our loyal Japanese supporters for their continuing good work. This work is essential since Japan is a particularly important support base for our struggle. There are historical bonds that link the people of East Timor to Japan. There is the powerful leverage Japan has over Jakarta due to its strong economic links with Indonesia. There is also the considerable influence Japan has in international affairs given the important status it has in the world.

We have noted with great satisfaction the success of the Diet Forum Members for East Timor visit to Indonesia and East Timor last month. Members of the delegation were able to see for themselves the

conditions of oppression and terror that the Indonesian occupiers have imposed. We know that members of the delegation had most unpleasant experiences, which allowed them to personally feel the lack of freedom in the country. We commend the members of the delegation for their forthright denunciation of the manipulative behaviour of the Indonesian authorities, and their calls for an end to the intolerable present situation in East Timor.

We hope that our loyal and dedicated friends of the Free East Timor Japan Coalition will be able to intensify their support for East Timor even further in coming months, and that political developments in Japan will be increasingly propitious for your work.

Together with working for increased Japanese government and private pressures on the Indonesian government, we urge you to promote the CNRM Three Phase Peace Plan as a basis of a solution. You will have noticed the increasingly high profile being taken by the East Timorese Catholic Church to denounce the existing situation in East Timor and promote a solution along the lines of this plan. Bishop Belo's document of 31 July is an example. His efforts to contribute to the search of a solution, within the United Nations framework, deserve our strongest support.

We appeal to you to continue working for the release of our Leader Xanana Gusmão, still imprisoned in Jakarta under unacceptable conditions, virtually isolated from all contacts, as the Diet Forum for East Timor delegation was able to notice.

We also appeal to you to continue your generous material support to the various activities of the resistance. We constantly receive requests from inside East Timor for help, which we can rarely meet to a sufficient extent. East Timorese students and prisoners and their families are also in need of support. The same also applies to our diplomatic activity overseas. The advances of our diplomatic struggle call for increasing activities, which are often hindered by lack of resources.

To close my message of best wishes for the Nagoya meeting of the Free East Timor Japan Coalition, I wish to thank you, all our loyal Japanese friends, once again, for your valuable efforts and support so far. We are sure that your enthusiasm for the noble struggle for justice and freedom of the Maubere people will continue to grow in strength in future months, as the signs of our coming victory become increasingly apparent.

A luta continua!

TIMOR STILL UNDER THE HEEL

Canberra Times, August 4 1994. By Shirley Shackleton

With the news that the Defence Minister Robert Ray has announced in Jakarta that Australia will take over where the United States leaves off with the training of the Indonesian Military, come charges by Amnesty International that Indonesian authorities faked evidence on the Santa Cruz Massacre on November 12, 1991, in East Timor.

Amnesty also documents systematic murder, torture, sexual abuse and illegal detention by the Indonesian military.

I have just received one of the saddest letters I ever hope to read. It came from an impeccable source, but because of the danger to the writer I will reproduce it with pseudonyms;

...at Balibo we could not find the tree you planted in memory of your husband and his colleagues. One of our companions was extremely nervous about being there, he has shocking scars on his neck and arms from a previous military detention and we did not want to cause him further anxiety. I have the name of an eye-witness to the killings at Balibo and I pass this on to you in case you want to make contact.

Travel permits are still necessary if one wants to move around within East Timor and one has to register with the police if one wants to stay overnight outside Dili. This presents problems for one's hosts as they are taken in for interrogation after one has left their premises.

Without exception, every Timorese bears the brunt of intimidation and repression. Poverty, malnutrition, malaria and tuberculosis are widespread. All of which are so preventable! A new Catholic hospital funded and run by Catholic sisters, with state of the art equipment donated by the Australian Embassy, is hardly functioning because permission continues to be withheld. for doctors, nurses and a surgeon to work there. Meanwhile, many people die for lack of access to proper care.

Other Catholic nuns try to provide health and medical services and medicines. Indonesian hospitals charge patients for medicine, along with corruption and the fact that many Indonesian doctors simply do not turn up for work, plus the fear of being injected with substances which make the females sterile, is deep mistrust. The need for medicines at the Polyclinics run by the nuns is great. They lack stethoscopes, bandages, ear torches, equipment for sutures, medicines for malaria, tuberculosis and other fevers.

Could you suggest to travellers intending to include East Timor on their itinerary that they bring a bag of medicines? The need is most urgent.

Though silenced from publicly speaking out against the violations and abuses by Indonesian military, the people continue to try to be brave in spirit and to retain our faith. Perhaps the following account of a small and unreported incident will give you an idea of the continual repression which cowers the Timorese people.

After smashing a statue of Our Lady in the village of "A", Indonesian soldiers arrested an innocent bystander and interrogated him for several hours. Withholding food and water and preventing the young man from sleep, they threatened him with death unless he publicly named a priest as the culprit. Finally, the young man gave in, whereupon the military called a public assembly, ordering people to come from miles around. The military authorities announced that they had found an eye-witness to the vandalism.

The young man was brought out but he had found his courage in the interim and refused to speak. He was led away again and the assembly was kept waiting. After some hours the young man was brought back and ordered to name the culprit. Choking with tears he did as he was told. Then he recanted, crying out: "Sorry Father, they made me do it." The priest was arrested and spent hours with no food or water under relentless interrogation. A neighbouring priest, who had been urgently summoned by the people, overheard part of the interrogation:

"You are Doniziano" [the priest's name has been changed to protect him]."

"I am Father Doniziano."

"You are not dressed as a priest. You are only Doniziano."

"To my people and to my God I am Father Doniziano."

"Here you are only Doniziano." "I am a priest, here and always, I am Father Doniziano."

The charges were eventually dropped and the soldiers who had committed the desecration were not charged.

Just one story amongst many.

Other priests have been charged with rape, carrying of weapons, subversion and so on. Accusations are frequently made against innocent people of working against the Indonesian state, and many are under threat. These are delicate matters because if you publish their names [names supplied] they will be seen even more as trouble-makers and though innocent of the crimes with which they are charged, they will be severely punished.

Thousands of Indonesians from other islands are being moved here; land in and

around Dili is being acquired and "developments" to benefit the new Indonesian populations are being built and the indigenous inhabitants are being pushed out. Under one of these "developments" lie the remains of the victims of the Santa Cruz massacres.

When your Foreign Minister advocates a lowering of the numbers of the Indonesian military, he fails to mention that even were this miracle to occur it would only be a "change of clothes". The police who rule us are a para-military force, trained and equipped for war. They are just as ruthless, greedy and corrupt as the military.

Dear Mrs Shackleton, the places I have mentioned must be protected, but I thought it would be good for you to know about these things. It gives us great heart to know of your constant advocacy for the rights of the East Timorese and the many other voices that are expressing their disgust with Australian Government acceptance of what is going on here in Australian newspapers.

[Shirley Shackleton's husband, Greg, with four other Australian journalists, was killed in Timor by Indonesian troops in 1975]

IRISH RADIO DOCUMENTARY ON EAST TIMOR

The following radio documentary is available for resource and broadcast.

The 30 minute tape is broadcast quality and details can be had from ETISC at our E-mail address or fax 00 353 1 623 3148.

THE WEST'S ASLEEP BY JOE B. LYNAM

THIS DOCUMENTARY ABOUT EAST TIMOR WAS MADE INDEPENDENTLY IN JULY 1994 IN THE STUDIOS OF LMFM DROGHEDA AND FEATURES;

PRIMARY SOURCES INTERVIEWS WITH ;

TOM HYLAND ETISC DICK SPRING MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SENATOR DAVID NORRIS ALL PARTY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS TERRY MCCARTHY AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR TO IRELAND MR. ISWAYUDHA INDONESIAN EMBASSY FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIPLOMAT FRANK JENNINGS AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

SECONDARY SOURCES INCLUDE; NOAM CHOMSKY and JOHN PILGER MUSIC BY; MIDNIGHT OIL--- KOLELE MAI OF FAITH AND HOPE --- -CRY FREEDOM JEANNIE MARSH AND MICHAEL HARVEY---QUITO

WRITTEN, PRODUCED, RESEARCHED AND NARRATED BY JOE B. LYNAM SOUND ENGINEERED

BY PAUL KENNEDY STUDIOS LMFM DROGHEDA.

INDONESIA TO RELOCATE CATHOLICS TO EAST TIMOR

Reuter, 4 September 1994 Abridged.

Jakarta -- Indonesia will relocate almost 1,000 Catholic families this year to troubled East Timor under its transmigration policy, the official Antara News agency said on Sunday.

As East Timor transmigration official was quoted by the agency as saying a quarter of the migrants would be from densely-populated Java and the tourist island of Bali. The rest would be relocated from remote parts of East Timor, about 2,000kms east of Jakarta. [sic: This would mean they are talking about internal relocation]

The official said the migrants should be Catholic to ensure their rapid assimilation with the Catholic-majority society.

AUSTRALIA EXPELS INDONESIAN OFFICIAL AFTER KNIFE INCIDENT

Radio Australia, 3 September 1994

Australia has expelled a member of the Indonesian embassy staff for allegedly threatening East Timorese demonstrations with a knife, Radio Australia reported.

The man, described as a junior official, was alleged to have produced the knife after demonstrators entered the grounds of the embassy in Canberra on 12 June.

A spokesman for the Australian Foreign Affairs Department described the envoy's behaviour as "unacceptable" and said he left the country last week. The action was "regrettable" but it need not affect Australia's relations with Indonesia.

The spokesman added that Australia was taking seriously complaints from the Indonesian embassy about the security provided by Australia. Last week, Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, said Indonesian embassy staff were being harassed, the radio said

Indonesian diplomat expelled from Canberra

Brisbane Courier Mail, September 3 1994
By Glen Schloss, Canberra - abridged.

Australia has expelled an Indonesian diplomat for pulling a knife on protestors at his embassy. He returned to Jakarta late last week following a Federal Govt. request for his removal. The diplomatic incident will test relations further after Indonesian Foreign Minister Alatas criticized Australia for not doing enough to protect its missions

from protestors. Just days later the staff member left Australia. A Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed the removal last night saying the behaviour was incompatible with that of a member of a diplomatic mission.

The spokesman would not release the name of the Indonesian, his position or details of the incident, but said that he was a member of the diplomatic mission. It is understood that his removal was over an incident at the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra on June 12 when protestors entered the grounds during an open day and climbed two pillars.

Protestor Gareth Smith reportedly made a formal complaint to Federal Police alleging that he and another man were threatened by a diplomat with a knife.

"One staff member claiming to work for the Indonesian military drew a commando style dagger on us and screamed that he would kill us," Mr Smith said afterwards. He said that the man had to be restrained by embarrassed colleagues but had later returned with a pile of rocks to throw and had urged police to shoot protestors.

Indonesian Ambassador Sabam Siagian could not be contacted last night. Mr Smith and another protestor were arrested for trespass, breach of the peace and resisting arrest. The Foreign Affairs spokesman said Australian Federal police had investigated the incident.

"We think the matter is regrettable but we don't want it to think that it need affect the broader relationship. Certainly for our part we don't want it to," he said.

SUHARTO POSITIVE OVER TIMOR DIALOGUE (WITH MANDELA)

Reuter (additional material from AFP), 3 September 1994. Dateline: Jakarta. By K.T. Arasu. Abridged

[South African President Nelson Mandela said that] his Indonesian counterpart Suharto responded positively to his suggestions for a dialogue to resolve problems in troubled East Timor.

'I raised the issue of East Timor with President Suharto and he gave me a good hearing. My appeal for dialogue was received positively,' he told a news conference at the end of his two-day private visit to Indonesia.

Mandela said he did not discuss details of the dialogue and declined to give more details of Suharto's response.

Mandela, in Indonesia as leader of the African National Congress (ANC), evaded a direct answer on whether he had received a letter from jailed leader of East Timor's Fre-

tilin (sic) guerrilla movement, Xanana Gusmão, over his visit.

'Assuming I received a letter that was smuggled out of prison, it would not be responsible of me to make it public as it could lead to an inquiry,' he said.

'It will be sufficient for me to say that I had received representations from a wide variety of people about my coming here,' he said.

Mandela said some people had opposed his visit to Indonesia while others welcomed it as long as he could raise the issue of East Timor.

'I raised the issue of East Timor and of the oppression of human rights in Indonesia. I have confidence in President Suharto to address the problem,' he said.

'President Suharto told me he will address the press on these issues... so I will leave the details to him,' he said

Exiled East Timorese are angry that Mandela has made the visit, saying he appeared to abandoned long-standing relations between the ANC and the Fretilin movement.

Asked whether his visit was to secure financial assistance for the ANC, Mandela said he had a fruitful visit and that the question of finances was confidential.

Additional points from AFP report:

Mandela said that he had confidence in Suharto and his ability to address these questions (East Timor) with 'the opposition' - an apparent reference to East Timorese pro-independence activists.

.....
Mandela declined to reveal whether he had obtained any pledge for financial assistance from Jakarta. He said the subject was 'confidential' but added: 'I am very happy about my visit here. It has been very fruitful in all respects.'

ANC officials in Cape Town have said that the visit was aimed at raising funds for the party, but [State Secretary] Mordiono told reporters that the issue was not on the agenda of the talks.

Mandela said that, in his capacity of an ANC leader, he talked with Suharto about politics and possible means for a political party to consolidate after winning elections. [Suharto could tell him a thing or two about that!]

ELECTRONIC RESOURCES ON EAST TIMOR

Thank you for inquiring about receiving electronic information about East Timor from the East Timor Action Network/US. A number of options are available, so please let us know which you prefer. Please note: Placing or taking off someone from any of

the electronic lists must be done manually. To request being placed on a list contact either John M. Miller (fbp@igc.apc.org) or Charles Scheiner (cscheiner@igc.apc.org).

1) ALERT LIST: East Timor Action Network/US has a electronic mailing list we use for action alerts on the issue. These alerts primarily deal with issues such as the need to lobby congress, severe human rights violations and the like. Items to this list are sent on an as needed basis, at the discretion of the ETAN. (Posting average about two or three a month over the course of a year.).

2) REG.EASTTIMOR: We can forward to you the contents of the reg.easttimor, which originates from the Alliance for Progressive Communications member networks (such as PeaceNet, GreenNet).

Reg.easttimor contains posting from the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), ETAN/US, and support groups in Australia, Portugal, Canada, Ireland and elsewhere. Reports and translations from various wire services, the Indonesian, Portuguese, Australian, British, U.S. and Irish press also regularly appear there, along with UN and other official documents. An average of 6-10 postings appear each day.

It is possible to respond to material or post original material to the conference by sending an e-mail message to reg.easttimor@conf.igc.apc.org. (Please note that by subscribing directly to PeaceNet or one of its sister networks you can have regular access to the conference including past material. For information about PeaceNet, a non-profit progressive networking service, send a message to peacenet-info@igc.apc.org.)

3) NETWORK NEWS: ETAN/US prepares an electronic version of its newsletter, NETWORK NEWS which comes out about 5 times per year and runs 6-10 printed pages. Many prefer the paper version of the newsletter to e-mail one.

Also: Some basic background material is posted in the Institute for Global Communications Gopher. To access the East Timor information: gopher to IGC's public gopher, and look under "Peace, Human Rights and Social Justice." You can type 'gopher igc.apc.org' and look under the "Peace, Human Rights and Social Justice".

Please note that ETAN/US also maintains a postal mailing list (for the newsletter and other mailings); a fax list for alerts, and a phone list.

Even if you only wish to receive electronic material we would appreciate having your postal mailing address, phone and fax numbers.

To be added to any list please send a message indicating those you would like to participate in to the e-mail addresses above.

TWO BATTALIONS WITHDRAWN FROM EAST TIMOR

Australia TV News, 6 September 94, beamed into Asia via satellite

INTRO: Indonesia says it has withdrawn 2 battalions from the disputed province of East Timor and could further reduce troop numbers within six months.

Regional military chief Major General Adan Ruciadna [phonetic spelling] says the number of battalions in the former Portuguese colony has been recently cut to six: one combat and five territorial battalions.

REPORTER (Melanie Sincok): The five territorial battalions are said to be engaged mainly in public works, such as building roads and bridges, but they are still armed.

The latest cutbacks were made after a regular six-monthly review of the security situation, with the military stating further reductions were possible in the next review.

Officials say troops could eventually be withdrawn altogether.

The military has denied recent Australian media reports that 15 battalions are stationed in East Timor.

The United Nations doesn't recognise Indonesian rule, and still regards Portugal as the Adminstrating power

TIMOR IS BEING GAMBLER IN JAKARTA (TOO)

Publico, 27 August 1994. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros

Lisbon -- To those following the East Timor "case", news about the latest developments probably gave the feeling of entering a tangled web of contradictions and misunderstandings. Now, we have two alternatives: we either turn our backs on the confusion which seems to surround the issue, or we attempt to understand the underlying reasons behind the seemingly impregnable Timorese haze.

If we opt for the second alternative, we ought to remember the facts and put them into perspective.

It all started with the open letter from Ximenes Belo, in which the Bishop of Dili offered to sponsor a meeting between Timorese and mediate in the direct contacts between the resistance and Indonesian military.

Leaving less important events aside, the chain of events which followed Belo's initiative was as follows: the spokesperson for the military in East Timor said they were prepared to talk to the resistance, with the Bishop acting as mediator. The CNRM's special representative, Ramos Horta, stated

that he agreed to contacts with the military, with Ximenes Belo's mediation, as long as the UN was involved in the talks. He told Boutros Ghali's envoy about this, when they met in Sydney. Konis Santana promised a unilateral cease fire, to coincide with the start of the negotiations. Xanana Gusmão received an emissary from the Indonesian military in Cipinang prison. The Bishop received a delegation of military in Dili. Ramos Horta announced that the CNRM's Peace Plan, which provides for the holding of a referendum, would be his basis for the talks with the Indonesians. There was news that certain sectors of the Indonesian military were opposed to direct negotiations. The pro-Indonesian Governor of Timor said he was prepared to talk with the resistance as long as its negotiators accepted integration. The Portuguese Foreign Ministry broke its silence and expressed its support for Ximenes Belo's initiative. The Indonesian Foreign Ministry, which had kept quiet until learning what Lisbon's position would be, formally stated that it did not agree to direct negotiations.

This sequence of events clearly demonstrates the ambiguity of Indonesia's reaction to Bishop Belo's proposal. In a regime such as Suharto's, how could an authorised military spokesperson say yes, only to be contradicted later by a governmental authority saying no? It is in that very question that the key is to be found to the apparent confusion which arose in the days following the Bishop of Dili's letter. Since it is unlikely that some kind of democratic decentralisation was at the root of the "pluralism" of the Indonesian reactions, evidence of the shattering of power into ferocious rival nuclei, in a country which appears to be hurtling towards the end of an era, might be the explanation for the lack of unanimity.

Whoever may be aspiring to gain power in Indonesia is well aware that finding a solution to the East Timor problem will aid them in their quest. Whoever wants to stay in power there, is equally aware of the importance of an issue which calls into question Jakarta's international reputation. Today, therefore, East Timor is serving to fuel the in-fighting over Suharto's succession. It seems clear that the various disputing sectors are prepared to gamble the territory's future in their battle. It now remains to be seen how this situation will be used by Portuguese diplomacy and the Timorese resistance, who are united in their desire to see the right to self-determination exercised by the people of East Timor.

INDONESIA HOLDS TALKS WITH XANANA, SOURCES SAY

Reuter, 5 September 1994. By Jeremy Wagstaff

Jakarta -- The Indonesian military has held talks with jailed East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão, raising for the first time the sensitive issue of a referendum in the troubled territory, Timorese sources said on Monday.

The sources said the meeting, in Xanana's Jakarta cell last month, appeared to be linked with broader moves to establish contact with dissidents in East Timor.

Indonesia has denied any moves to hold talks with the rebels.

the weekend his counterpart Suharto had "received positively" an appeal for dialogue on the vexed issue of East Timor.

"For the first time since Xanana's capture (in late 1992), Indonesia has raised the issue of a U.N. referendum on East Timor's future and the role of Portugal," one senior East Timorese source said of the rebel leader's mid-August meeting.

Xanana was jailed for life in a controversial trial in May 1993. Suharto later reduced the sentence to 20 years.

Since invading the former colony of East Timor in 1975, Indonesia has faced a shrinking but symbolic guerrilla force and widespread resentment. It has ruled out publicly any referendum on the future of the territory.

But Timorese sources said in recent months that Indonesia, which has tried to absorb East Timor through a mix of military might and public works, could be seeking to soothe disparate opposition to its rule in and outside the territory.

The August 16 meeting with Xanana followed earlier moves in July for the views of figures such as Bishop Carlos Belo, religious leader of mainly Catholic East Timor, they said.

Belo, a fierce critic of Indonesia's handling of East Timor's 750,000 population, held talks with a delegation of senior military commanders in the capital Dili last month.

The sources said Xanana's meeting was more significant, marking the first attempt to clarify the links between the long-time guerrilla leader and exiles such as Jose Ramos-Horta and Konis Santana, who heads a small band of fighters.

During a two-hour discussion, a captain from the Jakarta military command also raised the issue of a referendum under U.N. auspices -- a long-standing demand from the Timorese resistance -- and Indonesia's attitude to Portugal.

Indonesia has held several rounds of inconclusive talks with Portugal, still regarded by the United Nations as East Timor's administering power, with another round due to be held in January. The two sides regularly trade public insults.

Timorese sources said that when Xanana raised the issue of a referendum himself, during talks with military commanders after his arrest in November 1992, they reacted angrily.

Ramos-Horta, the main exile leader, could not confirm the meeting but said he believed Indonesia might be trying to make concessions before hosting November's high-profile summit of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

Regional leaders including President Clinton will attend.

"I believe there is a rethink in Jakarta in military and intelligence circles, not necessarily that they have made up their minds, but that no longer is the issue of a referendum, or even independence, completely off the agenda," he said.

Indonesia has denied earlier reports it was planning talks with East Timor figures such as Ramos-Horta.

"The only channel for formal negotiations to seek a comprehensive solution on the East Timor issue is through the international forum between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary-General, and there is no plan whatever to open other channels," the foreign ministry said in a statement late last month.

Earlier in August, Indonesia rejected an offer of a ceasefire by Ramos-Horta and Santana in exchange for talks. Ramos-Horta said the offer followed contacts between the military and Belo.

SOCIALISTS TO DEBATE TIMOR

Independente, 26 August 1994. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon -- Concerned about the situation in East Timor, Antonio Guterres used his influence with the Socialist International to try to get the issue included for discussion by the organisation's Committee for Asia and the Pacific. The request of the Secretary General of the Portuguese Socialist Party was heard, and East Timor will be one of the items on the agenda for the next meeting of the SI's Committee for that geographical area, scheduled to be held in the Autumn.

"A FREE TIMOR DEPENDS ON A DEMOCRATIC INDONESIA"

Publico, 28 August 1994. By Jill Jolliffe. Translated from Portuguese

Cipinang, Jakarta -- Xanana Gusmão appeared skeptical about the possible negotiations between the resistance and the Indonesian government. The underlying reason for such skepticism is to be found in the biggest hurdle concerning Timor: "A negotiated agreement on East Timor is inseparable from the democratisation process in Indonesia." In an exclusive interview, sent clandestinely from Jakarta's Cipinang prison where he is imprisoned, Xanana Gusmão appeared to have little faith in the agreements reached on future direct negotiations between the resistance and the Indonesian Armed Forces.

Publico: Do you think that Suharto is preparing a more or less honorable way of being seen in history on the question of Timor?

Xanana Gusmão: If Suharto really is preparing for the history books, he cannot separate these two things: democracy in Indonesia and the solution of the problem of East Timor. Although apparently calm, the regime will not be able to resist the internal contradictions, which make changes only unpredictable in the question of time - our last consolation!

Q.: What do you have to say about the news referring to the statement said to be in preparation for the summit meeting in Jakarta of the Asian and Pacific nations' organisation, APEC, next November?

A.: Suharto is said to be planning a surprise for the forthcoming APEC summit. Could this be a sign of a "perestroika"? Given the recent banning of three magazines, and the threats of closing down newspapers and other magazines, I think it is premature to think about a "perestroika" in November.

TALKS ONLY AT THE UN

Q.: Could the resistance negotiate a cease fire with Indonesia?

A.: I believe that the cease fire agreement reached in 1983, which was negotiated by me personally with General Gatot Purwanto, was authorized at the highest level through the then Minister of Defence, Yusuf. However, given that experience, and the more recent offers of talks that I made to the Indonesian army, I believe that the military leadership will not negotiate in good faith. It is, therefore, an experience which I would not wish to repeat. For the Indonesian generals, talks just mean that the other party (us, in this case) is obliged to accept all their points of view. On the other hand, the process of dialogue is underway within the framework of the UN, and it is there that

any contact, in this respect, ought to take place. However, we are still receptive to a meeting with ABRI ...

Q.: Would you agree to minimum or maximum time limits, if direct talks with the Indonesian military were to take place?

A.: I would not call that negotiation, but rather a simple exchange of views ... because, in my opinion, Ali Alatas is the one who ought to be leading this process, the process of negotiations with the UN, and not ABRI.

AN IMMEDIATE REFERENDUM

Q.: What would you say to Boutros Ghali, if you could speak to him?

A.: The ideal solution would be an immediate referendum. However, since I am aware of the range of factors affecting the problem of East Timor, I would tell the UN Secretary General that the CNRM's Peace Plan is the instrument which offers the greatest assurances to Indonesia of a reaching a just solution that is acceptable to the international community. I would also urge that the talks process, taking place under his auspices, be speeded up so that some basic political conditions may be introduced into the territory, which would allow mechanisms to put an immediate end to the systematic repression of the Timorese people.

Q.: Do you agree with the way in which Portugal has been negotiating with Indonesia?

A.: Because it understands that the problem of East Timor is a complicated one (given that it is affected by and dependent upon many other factors), Portugal has been doing well, and I hope it continues to do so.

Q.: Are Timorese interests synonymous with Portuguese interests?

A.: Well, no, not in the exact meaning of the word synonymous. It is only on one basis, a constitutional basis, that we could interpret basic Timorese interests as being Portugal's interests.

UN HUMAN RIGHTS FAX IN GENEVA

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. Jose Ayala Lasso, has recently installed a fax machine in Geneva for directly reporting violations of anybody's human rights. Faxes may be sent by governments, organizations or individuals.

The fax number is: (+41) 22 91700092

TRANSMIGRATING CATHOLIC TO TIMOR

BBC World Service, Indonesian, 5 September 1994

Here is a translation of an interview by the BBC (as monitored in Brisbane) about

the report that 1000 Catholic families will be transmigrated to East Timor (the summaries referred to are made by the source in Brisbane that picked up the broadcast):

Clementino Do Amaral, former member of Parliament for East Timor, was asked his opinion on the report:

"In my opinion, if these one thousand families are transmigrated all at once, it would be a real shock to East Timorese society, particularly in view of the various recent incidents that have occurred. I would suggest that, before they move in, the matter is fully explained to the local people, in particular the youth.

"I don't think it would be right for them all to move in together. I would agree with former governor Carrascalão that there should be a mix of local transmigrants among those being brought in from Java. Preferably, there should be more local people proportionately than people from outside."

Asked what he thought about identifying the transmigrants as Catholics which was being done for the first time. He said:

"It's difficult for me to understand this. Whether they are Catholics or not should not be mentioned. This is a Pancasila state, isn't it?"

He was also asked whether there are differences between Catholics in Java and other parts of Indonesia and Catholics in East Timor. His answer can be summarised as follows:

"There is clearly a difference. Catholicism in Indonesia was brought in under Dutch colonialism whereas Catholicism in East Timor came with the Portuguese. In those days, the Netherlands was dominated by Protestantism whereas Portugal was dominated by Catholicism. During the seventeenth century, Portugal was the only country in the world where the priests were permitted by the Vatican to become active in a variety of fields. This explains why priests in East Timor have a different level of activism in society than priests in other parts of Indonesia. Bearing all this in mind, there are bound to be conflicts between the Catholic transmigrants coming from Java and the local Catholics."

The last two questions put to Clementino were about the contacts between the newcomers and the local population and about what the people of East Timor actually want at the present time. His answer, summarised, is as follows:

"Basically, I think the contacts between newcomers and the local population are good even though I will agree that there have been some very unfortunate incidents. As for what the people of East Timor now want, it's regional autonomy. I understand that some people are involved in drafting a government regulation on autonomy for East

Timor. We should wait to see the results of this before making any further comments.

INDONESIAN CONSIDERING 'SPECIAL STATUS' FOR EAST TIMOR

AP, 5 September 1994. Abridged

Dili -- Indonesia is reportedly considering 'a special status' for East Timor province (sic) where its troops have been accused of committing widespread human rights abuses.

"East Timor may be granted a special status," Major General Adang Ruchyatna, chief of the Bali-based Udayana Military Command that oversees East Timor, said Monday. He did not elaborate on what that status might entail.

In Jakarta, the Home Ministry refused to either confirm or deny the statement made in response to questions by reporters. Ruchyatna was in the East Timorese capital of Dili to preside over the appointment of a new local military commander.

Ruchyatna advised people not to hold pro-independence rallies. "If you are not happy with certain things, do not hold demonstrations but report to the military command and we can settle the matter with Parliament," he said.

He said the government has withdrawn two army battalions, including a combat unit, from East Timor. He did not elaborate on why or when the troops were withdrawn.

The region's Bishop Belo had also suggested a special status for East Timor, which he described as greater autonomy for the region.

INDONESIA DISMISSES REPORTS OF TALKS WITH E. TIMOR REBEL LEADER

AFP, 5 September 1994. Abridged

[Comment: Compare this to a Reuter report filed on the same day from Jakarta.]

Jakarta -- Indonesia Monday dismissed reports that military officials held talks with jailed East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão and raised for the first time the sensitive issue of a referendum there.

Foreign ministry spokesman Irawan Abidin said it was "surprising" to hear that the authorities had held talks with Gusmão in an effort to establish contacts with members of the East Timor independence movement, Fretilin.

Reports earlier Monday from Lisbon said Gusmão met with a military captain last month in his cell at Cipinang Prison where the issue of a referendum under UN aus-

pices was discussed. Abidin said the reports were no more than a "disinformation campaign" by anti-Indonesia groups to "pollute" talks on East Timor between Jakarta and Portugal under UN auspices. He said the fifth round of talks is expected to be held in January either in Geneva or New York.

Abidin reiterated that the only official negotiating channel for a comprehensive solution to the East Timor issue was through the talks and there were no plans to open any other fora.

Last month Indonesia also dismissed reports of other initiatives including one by East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, who reportedly called for direct negotiations between Fretilin and the Indonesian government

TIMORESE GUERILLAS STAND FIRM

Green Left #158, September 7, 1994. By Jon Land

Claims by the Indonesian military that it is scaling down operations in East Timor and that the armed wing of the East Timorese resistance, FALINTIL (Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor), no longer poses a threat, have been refuted by guerilla leader Nino Konis Santana. Santana has called for peace talks and withdrawal of the Indonesian military.

"We know we can't defeat the Indonesians, but they will never defeat us," he told Jill Jolliffe in an interview conducted in East Timor and reported in the August 26 Sydney Morning Herald.

He strongly condemned the Australian government for its relations with Indonesia: "For us, Australia's closeness to Indonesia is an affront to the pluralist democracy Australia claims to represent. Our nearest neighbour contributes nothing to a solution of the Timor problem ... Effectively it is supporting the extermination of our people."

Santana confirmed that the Indonesian forces are carrying out a new offensive and that 13 to 15 battalions are currently active throughout East Timor. In a letter smuggled out to Darwin in early August, he told of military operations that have been going on for several weeks involving helicopters in the central mountain region and a major build-up to the east of Dili in the Baucau region.

The Portuguese language *O Portuguese Na Australia* reported on August 24 that the Clandestine Front of the Resistance in East Timor had sent information to Lisbon on incursions carried out by FALINTIL guerillas in mid-July, which resulted in the deaths

of 11 Indonesian soldiers near the town of Los Palos.

Recent calls to begin peace negotiations from Santana and the bishop of Dili, Bishop Belo, have been met with derision by the Indonesian military command. A Major Simbolon told Agence France-Presse on August 21, "This is a propaganda effort to make people know that they [FALINTIL] still exist ... but indeed they have been paralysed and no longer exist".

While admitting the difficult situation they face, Santana and the resistance fighters remain active and defiant. "It is impossible to defeat us, because we have the civilian population on our side and we will fight to the last, whether it is with guns, bows and arrows, sticks or our bare hands", he told Joliffie.

INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA DENIED SUPPLY ARMS TO CAMBODIA

From KBRI Canberra Newsletter (Indonesian government), August 1994

Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas and Malaysian Foreign Minister Abdullah Badawi denied reports that Indonesia and Malaysia supply arms to the Cambodian Government.

Minister Alatas said in Bangkok that what Jakarta offered was military training in Indonesia but never arms, which would amount to a breach of ASEAN's Policy.

Thai newspapers, quoting unspecified documents and unnamed sources, said that the Indonesian PINDAD Arms Manufacturing Company will sell three million bullets for M-16 rifles, worth US\$ 378,000 to the Cambodian Army. Indonesian Embassy officials in Bangkok said they knew nothing about the arms deal, in which the ammunition, reportedly will be shipped to the Cambodian seaport of Kompong Som in August 1994.

In the meantime, Minister Alatas reiterated his denial that Jakarta in any way leveraged Bangkok's attempt to ban a series of seminars on East Timor prior the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting. He said the unofficial seminars were the work of a handful East Timorese dissidents who represented themselves and meant to politicize the Forum for their own personal interests. (KC-17072894)

JOINT EXERCISES BY AUSTRALIAN AND INDONESIAN FORCES

From KBRI Canberra Newsletter (Indonesian government), August 1994

Australian Defence Minister, Senator Robert Ray says the joint exercises conducted by Australian and Indonesian forces have contributed to the strengthening of overall bilateral relations between the two countries.

Speaking after meeting President Soeharto, Senator Ray described that officers from both countries who are involved in these exercises will become "friends for life" that problems that may arise later could be resolved "between friends". During his visit to Indonesia, Senator Ray was accompanied by his Indonesian counterpart, General Edi Sudradjat and paid calls on President Soeharto and Vice President Try Sutrisno.

Senator Ray said that during his meeting with General Edi, they agreed to expand the defence bilateral cooperation between the two countries to include providing military training and education for Indonesian officers. Indonesia has begun sending its military officers to Australia for education and training after Washington stopped providing aid for such programs in the United States for ABRI officers.

In his meeting with Senator Ray, Vice President Try Sutrisno said that Indonesia's budget for defence was still low because the government was giving priority to economic development. "Indonesia's defence budget is still only 1.6 percent of its Gross Domestic Product, far below Australia's", Sumadi, an aide to the Minister/State Secretary quoted the Vice President. Try said that the main priorities in national development are poverty eradication, the creation of more job opportunities and improvement of the quality of human resources. (KC-17480294)

INDONESIA COULD STILL PARTICIPATE IN IMET PROGRAMS

From KBRI Canberra Newsletter (Indonesian government), August 1994

Although Indonesia no longer receives US aid to train its military officers, American education facilities are still available to members of the Indonesian Armed Forces, a senior official of the US State Department said in Jakarta.

The Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Winston Lord told reporters that Indonesia could still participate the International Military and Education Training (IMET) programs. Lord

suggested that both nations would benefit if Indonesia continued to send its officers to train in the United States.

Lord was speaking at the US Embassy after meeting with Indonesian officials, including Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas, Coordinating Minister for Industry and Trade Hartarto and Minister of Trade Satrio B. Joedono. "We do share the same concerns (with the Congress) on human rights issues and the East Timor issue. But we also working to make clear that we didn't think the approach that was being debated was the best way to go about this", he said.

Lord, who met with members of the National Commission on Human Rights and editors of the "Suara Timor Timur" daily, pointed out that the East Timor issue was important for both Indonesia and the US and was discussed in the context of an overall relationship. He said that the "positive elements" of the two countries, such as growing investment ties and good military access, made it easier for both countries to discuss "as friends and as two great countries". He added that "we have continually raised the East Timor situation with our Indonesian friends....and hope there will be improvement and reasonable progress in the situation".(KC-17480294)

EAST TIMOR A THORN IN THE SIDE OF INDONESIA'S DIPLOMATS

From KBRI Canberra Newsletter (Indonesian government), August 1994

The East Timor Question will remain a thorn in the side of Indonesia's diplomats for quite a while. Anti Indonesia lobbyists are still very active, playing up the issues surrounding East Timor's integration into Indonesia. They will continue to corner Indonesia at every international forum, Director General for Social, Culture Relations and Foreign Information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Djauhari Nataatmadja said in a hearing with the House Representatives Commission I which oversees security, information and foreign affairs.

Djauhari predicted that critics would focus primarily on the "security approach" they say is still used by Indonesian in handling situations in East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya. They will also focus on Indonesia's treatment of political prisoners and labor activists.

Djauhari said that "Dili Incident", was witnessed, recorded and widely broadcasted by foreign reporters. "Totally changed the direction of Indonesia's diplomacy". Since then, Indonesia's diplomatic efforts have been almost totally devoted to repulsing

international criticism and restoring Indonesia marred image.

He said the efforts had brought about results. This is evident from the increasing number of news mentions about Indonesia. Whereas they seemed to focus entirely on East Timor before, now they put more emphasis on Indonesia's economic development.

Spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Irawan Abidin explained that they have been using the services of professional media consultants for the past three years. "We are using their services to improve our international public relations by publishing books on political events, making presentation and lobbying". (KC-15170694)

EAST TIMOR IS NOT AS BAD AS OFTEN PORTRAYED

From KBRI Canberra Newsletter (Indonesian government), August 1994

The situation in Indonesia's youngest province, East Timor, is not as bad as often portrayed by the foreign press. "Development in the province is proceeding smoothly and life conditions, including public order, are good. There is no chaos at all as reported by the foreign press", Second Secretary at the British Embassy in Jakarta, Jan Donaldson, said in Dili. "I'll report all that I've personally seen to people in Britain, including the press community", he added.

Donaldson said, many Britons had asking the British Embassy about the situation in East Timor, but the Embassy always replied it was not in position to provide the answers because only the Indonesian Government was entitled to do so.

About the nature of his visit to East Timor, Donaldson said it was a routine one, conducted once a year by his embassy. During his five-day stay in East Timor, Donaldson made courtesy calls on provincial officials, including the governor and the local military commander. (KC-17780594)

INDONESIAN LEGAL AID FOUNDATION ALLOWED TO SEE 'XANANA'

From KBRI Canberra Newsletter (Indonesian government), August 1994

Lawyers from the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) were allowed to see convicted East Timor rebel leader Jose Alexandre 'Xanana' Gusmão, but talks about preparing a new trial was bogged down by a language barrier.

The lawyers, led by Executive Director, Adnan Buyung Nasution, were permitted to see Xanana at the Cipinang Correctional

Institution in East Jakarta. Xanana has appointed YLBHI to represent him in his quest for a new trial.

Buyung told reporters after the two-hour meeting with Xanana that he mostly listened to Xanana and allowed the rebel leader to "pour out his feelings, thoughts, complaints, and criticisms". He said that he avoided leading the discussions to more specific topics, "in order to build Xanana's trust in his lawyers".

Buyung said the prison officials "treated them well", as they provided wide access, including a private room for the talks. He said there were no security guards watching over the meeting. Buyung admitted, however, that problems in communication emerged during the talks as Xanana, whose mother tongues are Portuguese and the local East Timor dialect, spoke only a little "bahasa Indonesia". Buyung is considering bringing an interpreter with him at the next session.

On Xanana's request for a new trial, Buyung said the topic was brought up in the meeting but not in details. "A new trial is a possible solution but only after further discussions can we decide whether it is the best way out", Buyung said.

In the meantime, Minister of Justice Oetjo Oesman earlier scorned Xanana's petition for a new trial, calling it "unethical" on the grounds that Xanana had already applied for clemency, which was granted by President Soeharto. (KC-169072794)

AUSTRALIAN BUSINESSMEN INTEREST IN A TIMOR BASE CAMP

From KBRI Canberra Newsletter (Indonesian government), August 1994

Many Australian businessmen from Darwin, Northern Territory, are interested in establishing a Timor Gap base camp in Same regency in East Timor. Mr TBM Sinaga, from the Investment Board said in Dili that the prospect has been discussed at a meeting in Dili on April 14 between the East Timor Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Northern Territory's Chamber of Commerce and Industry and Exporters Council. He added that the outcome of the meeting is called "The Dili Accord".

Under the accord, in the development of the Timor Gap project, businessmen of the two countries should work together to maximize the economic gains of the project. In the meantime Sinaga said, the means and facilities for the project, were still far from adequate, and everything would obviously depend on the respective investors if they expected an early realisation of the project. (KC-17072894)

PORTUGAL PLANS CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR

UPI, 7 September 1994

Lisbon -- Portuguese lawmakers said Wednesday they will go ahead with plans to hold an international conference on East Timor in an effort to force Jakarta to pull out of the disputed territory.

Parliamentary leader Barbosa de Melo won backing for the idea from President Mario Soares and told reporters preparations for the conference would now begin. He said: "Figures who have influence over international opinion" would be invited to attend.

An East Timor resistance spokeswoman, Luisa Pereira [sic: she is from the solidarity movement, CDPM, not the resistance movement] said by phone the conference idea was "a significant initiative".

"I think it will work best if it is limited to lawmakers, especially from the Asia-Pacific region so that we can push the East Timor issue up the political agenda there," Pereira said

(BAE) STAFF PUT ON ALERT FOR PEACE PROTESTORS

Daily Telegraph (London), September 6 1994. By Andrew Griffiths, Business Correspondent

British Aerospace has told staff at the show [i.e. the Farnborough Air Show] to be on their guard against "probable" violent attacks by extremists.

A confidential company security document warns that Farnborough Aerospace Centre, BAe's headquarters, and exhibition display areas at the Hampshire airfield are expected to be targeted by demonstrators with hammers to smash up products and inflict "criminal damage by paint spraying and other thrown substances."

Groups likely to be involved in violent and non-violent demonstrations are listed as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Arrow (Active Resistance to the Roots of War), Anvil (Active Nonviolence in London), the No Hawks to Indonesia Group, the Campaign Against the Arms Trade, and the Coalition for East Timor.

The document warns: "It is probable that the company will be subject to attack by various groups in an attempt by them to obtain maximum publicity."

Terrorist organisations pose a "low" threat at the show, which opened yesterday, says the document.

"While the intelligence demonstrates that we will be subject to an attack, the exact

timings are at present unknown," it says. "We must, therefore, draw on previous incidents in an attempt to gauge probable actions."

Staff are instructed to arrest troublemakers and "minimise the opportunity of press publicity" by removing, covering or cleaning damaged objects.

BAe, which is involved with at least six stands, including the Eurofighter 2000 and Future Large Aircraft displays, has been subjected to anti-war protests at previous trade shows and company meetings, although BAE said there was no trouble yesterday.

The following letter was faxed to the Daily Telegraph on September 7. It has not yet been printed in the paper. Please note: It was not possible to obtain a signature from a representative of "Anvil" because this group does not exist.

Dear Sir,

We are pleased that BAE is concerned enough about our campaign against sales of weaponry to Indonesia to include us in its security report (Telegraph 6 September 94).

Your reporter indicates that BAE regards these groups as both violent and nonviolent and "extremist". This is obviously a smear tactic. None of these groups have been or have plans to be violent in any way. All adhere to nonviolent forms of protest and we object to any suggestion otherwise.

All of the campaigns have participated in the last year, to one degree or another, in the growing campaign to prevent the delivery of Hawk ground attack aircraft to Indonesia and for an arms embargo on that country which has been in illegal occupation of East Timor for almost twenty years.

The labels of "terrorist" and "violent" should be applied to the Indonesian military who have been responsible for the deaths of over 200,000 East Timorese civilians during the twenty years of the occupation (one third of the population). Rather than spending its time creating spurious allegations for internal security reports that are then "leaked", BAE should be asking itself why it continues to supply weaponry to a regime that is guilty of genocide.

Yours

Janet Bloomfield, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
Sue Brown, Campaign Against Arms Trade
Will McMahon, Stop the Hawks/No Arms to Indonesia
Maggie Helwig, British Coalition for East Timor
Arrow, Active Resistance to the Roots of War

THREE ARRESTED AT FARNBOROUGH

Tapol report, September 8

Three nonviolent protesters were arrested at the Farnborough Air Show on September 6. The three, Chris Cole, Andrea Needham and David Polden, held up a banner outside the front gate of the show, poured red dye on the ground, and lay down for about ten minutes in a small "die-in". They offered only passive resistance to the police, and were carried away from the site.

All three have been charged with criminal damage, because when they were removed by police one policeman got some red dye on his shoe, and also charged under Section 5 of the Public Order Act, "threatening or abusive behaviour." They were released the next day on condition that they not go within five miles of the Farnborough Air Show.

The three will appear for a pre-trial hearing at Aldershot Magistrates Court on September 29.

This is the reality behind BAE's allegations of "violent" and "extremist" protest against their sale of Hawk fighter aircraft to the murderous Indonesian regime.

UN RIGHTS BODY DROPS E. TIMOR RESOLUTION

THE JAKARTA POST, Monday, August 19, 1994

JAKARTA (JP): For the first time ever, a United Nations sub-commission on human rights rejected a draft resolution on East Timor, the Antara news agency reported.

The UN's Human Rights sub-commission against discrimination and the protection of minorities in Geneva, Switzerland, on Friday by a secret ballot failed to adopt a resolution which would again subject Indonesia to criticism towards the integration of East Timor in the Republic of Indonesia on July 17, 1976.

"WE ARE HAPPY TO BE ABLE TO FOIL THE ATTEMPTS OF ANTI-INDONESIAN GROUPS," said Soemadi D.M. Brotodiningrat, the head of the Indonesian delegation, in Geneva following the vote.

The resolution titled SITUATION ON EAST TIMOR actually resulted in a draw with 11 for and 11 against. "According to the rules, if a ballot ends in a draw then the draft of resolution cannot be adopted," Soemadi at the end of the sub-commission's 46th session.

The UN Human Rights Commission in its annual meeting has regularly criticized Indonesia for alleged abuses in East Timor. However a fervent diplomatic campaign has

succeeded in toning down the Commission's attitude towards the issue of Indonesia's youngest province.

Soemadi revealed that this year's resolution was sponsored by a British representative and supported by representatives from France and the United States. Soemadi also said the various Non-Governmental Organizations and the head of the East Timor independence movement overseas, Ramos Horta, also played a troublesome role in facilitating the whole affair.

Victory was twice as sweet in Geneva as another unfavorable resolution on Indonesia was also rejected. The resolution which touches on the issues of Aceh, Maluku and Irian Jaya separatist movements was defeated by a clear margin of 14 to seven.

The Antara report did not say which countries initiated the two resolutions against Indonesia. Evaluating his recent diplomatic success, Soemadi said it signified a positive step forward and contributes to the tripartite talks sponsored by UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali between Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers early next year.

IRISH LEADER REYNOLDS URGED TO DISCUSS EAST TIMOR DURING AUSTRALIA VISIT

Irish Times, 8 September 1994

The Taoiseach must challenge Australia's attitude to East Timor when he meets the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Paul Keating, later this month, according to the East Timor Solidarity Campaign.

In a letter to Mr. Reynolds, the campaign said that the Taoiseach must not miss the opportunity when he meets Mr. Keating to raise at the highest possible level the revulsion felt by Irish people over the genocide being committed in East Timor.

The campaign said that Australia did not condemn Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975 and, by signing the Timor Gap Treaty with Indonesia, had been exploiting oil and gas reserves properly within East Timor's territory.

INDONESIAN ARMY CAPTURES EAST TIMOR REBELS

UPI and AFP, 10 September 1994. Abridged

UPI, Jakarta -- Indonesian military units in East Timor have captured two alleged East Timor rebels following a clash last week in the former Portuguese colony, press reports said Saturday.

East Timor military commander, Col. Y Kiki Syahnakri said the two were among nine members of the rebel group that allegedly attacked a military post in Ermera, 50 miles west of Dili, the East Timor capital.

Fretilin (sic) has been fighting Jakarta's control of East Timor since the 1976 annexation of the territory by Indonesia.

Syahnakri told a news conference in Dili that tips from residents led the military to the capture of the rebels, Domingus Gomes, 25, and Delfonso, 23. The other seven managed to escape after a fire fight, he said.

The press briefing was Syahnakri's first since he took over the post on Monday from Col. J. Lumintang.

Syahnakri said the rebels, operating in the jungles, have frequently run out of food and robbed villagers in order to survive. Government troops have been less aggressive in pursuing the poorly armed rebels and used force sparingly, Syahnakri said.

He said contacts for peace negotiations have been developed with the current leader of Fretilin, whom he identified as Firgilio. [This is not a familiar name for those leading the armed resistance which should of course be named as Falintil.]

If the two sides agree on the terms, Firgilio will come down with 20 other rebels, Syahnakri said, without specifying the terms. He added that the military's offer for the negotiations was received positively.

----- According to additional information from AFP:

Syahnakri said there were only some 228 members of Fretilin with 107 rifles and a small quantity of ammunition living in the jungle

DEMOCRACIES BULLIED BY POWERFUL NEIGHBOURS

An Inter Press Service Feature, By Leah Makabenta

BANGKOK, Sep 7 (IPS) - The Philippines and Thailand will have plenty to compare notes about when Philippine President Fidel Ramos meets Thai Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai on Thursday during a stopover here en route to an official trip to Europe.

The leaders of the only truly democratic countries in the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) are both struggling to deflect an authoritarian offensive from influential neighbours which has exposed their governments to criticism and condemnation.

In the last three months, outraged Filipinos and Thais have watched incredulously as their governments bent long-held democratic principles to suit the interest of powerful neighbours.

After both Manila and Bangkok surrendered to Indonesian demands to ban human rights conferences on East Timor in their countries, Thailand last week capitulated to Kuala Lumpur and handed over the leader of a banned religious sect to Malaysian security agents.

Thai police, accompanied by Malaysian agents, reportedly forced two vehicles of the Kuala Lumpur-based Al Arqam off the road in Thailand's northern Lampung province at dawn Friday and took sect leader Ashaari Mohamed and 10 of his followers into custody.

Four of the sect members, including Ashaari, were later handed over to the Malaysian embassy which arranged for their return to Kuala Lumpur Friday night.

The arrest and deportation of Ashaari, who had been living in quiet exile in Thailand for the last seven years, has left human rights activists and even some Thai officials fuming.

It was the second time in a month that the Thai government had granted "a questionable request from a neighbour in the name of ASEAN solidarity", thundered a 'Bangkok Post' editorial.

Just a week before the incident, Bangkok had lifted a short-lived visa ban on Al Arqam members because police investigations had found no evidence that the sect had committed any crime in Thailand where the group has major business concerns.

Citing a threat to national security, Malaysia banned the messianic sect last month, accusing it of maintaining a Thai-trained suicide squad. Both Bangkok and sect leaders have denied the existence of such a squad.

A government MP suggested that Bangkok may have given in to pressure from Kuala Lumpur. But in doing so it has breached the Thai constitution and the sect members' human rights.

"Malaysia has a special law on national security which is, by any words, a thug's law that allows the arrest of anyone," an irate Thai Deputy Interior Minister Den Tohmeena said.

The Thai Interior Ministry was never informed by the police director-general who may have acted in secret consultation with his Malaysian counterpart, said Den, an MP from Thailand's Muslim South.

Ashaari is now being held under Malaysia's draconian Internal Security Act, which allows indefinite detention without trial -- the type of law which Thai and Filipino protesters die on the streets for to remove from the statutes.

Human rights groups from both countries are worried their fledgling democracies may be at risk from what Filipino political sociologist Walden Bello calls a "unique form of

democracy" being dictated by authoritarian governments in their midst.

Bello, who spoke at a recent seminar at Chulalongkorn University here, identified the authoritarian governments in ASEAN as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei.

He said Thailand and the Philippines are the only ASEAN countries that have democratic practices but rued that they are almost apologetic for being democratic.

"What is alarming is that these two democratic states are willing to bend and bow to their authoritarian colleagues," said Bello, who is a professorial lecturer at the University of the Philippines.

This defensiveness is playing into the hands of authoritarian ASEAN countries which are under increasing pressure to democratise and, not content with repression at home, want to export it to the rest of ASEAN.

Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia have been aggressively promoting the idea that Asians have their own democratic culture in contrast to Western democratic practice which they deem unsuitable for Asian societies.

This unique form of democracy includes the subordination of individual rights to national interests, tight control of the opposition and restrictions on workers' right to organise suppression of ethnic minorities and disrespect for the ballot box.

To Boonthan Wirawongse, coordinator of the Confederation of Human Rights Organisations in Thailand (CHROT), these exertions are all for the benefit of ensuring that the ruling elites of these countries continue to control their political systems.

"Malaysia is extending its national security doctrine to cover the whole region and create a tradition of silence to human rights abuses," he said.

Bello said part of the authoritarian countries' strategy is to build an 'ASEAN Berlin Wall' between the democratic movements in Thailand and the Philippines and the pro-democratic forces in their own countries.

The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other ASEAN members has become a cornerstone of ASEAN policy, put to effective use by Jakarta in pressuring Manila and Bangkok to ban human rights conferences that would discuss its continued illegal occupation of East Timor.

Bello warns Thailand and the Philippines to be wary and heed the lessons of the Latin American experience. "In Latin America, we have seen democracies which are surrounded by authoritarian regimes and in danger of collapsing," he said.

The two should adhere to a policy of neutrality and not allow themselves to be used by authoritarian regimes to crack down

on non- governmental organisations, Bello added. (END/IPS/LM/LNH/94)

BUYUNG NASUTION ACCUSES AUSTRALIA

SBS-TV, News Extra, Canberra, 12 Sept 1994.

NEWSREADER: A prominent Indonesian human rights activist has criticised Australia for being too supportive of the Suharto government.

Human rights lawyer Buyung Nasution says Australia has developed strong economic links with Indonesia, but that hasn't always helped the Indonesian people themselves. Allan Sunderland reports:

SUNDERLAND: Dr Nasution, who met [Aust. Foreign Affairs Minister] Gareth Evans in Canberra today, has been a human rights activist in Indonesia for almost thirty years -- three years ago he helped defend East Timorese students charged with subversion after the Dili massacre -- and he regularly acts on behalf of Indonesian citizens who are denied their human, democratic and political rights.

Today he said Australia had developed strong links with the Indonesian Government, but was guilty of ignoring the lack of democracy in the country itself.

NASUTION: ... I won't use the word "guilty", but I think there are more can be done, [sic] and there are many ways to do that.

SUNDERLAND: Dr Nasution said the Keating government was right to seek closer ties with the Suharto government but occasionally it went too far in supporting it.

In particular he singled out the plight of Indonesia's workers, who have low pay and few rights, and yet he claims the ALP [Aust Labor Party (government party)] channels funding and support only to the official state-run union, which is a puppet of the government.

NASUTION: To us, Indonesia, is unbelievable: a Labour government supporting only state-controlled union. Why?

SUNDERLAND: Dr Nasution says that, unlike other western governments, the Australian government provides no direct financial support for human rights groups within Indonesia; something he's hoping to change during his visit.

SEMINARS ON EAST TIMOR AT NORTHERN TERRITORY UNIVERSITY

From: G_QUIINN@BANKS.NTU.EDU.AU,
September 14

The Northern Territory University through its Centre for Southeast Asian Studies will be conducting a series of public seminars in Darwin in September, October and November on The Political Economy of East Timor. It is hoped that the papers presented in the seminar series will be published by the NTU's Centre for Southeast Asian Studies.

The first speaker is Max Lane, editor of Inside Indonesia, translator of Pramoedya's Bumi Manusia quartet and author of numerous studies on political and development issues in Indonesia and the Philippines. On Thursday, September 22 he will be talking about debates among Indonesian NGOs on development in East Timor. Others who have agreed to speak in the seminar series include Rawdon Dalrymple (former Australian ambassador to Indonesia), Daniel Kameo and George Junus Aditjondro (from Satya Wacana University), Hadi Susastro (CSIS, Jakarta) and Joao Mariano Saldanha (author of a newly published book in Indonesian on economic development in East Timor).

The seminar series is part of an East Timor Project that has recently got under way at the NTU. The main purpose of the Project is to help staff and students of the NTU and the public of Darwin improve their access to information and debates on contemporary East Timor. Other components of the project include (i) a comprehensive survey of resources for the study of East Timor with special emphasis on resources held here in Darwin, in Portugal, in Indonesia and in East Timor itself; (ii) the development of cooperative links between the NTU and Universitas Timor Timur in Dili (Rektor Bratasudarma and Vice- Rektor Helder da Costa of Universitas Timor Timur visited the NTU last month to take the first steps towards formalising links); and (iii) the development of a syllabus and study resources for an introductory-level, area studies unit of study on East Timor.

The day-to-day management of the Project is in the hands of Senior Research Fellow Mario Saldanha. Contact him on (phone) 61-89-466771 or (fax) 61-89-466955. Mario is not on e-mail yet but soon will be.

Information on the Project is also available from George Quinn 61-89- 466891, e-mail g_quinn@banks.ntu.edu.au or from Director of the NTU's Centre for Southeast Asian Studies Dr Paul Webb 61-89-466749.

The slow-mail address of all of us is Faculty of Arts, Northern Territory University, PO Box 40146, Casuarina NT 0811, Australia.

CNRM REPRESENTATIVE VISITING NZ

From: Colin Iles, East Timor Independence Centre, Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand, 14 Sept.

Abel Guterres, CNRM rep for Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand is currently on a two week speaking tour of Aotearoa/New Zealand, visiting Christchurch, Dunedin, Palmerston North, Wanganui, Wellington, Hamilton, Auckland and Whangarei.

He has been kept very busy so far by organisers of the visit and public meetings have generally had 80-90 people attending.

In the capital Wellington for two days he was accompanied by Tangata Whenua. He had meetings with:

The Nuncio Apostolic, Rev Thomas White The Maori Legal Service, and many Maori people Ken Douglas, President of the Council of Trade Unions Cardinal Thomas Williams, Bishop of Wellington Robert Reid of Asian Workers Solidarity Links Caritas representatives (Catholic aid organisation) Suzanne Blumhardt, Head of the South East Asian desk at Foreign Affairs Meeting with 17 Members of Parliament Three meetings with individual MPs

Several media interviews, both radio and newspapers, and was shown on television 3 news handing over a letter from Xanana Gusmão to a delegation of New Zealand MPs who intend to pass it on to our Prime Minister.

He also attended an activists meal one evening and a public meeting of 90 people the other evening.

Abel has expressed great delight both at the level of organisation and the extent of and reception by people here.

A highlight for us in Wellington was the handing over by Abel Guterres of the Xanana letter to the meeting of MPs, all of whom spontaneously applauded this moving ceremony.

NOTE: 17 Members of Parliament attending a meeting with an overseas visitor, is an unusually large number, particularly considering that debates were taking place in the House at the time. New Zealand has 99 MPs

PM TO GET PLEA FROM CAPTIVE E TIMOR LEADER

New Zealand national paper THE DOMINION, September 14 1994

A MULTI-PARTY delegation of MPs plans to present a letter to Prime Minister Jim Bolger today from imprisoned East Timor guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão, calling for New Zealand to campaign against Indonesian occupation of the territory.

Labour MP Phil Goff, one of five MPs due to go to East Timor on a fact-finding trip in October, said the MPs hoped to give Mr Bolger the letter today.

The letter was delivered to the MPs by Abel Guterres of the National Council for East Timor Resistance, who is in New Zealand on a speaking tour. It calls on Mr Bolger to lobby the Indonesian Government to talk with the East Timorese resistance.

"It is not the Timorese that kill one another," the letter says. "It is the Indonesian occupation forces who continue to persecute, capture, torture and massacre the defenceless population of the territory."

MR GUTERRES SAID YESTERDAY NEW ZEALAND COULD PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN RESOLVING THE EAST TIMOR ISSUE BY BACKING A THREE-POINT PEACE PLAN INVOLVING PHASED AUTONOMY. XANANA LETTER TO NEW ZEALAND PM

[Here is the text of the letter from Xanana Gusmão to the New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger.

The letter was first handed over to 16 Members of Parliament by CNRM Representative Abel Guterres, who has just finished a highly successful speaking tour of Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the moving ceremony, filmed by television cameras, the other MPs spontaneously clapped the handing over by the CNRM representative.

The letter was then personally delivered to the Prime Minister by three MPs: Phil Goff Labour, Tau Henare New Zealand First, and Nick Smith National.

The MPs spent half an hour discussing the Indonesian occupation of East Timor with the PM.]

Mr Prime Minister of New Zealand, Excellency

I send my best greetings to Your Excellency.

For a long time we have been regretting the simplistic posture of Wellington regarding the problem of human rights in East Timor. In this state of resignation, we were extremely happy to learn about the position taken by Your Excellency, Mr Prime Minister, in expressing the concern of the New Zealand Government about the ongoing human rights violations in East Timor.

This problem, Your Excellency Mr Prime Minister, reflects the reality of the East Timor territory. It is a reality, which after 18 years continues to emerge and demand a speedy solution. This reality springs out of the unceasing confrontation between forces of repression and a people which struggle for their survival. This reality comprises suppression of rights, denial of freedom and a claim for justice and an anxiety for peace [?].

East Timor is a small point in the Asia Pacific Region, nonetheless it continues being the big blood stain of this region. We believe that no country of this region can remain indifferent towards the destiny of a people, whose only fault is to continue defending the universal principles which also apply to itself, and the right it has to self-determination and national independence.

Your Excellency, Mr Prime Minister,

On May 6 an agreement was signed in Geneva between Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, regarding the need for dialogue between all concerned parties involved in the problem. This has always been the position of CNRM, interpreting the spirit and the text of Resolution 37/30 of December 1982 of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

However, the manoeuvres in bad faith of Jakarta are already well known. These were always the postures of the Indonesian Government, which perpetuated violations of human rights in East Timor.

It is impossible to think of an end to human rights violations in East Timor while the substance of the problem is not properly considered.

Your Excellency, Mr Prime Minister

The so-called "Reconciliation between Timorese", or "London Dialogue" proclaimed by Indonesia is devoid of any practical political significance, because what is taking place in East Timor is the continuous presence of the Indonesian military, giving rise to the most incredible brutality against the Maubere people.

If in South Africa, despite the efforts of the then President FW De Clerk and the current President Nelson Mandela, lack of understanding causes serious problems for the advancement of the peace and democratisation process, what takes place in East

Timor is not a conflict between Timorese. It is not the Timorese who kill one another. It is the Indonesian occupation forces who continue to persecute, capture, torture and massacre the defenceless population of the territory.

If, on the other hand, in South Africa, only the institution of a regime of rule of law, democracy, and non-racialism, may lead to a reconciliation among the various political tendencies of that country, in East Timor, only a solution of the essence of the problem would be able to stop the criminal hands of the Jakarta Generals.

Only an accurate perception of the East Timor reality could guarantee a just and correct solution to the problem.

CNRM has always stated its availability for dialogue. CNRM has also already presented a Peace Plan, which outlines concrete and secure phases to achieve a just and internationally acceptable solution to the problem.

I appeal to you, Your Excellency Mr Prime Minister, to continue giving attention to the problem of East Timor, and to pressure Jakarta not to manipulate the essence of the agreement of May 6, and to accept dialogue with the East Timorese Resistance which I lead.

I remain, with all consideration

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão CNRM

Member Commander of Falintil

Cipinang Prison, Jakarta 17 May 1994

TIMOR STILL AWAITS CROSS-TALKS

Expresso, 10 September 1994. By Mario Robalo. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon -- A new round of "reconciliation meetings" between Timorese has been scheduled for 22nd of this month in London. Abilio Araújo, the expelled Fretilin leader, and Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Jakarta's itinerant ambassador for East Timor affairs, will be meeting for the second time in the British capital, outside the process underway mediated by the UN Secretary General.

In December last year, two Timorese delegations (one composed of Timorese living abroad, the other made up of Timorese living in the territory) met on the outskirts of London, under the complacent gaze of Mr. Major's government. It was the start of a new era, the Jakarta authorities announced. They said it was an opportunity for dialogue between nationals of East Timor in favour of integration, and those supporting independence (whom the Indonesian Government refers to as "estranged brothers").

In the view of the nationalist movements that make up the Maubere Resistance Na-

tional Council (CNRM) - UDT, Fretilin and Falintil (the armed wing of the pro-independence Timorese) the reconciliation meeting was a scheme devised by Suharto to further divide the already weakened Resistance, undermined by 20 years of struggle in conditions of permanent repression.

Last May, when the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers met in Geneva, their final communiqué stated that both undertook to hold "cross-talks", i.e. Durão Barroso would meet with pro-Indonesia Timorese, and Ali Alatas would receive pro-independence Timorese.

Until now, however, neither Minister has fulfilled this commitment, and nobody knows what Barroso and Alatas will have to talk about in January, when their next meeting will take place.

UN IN FAVOUR OF RAMOS HORTA-ALATAS MEETING:

In the view of Ramos Horta, Portugal should have made an effort to meet with Timorese Suharto supporters. "The Portuguese Minister ought to be more aggressive, and should have expressed his readiness to meet pro-integrationists", said the CNRM representative, adding that such an attitude would "place Alatas in an embarrassing position who, pressured by the UN, would be forced to agree to negotiate with the Resistance".

The hopes raised last July, by the Bishop of Dili's statement that he was prepared to mediate in putting into effect a peace plan, were dashed this week when, given the Indonesian military's assurances that they had no intention of discussing East Timor, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo stated to TSF that there was nothing more to be done.

According to Ramos Horta, "it is Indonesia that has retreated". On 17 July, anniversary of the annexation, Indonesia expressed interest in commencing talks on the territory. Straightaway, Bishop Belo, Minister Durão Barroso, the UN Secretary General and the Resistance itself expressed their satisfaction and readiness to collaborate in Indonesia's initiative.

"They were not expecting a concerted response", says Ramos Horta, referring to the step backwards taken by Suharto's military. "Under pressure from the US and even Australia, they just wanted to give the world the impression that they were willing to accept an opening up of the regime", accuses Ramos Horta, who also revealed he had requested the UN Secretary General for a meeting between him and Alatas. Boutros Boutros Ghali "responded favourably", and now the Indonesia reply is awaited. Such a meeting would take place at the UN in New York, at the General Assembly due to start on the 20th.

TIMORESE RECONCILIATION

*Diario de Noticias, 12 September 1994.
Translated from Portuguese*

Lisbon -- According to Abilio Sereno, Secretary-Coordinator of Fretilin in Portugal, reconciliation between Timorese is an urgent necessity. Abilio Sereno who, according to LUSA, was speaking at a ceremony commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Timorese Social-Democratic Association becoming the Revolutionary Front of East Timor, stated that the Timorese ought to make peace with each other now and avoid the risk of one day reverting to violence "to settle their differences, take revenge, and as an outlet for hate and vengeance". "Only tolerance, born out of reconciliation of words and hearts, will create bridges of mutual understanding and acceptance", he said accusing those who reject reconciliation of supporting confrontation and violence. Abilio Sereno went on to say that, currently, the biggest threat facing Fretilin was the lack of internal unity. He warned against the "paternalistic individuals" who interfere "excessively" in Timorese internal affairs, making the rules and deciding in favour of some Timorese and against others. He also referred to abuses, such as campaigns to raising funds for the Resistance, which then never reach their destination.

EAST TIMOR'S NEW COMMANDER

Java Pos, 7 September 1994. Summarised

East Timor's new commander, Colonel Kiki Syahnakri, who was installed on 5 September in Sundanese having been born in Kerawang.] He has spent much of his military career in Timor. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1971.

From 1973, he was commander of the sub-district military command in Atapupu, district Belu, in West Timor, which borders on East Timor.

From there in 1976, he went on to become commander of operations of District Military Command 1605 in Atambua, [which means he was in East Timor throughout the period when the war of aggression was at its height] in East Timor. Then in 1978 he moved to Bali to become commander of Battalion 741, and four years later, he moved back to East Timor to become deputy commander of Battalion 744 [mainly consisting of Timorese troops].

After a time in East Java and West Java, he was appointed deputy commander of the East Timor military command, Korem 164/Wira Dharma, in 1993.

Since his appointment as commander of East Timor, he is quoted as saying that he is

ready to dialogue with anyone, whether from the church, the local government, community leaders or native leaders. Nor would he mind dialoguing with those still in the bush.

Indeed while he was deputy commander, alongside Colonel Lumintang, he did hold dialogue with the guerrilla remnants, by means of an exchange of letters, calling on them to surrender. "In this way, I'm certain that the matter would be mutually resolved.

EAST TIMOR CAMPAIGN GAINS MOMENTUM

By Wendy Robertson, Green Left #159, September 14, 1994

Preparations for the October 15 National Day of Action against Australian government and business involvement in the Timor Gap Treaty are under way in all states. The National Day of Action is jointly organised by Resistance, Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor) and UDT (Union of Democratic Timorese).

The action coincides with the beginning of drilling in the Timor Sea by a consortium of Australian companies: BHP (based in Melbourne), Petroz and Santos (South Australian and Northern Territory oil company) and Sagasco (based in Sydney).

The day will also be one of the many activities building towards the November 12 Dili massacre commemorative demonstrations.

Resistance activists from around the country report that the campaign has broad support and interest from many areas. Walking through the centre of Newcastle, you can't miss the many different Resistance stickers, which call for "Indonesian troops out of East Timor"; suspension of defence ties between Australia and Indonesia; freedom for Xanana Gusmão, the jailed leader of the East Timorese resistance; and BHP out of the Timor Sea.

On September 8, Sydney University Resistance had a banner drop and stall for East Timor. A large "East Timor - Freedom Now!" banner was hung from the foot bridge over Parramatta Road.

Resistance activists handed out campaign leaflets, sold Green Left and encouraged students to sign the East Timor petition, which calls for a halt to exploration in the Timor Gap while the legality of the Timor Gap Treaty is under challenge in the International Court of Justice; suspension of military ties and cooperation with the Indonesian military; and the inclusion of representatives of the East Timorese independence movement in all discussions conducted by the United Nations on East Timor. Sydney

ney Resistance has also produced a special "East Timor - Freedom Now" badge.

Public meetings to launch the campaign have been well attended. The Adelaide launch was attended by 50 people and addressed by Resistance speakers, Melanie Sjoberg from Green Left Weekly, and Andy Alcock from the Campaign for an Independent East Timor.

Many state-based East Timor solidarity groups have agreed to support the October 15 National Day of action. In Perth, Friends of East Timor are supporting the day. In Wollongong, the action will be organised by Resistance and Wollongong University environment groups. A meeting of Darwin East Timor solidarity groups has agreed to sponsor the October 15 action. In Melbourne the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) will also support the campaign.

Actions have also been planned against the visit of Indonesia's vice-president, General Try Sutrisno. Sutrisno was head of the Indonesian armed forces at the time of the Dili massacre and has been instrumental in pushing for closer military ties with Australia. The East Timorese community is planning a demonstration on September 21 in Canberra outside the Indonesian Embassy.

In Sydney, Resistance, Aksi (Indonesia Solidarity Action) and AETA (Australia East Timor Association) have organised a protest outside the Department of Defence office in Liverpool Street on September 23 (phone 690 1977 for further details).

A special benefit for East Timorese orphans, "All In The Family", will be held at the Harbourside Brasserie in Sydney on September 23 and 24. Performers and artists include Midnight Oil, Mental As Anything, Painters and Dockers, Archie Roach, Ruby Hunter and well-known Timorese folk singer Agio Pereira.

EAST TIMOR: 20 YEARS OF ALP BETRAYAL

*By John Tomlinson and Rob Wesley-Smith.
Green Left #159, September 14, 1994*

There are significant economic and political reasons why the federal Labor cabinet should reassess its position on East Timor. These reasons need to be placed within a historical context. If the Keating government perseveres with present policies, it will imperil the economic future of generations of Australians and undermine our human rights record. Far more importantly in the eyes of Labor backbenchers, its current policies will play a significant part in its losing government.

The background

Four hundred years of Portuguese rule in East Timor, though challenged by a number

of uprisings, remained unbroken until the Japanese invaded in 1942. More than 40,000 Timorese died resisting Japanese efforts to capture withdrawing Australian troops and as a result of their fight for their own country, which held up the Japanese assault on Australia.

From the end of the second world war until the mid-1970s, Timor became a tourist destination for Australians wanting an inexpensive overseas holiday. It remained a typical backwoods colony until after the Carnation Revolution in Portugal on April 25, 1974, when a new government began to facilitate the East Timorese moving towards independence.

The independence movement was split. The UDT was supported predominantly by the Chinese community, conservative traditional village leaders and those Timorese who had become incorporated as part of the colonial elite. Their major opposition was Fretilin, a mass-based progressive party, which drew most of its support from the major towns and the countryside. There was also the Apodeti party, which proposed integration within Indonesia. During a visit by one of the authors in 1974, he was told by an Apodeti supporter that the party had only 12 members.

During 1974-75 Indonesia initiated Operation Komodo, a widespread campaign to destabilise East Timor. In August 1975, Indonesian pressure encouraged the UDT leadership to launch a pre-emptive military campaign against Fretilin. Fighting between UDT and Fretilin resulted in some 2000 deaths. The Portuguese attempted to get representatives of the three parties to a peace conference in Macau. Fretilin did not attend, but as a result of increasing Indonesian incursions declared independence from Portugal on November 28, 1975.

Since December 7, 1975, when Indonesia invaded East Timor, Australian governments have acquiesced in the attempted annexation.

The death toll, as calculated by Amnesty International and the Catholic Church, is between 200,000 and a quarter of a million Timorese. These are conservative estimates; the actual death toll may well be over 300,000. The deaths were a result of military engagements, famine which followed the invasion (especially in 1979) and continuing political killings by the Indonesian military intent on stamping out any opposition.

There are more than 12 Indonesian battalions currently stationed in the former Portuguese colony. Their prime function is to stamp out any dissent against Indonesian colonisation of this territory, advance Jakarta's transmigration agenda and safeguard the interests of the generals who now con-

trol the coffee and other industries in East Timor.

Repression is a daily occurrence. It takes many forms: the arrest and jailing for three years of students who unfurled a Timor flag in July 1994, and the jailing for life of students who organised the peaceful memorial march for Sebastian Gomes. This march on November 12, 1991, led to Indonesian troops killing more than 200 students at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili and the deaths of a further 300 in the aftermath.

These are the few stories which have been covered by Western media. The ongoing disappearances, the use of Timorese civilians who at gunpoint are forced to walk in front of Indonesian soldiers trying to sweep Falintil resistance fighters from the mountains, the rape and torture of suspected supporters of an independent East Timor are not part of the Western media record, despite the continuing efforts of journalists John Pilger, Amy Goodman, Max Stahl, Bob Domm, Alan Naim and many Portuguese colleagues.

The church

East Timor is predominantly a Catholic country and the church, under the leadership of Bishop Carlos Belo, has attempted to shield its flock from the worst excesses of Indonesian repression. But its power is substantially curtailed. It was unable to prevent Indonesian troops invading the Motael Church in Dili and murdering Sebastian Gomes in October 1991. It has been unsuccessful in getting details from the Indonesian military on the 300 people who disappeared following the initial Dili massacre.

Church spokespeople report that in June Indonesian soldiers desecrated a mass and in July Indonesian youths harassed nuns at the Timor University. Following this latter incident, several disturbances were violently dispersed, leading to minor injuries (Indonesian military version) or the deaths of some demonstrators (church version).

On July 19, Bishop Belo claimed that Timor has become a living hell for Christians. From Jakarta, Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas warned the bishop against making such statements.

The Catholic Church outside East Timor has generally been unsupportive of its isolated and harassed colleagues inside. While the pope retains direct control of the diocese, his public speeches and actions have given little comfort. Presumably church leaders are fearful of being barred from working in Indonesia proper.

With the exception of the Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace, it took the Dili massacre to shake most Australian church leaders from their lethargy. Despite the lead given by Melbourne's Bishop Hil-

ton Deakin, the Northern Territory Diocese has done little to help Bishop Belo.

Political misadventure

This backdrop would be well known to Canberra politicians. What may be less well appreciated is that Australia has consistently misjudged political developments in Indonesia since 1949.

In 1949 Australia's standing in Indonesia was particularly high as a result of wharfies' bans on ships supplying the Dutch colonialists in their fight against Indonesian nationalists. The 1949 Australian election removed the pro-independence Labor government, replacing it with Menzies' Liberals. The Liberals militarily opposed Indonesia during Sukarno's confrontation period. The Menzies government failed to communicate much to the parliamentary leaders in Indonesia apart from its aloof belief in its own racial superiority.

In 1965 a combined CIA and indigenous generals' coup overthrew Sukarno and let loose an internecine spree which killed 1 million people who were termed communists. The dead's real crime may have been to be Chinese, rich, offside with village leaders, members of minority religious groups, poor, criminal or simply expendable.

This murderous orgy enforced obedience, and the generals manoeuvred to ensure it was obedience to them. Indonesian military officers have used their positions to own or control vast commercial wealth. This combination of the military and industrial sector increases compliance and subservience and has worked to sustain the Javanese junta for nearly 30 years.

In 1972 Gough Whitlam, declaring "It's Time", won the election and began to sweep away the cobwebs of 23 years of Liberals. In Australian politics the term Whitlamite conjures up the image of a big-spending reform-minded government. But when it came to our closest neighbour, apart from Papua New Guinea, Whitlam and his successor Malcolm Fraser were prepared to sacrifice Timorese to Whitlam's concept of geopolitics. This fancy name, in current CIA jargon means realpolitik within a sphere of influence. Either way, it means might is right.

In 1975 the Cold War was in full swing. The CIA had backed the Java generals (after all they had killed a million commies). The US had nuclear submarines which might need to use the Timor Trench, a deep channel linking the Indian and Pacific oceans. The US, in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, did not want any upstart little country falling into the socialist sphere of influence.

Australian policy towards Indonesia has been based on the erroneous belief that for the foreseeable future the Indonesian military will be at least the real power behind

the government. Such thinking denies the possibility of the emergence of a democratic government and ignores the real possibility that the current military junta could be overthrown by internal dissension.

If the Australian government were not so blinkered, it would be doing all within its power to develop an enduring friendship with the democratic forces emerging within Indonesian society.

Australian governments may have been happy to go along with Indonesia's annexation of East Timor solely because of unreal political concepts such as geopolitics, and the fact they did not want to pick a fight with such a populous neighbour, but there was a sweetener to the deal.

Oil

Australian and Indonesian seismic surveys had revealed excellent oil exploration prospects in the Timor Sea. Throughout 1974, BP Australia had been negotiating with Portuguese and Timorese representatives about oil drilling concessions near Timor. Within days of Indonesia invading East Timor, BP was attempting to negotiate with Indonesian officials. The Australian-Indonesian Business Committee strongly urged business as usual.

After prolonged negotiations and Australian government statements recognising East Timor's integration into Indonesia, Australia and Indonesia agreed to a carve-up of the oil resources in the Timor Sea.

The Portuguese, who are recognised by the United Nations as the decolonisation authority in East Timor, and the Timorese representatives in exile, do not accept that the East Timorese claim to their oil has been extinguished. They have taken a claim for damages against Australia in the World Court. (No claim has been lodged against Indonesia because it does not recognise the World Court.)

The claim is likely to succeed, potentially laying Australians open to damages payouts in the order of billions of dollars. BHP, through subsidiaries like Petroz, will have pocketed and laundered the profits. This will leave the Australian people with the debt - an example of capitalism's capacity to privatise profits and socialise losses.

Political fallout

The balance of payment and budget deficit difficulties which losing this case in the World Court could have on the government of the day would damage any electoral hopes it might have. Government outlays in health, education, social security and community services would be slashed. Superannuees might find that many tax advantages they anticipated could evaporate.

The case brought by three Australian Timorese in the High Court on August 9 questioned the Australian government's right

to enter into a treaty with an illegitimate occupying power in East Timor. The High Court found against the Timorese, but made the point that it did not have the authority to consider the legitimacy of the treaty. The High Court's decision indicates that there are no legal structures in Australia which have the capacity to prevent governments entering into international treaties or engaging in foreign policy activities which are in breach of international law or morality.

There is developing in the public mind a sense of the unsavoury nature of our relationship with the generals in Jakarta. This is reinforced by recent statements by our defence minister about joint arms manufacture, despite US Congressional bans imposed because of US alarm about human rights violations by Indonesia. The crackdown on freedom of speech, independent trade unionists and journalists throughout Indonesia increases Australians' sense of unease.

East Timorese independence is one of those issues which has strong supporters in all ALP factions, throughout all parties with representatives in the Australian parliament and amongst an extraordinarily diverse range of voters. Like unemployment, Aboriginal issues and health policies, Timor is an issue which considerably influences perceptions of politicians.

Through broadsheets, leaflets, demonstrations, petitions and blockades, Australian supporters of a free East Timor have struggled to get across the facts about Indonesian repression to the wider Australian community.

Worry about the rights and protection of the underdog becomes combined with the recognition of the unattractiveness of powerlessness and the nagging suspicion that might is right. Politicians ignore at their own peril the large number of Australians who are not prepared to forget the injustice, the killings, the extrajudicial executions, the footage of the Dili massacre or Greg Shackleton's last report from Balibo.

RIGHTS GROUP CONDEMNS INDONESIA FOR ALLEGED ABUSES

Reuter, Wed, 14 Sep 94

JAKARTA (Reuter) - A human rights group accused Indonesia of human rights abuses including torture and the arbitrary use of power, in a wide-ranging report released Thursday. The 83-page report, called "The Limits of Openness," focused mainly on Indonesia's ban on three magazines in June, the troubled territory of East Timor, worker rights and a crackdown on members of a Christian church in North Sumatra. "All of these cases involve major violations of

internationally recognised human rights," said the report by Human Rights Watch/Asia, formerly Asia Watch. "But more to the point, these cases illustrate the pervasiveness of the harassment that ordinary Indonesians suffer on a daily basis. Torture is used routinely to punish and intimidate as well as to obtain information. "If there is a constant in Indonesian politics today, it is the arbitrariness inherent in periods of tolerance or crackdowns." The detailed report comes two months before Indonesia hosts an informal summit of the 17-member Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group. In a series of recommendations, the report urged President Suharto, Armed Forces Commander General Faisal Tanjung and the justice minister to issue a public statement explicitly outlawing the use of torture at all times. It also said those arrested for their non-violent beliefs or activities should be immediately and unconditionally released. In recommendations to the international community, the report urged APEC delegates at the summit to express concern over continuing human rights abuses in mainly Muslim Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country. Indonesia, an economic success story under Suharto's tight rule since the late 1960s, has had to fend off regular criticism.

WRITERS CONCERNED ABOUT XANANA

*Diario de Noticias, 3 September 1994
Translated from Portuguese*

PEN International's Committee of Writers in Prison has strongly criticised the situation of Xanana Gusmão in its latest report. The document refers to the capture of the Timorese resistance leader, the fact that he was held in isolation for 17 days, the irregularities of his trial, and the ill-treatment to which he is said to have been subjected in prison.

PORTUGUESE TV TO REACH TIMOR

*Diario de Noticias, 8 September 1994.
Translated from Portuguese. Summary*

Lisbon -- According to Marconi's Director for Asia, following the company's reservation of a transponder in the Chinese Apstar-2 satellite, RTP (Portuguese TV) International will soon be reaching the Asia-Pacific region.

The satellite, due to be launched this December or January 1995, covers a vast area, from Moscow to Sydney, and will enable reception of RTPI with a dish measuring just 1.2 metres.

RTPI is currently transmitted via a Russian satellite, which is to be deactivated early in 1995. Due to this satellite's position over the African continent, reception of RTPI in the Asia-Pacific region has not been good, and only possible with large diameter dishes. In Macau, for example, situated on the periphery of the Russian satellite's range, RTPI is now received by a local TV station (TDM), through an antenna measuring 9 meters in diameter.

Marconi's executive said that "Transmission via the Chinese satellite will mean that any citizen in Macau, Timor, Goa, Malaysia, Japan and Australia will be able to receive RTPI directly in their homes, with a small dish".

DAYS DEDICATED TO TIMOR DECENTRALISED

Publico, 13 September 1994. By Antonio Marujo. Summary. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon -- The idea is to decentralise, in terms of both time and space: the Days dedicated to East Timor, organised by the University of Oporto, are now going to be spread over 5 months and will extend to five Portuguese cities. Foreign guests (from Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, India, Thailand, USA, and Indonesia itself) will be attending. The reason - the issue is becoming increasingly polemical within Suharto's country.

Instead of the debate on East Timor being concentrated into a few days, there will be a two-day opening session (4 and 5 October), followed by eight working sessions, scheduled to take place over the following five months.

Running concurrently with these Days, will be the 2nd Introduction to Indonesia and Timor course, directed by Prof. Barbedo de Magalhães of the University of Oporto. Sessions of this course are to be held, on different dates, in Oporto, Coimbra and Lisbon, while conferences will take place in Braga and Figueira da Foz.

The main idea behind the course is to "supply historical and socio-political background information, so as to better understand the present situation and predict future developments" in East Timor and within Indonesia itself.

Among the invited speakers will be Indonesian university professor George Aditjondro, known for his opposition to the annexation of East Timor, and for his writings on the subject. Another guest will be US professor, Benedict Anderson, from Cornell University, who is one of the foremost specialists on Indonesia in the world.

Some of those attending will also have participated in the international conference,

"East Timor, An International Responsibility", taking place in Germany between 30 September and 2 October.

TIMOR NOT FORGOTTEN

Jornal de Noticias, 15 September 1994.

Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon -- During his speech, given at the dinner held in his honour by Jelio Jeleu, President of the Republic of Bulgaria, Mario Soares did not forget the continuing drama of East Timor.

After briefly outlining the "road, with its inevitable difficulties, along which Bulgaria has traveled over the past few years, and which has earned for Bulgaria the respect of the international community", and after emphasising that, like Portugal, Bulgaria had tasted the "bitter experience of a long dictatorial regime" this century, President Soares said that this "common experience" enabled both countries to "use the same language" to defend peoples' right to freedom and to fight against all forms of oppression which, unfortunately, still exists in many part of the globe".

He concluded by saying that "such is the case of serious injustice and violence suffered by the people of East Timor, and for which Portugal demands, in accordance with the principles of international law and the UN Charter, that it be allowed to exercise its legitimate right to self-determination.

UN SG REPORT ON EAST TIMOR

*UNITED NATIONS General Assembly
Document A/49/391/16*

September 1994

Forty-ninth session Item 87 of the provisional agenda*

QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

Progress report of the Secretary-General

1. The purpose of the present report is to inform the General Assembly, as I have done in past years, of the continuing exercise of my good offices aimed at finding a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor. The dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal has been under way since 1983. After an interruption in 1991, it was reactivated towards the end of 1992. Since then, I have held four rounds of discussions with the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal. Through my aides, I have also kept in touch with East Timorese groups and personalities representing various shades of political opinion.

2. As indicated in my report last year (A/48/418), the positions of the two Governments on the issue of the Territory's

status remain far apart. Nevertheless, an improved atmosphere has recently been achieved in the dialogue. The two sides have shown a manifest interest in avoiding a confrontational approach and have carried out a number of mutually agreed confidence-building measures, primarily of a humanitarian nature. I have urged both parties to build on these steps and to consider a number of concrete ideas that could further advance the talks while improving conditions and fostering confidence inside East Timor. At the last round of talks, held at Geneva on 6 May 1994, agreement was reached on a number of steps to be undertaken by both sides (see press release SG/SM/5283). These points of agreement were arrived at following a series of thorough consultations before the Geneva meeting. The consultations included discussions with the Permanent Representatives of the two sides in New York, and exploratory discussions on a wide range of ideas, in January 1994, in Portugal, Indonesia, East Timor and Australia with senior government officials, East Timorese political and religious leaders and others representing differing trends of Timorese opinion.

3. I will highlight three of the points that were agreed upon at the last round of talks. Firstly, the two Ministers agreed that access to East Timor for the United Nations and human rights and humanitarian organizations, as well as visits to East Timor by East Timorese living abroad and visits of East Timorese to Portugal, should be continued and expanded. Secondly, I underlined to the two Ministers that a dialogue among East Timorese representatives of all shades of opinion could make important contributions to the ongoing bilateral dialogue under my auspices. The two Ministers have agreed that I should explore ways of convening such an all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue. Thirdly, the two Ministers expressed their willingness to meet separately with East Timorese representatives holding opposing views on the political status of East Timor, i.e., the Foreign Minister of Portugal would meet with those who support integration with Indonesia, and the Foreign Minister of Indonesia with those opposed to integration. I intend to facilitate these meetings in the near future. Such have figured prominently in the dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal under my auspices, among them the full accounting for those who died or are still missing as a result of the violent and tragic incident which took place at Dili on 12 November 1991. I have continued to discuss with the Indonesian Government the situation of East Timorese in custody, including the leader of the armed independence movement, Jose "Xanana" Gusmão, who is serving a 20-year prison

term after his capture in November 1992, and the need for taking measures aimed at their early release. In addition, the appropriate human rights organs of the United Nations have continued to deal with the situation in East Timor. In March 1994, the Commission on Human Rights adopted a consensus statement on the subject (see E/1994/24- E/CN.4/1994/132, para. 482). The Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities also discussed the issue at its forty-sixth session in August 1994. In July 1994, the Commission's Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions visited East Timor at the invitation of the Indonesian Government.

5. In the coming months, I intend to assist the two Governments in identifying a series of issues for consideration by them in advance of the next round of talks, including possible avenues towards achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution. I will shortly undertake a series of consultations with various East Timorese groups and personalities with a view to convening an all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue.

6. The next round of talks between the two Foreign Ministers will be held at Geneva in the first half of January 1995.